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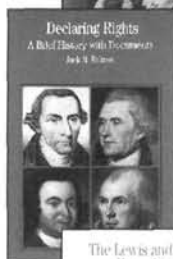
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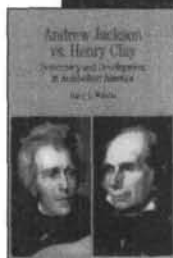
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In This Issue

This issue contains the 1998 AHA Presidential Address and an *AHR Forum* that reexamines questions about the Renaissance raised in a Presidential Address twenty years ago. The issue also includes an article chronicling the 1889 European journey of a Middle Eastern participant in a scholarly congress of Orientalists and a review essay evaluating recent print and film studies of Thomas Jefferson. A full complement of book reviews and film reviews completes the issue. Beginning with this issue, we will publish an index at the end of each number of the *AHR* in addition to the December cumulative index.

Presidential Address

Joyce Appleby's presidential address analyzes the succession of criticisms and challenges to conventional historical writing that historians have been grappling with during the last forty years. Recalling her own struggles with these issues, she argues that, despite the criticisms, those historians who have explored the new social history, the social construction of reality, and the role of ideology and postmodernist critiques of Western discourse have greatly enhanced our understanding of how knowledge is created. Indeed, she contends, as a result of their labors, historians have become excellent guides for those in the public wishing to plunge into the thick of contemporary debates on the nature of Western knowledge. Appleby concludes her compelling defense of the importance of the historian's craft by asserting that history is powerful because it enables us to examine the force and meaning of human experience.

Articles

Carter Vaughn Findley examines how Ahmed Midhat turned the account of his European journey of 1889 into an Occidentalist reflection on the relative merits of Ottoman-Islamic and European culture. Visiting major sites of European portrayals of themselves and others such as a scholarly congress of orientalist in Stockholm and then the Paris Exposition, Ahmed Midhat

invoked conventional binarism of Self and Other, Spirit and Matter. However, he also transcended such simple binarisms by combining the dichotomies to create a multi-dimensional analytical framework. Findley argues that he did so by drawing his Russian traveling companions into his narrative and using them to introduce a third subject position into his evaluation of Ottoman self and European other. Equally important, Ahmed Midhat put gender issues in the foreground of his analysis by presenting Madame Gülnar, the most memorable of the Russians, as a symbolic “new woman” who combined chaste behavior with intellectual achievement. Findley depicts Ahmed Midhat as a conservative dissident from the utopian visions of most Ottoman progressives. He demonstrates that Ahmed Midhat’s assessment of European material progress led as well to reflections on the spiritual realm in which a modern Ottoman culture might be created. Findley’s thoughtful analysis of this travel narrative offers important insights into discourse about Others, the emancipatory potential of Occidentalism, the importance of socio-cultural change for the formation of national consciousness in a semi-colonial society, and the possibilities of creatively engaging—while also resisting—European power.

AHR Forum

Kenneth Gouwens begins the *Forum* “The Persistence of the Renaissance” by announcing its theme of revival. Questions and concepts from cognitive psychology, he suggests, can promote a renewed appreciation for the critical place of the classical revival in humanists’ and artists’ perceptions of themselves and the world during the Renaissance. He builds on recent research about how humanists read and appropriated the classics to argue that their own perceptions of the historic importance of the classics helped to make the revival a critical point in European cultural history. Gouwens also contends that our image of what defines humanist experience has often been too narrowly restricted to a focus on the humanists’ sober philosophizing and their professional rhetorical compositions. Instead, he urges us to conceive of humanism as a discursive field that also included less edifying writings and extended beyond the text to encompass a variety of practices equally critical to the effort to revive the cultures of antiquity.

Paula Findlen continues the *Forum*, examining the process by which the Renaissance became associated with a canonical set of objects in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She argues that the Renaissance is not a modern historian’s category but a historical narrative of culture shaped by humanists, artists, and patrons in that era. More generally, she studies the process by which Western European society came to value culture and to

create repositories for cultural artifacts that foreshadowed the role of libraries, archives, and museums in the modern age. Findlen describes the shift from an individual passion for cultural artifacts to a collective sense of responsibility toward preserving culture. She asserts that the emergence of institutions such as the Uffizi galleries, born of the aspirations of Pinnus to make culture a state project, canonized the values and taste that had already defined the private world of collecting. In developing these arguments, Findlen suggests that our ideas about the past evolve in relation to public projects of history, which are not simply of recent duration but have been going on for many centuries. She urges us to look beyond scholarly rhetoric about the “death” of a field in order to engage with a broader public whose conception of history is made in museums and other public venues.

Three comments conclude the *Forum*. **William J. Bouwsma**, whose 1978 AHA Presidential Address, “The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History,” provides the occasion for this *Forum*, endorses the efforts by Gouwens and Findlen to reinterpret the Renaissance. However, he expresses doubts that the Renaissance was the beginning of the modern world and about its utility as the label for a distinctive period of time in European history. Bouwsma suggests that a decline in the significance traditionally assigned to the Renaissance is part of a larger reevaluation of the place of European history in our understanding of the world’s past. **Anthony Grafton** also endorses Gouwens and Findlen’s project of Renaissance revival. He lauds in particular their attempt to move Renaissance studies from texts and terms to that of fully contextualized individuals. However, such examinations must take into account the full variety of individual experiences, he cautions, the mundane as well as the transcendent. **Randolph Starn** concludes the *Forum* by pointing out that the historiographical rehabilitation proposed by Gouwens and Findlen is itself a “Renaissance,” both of a sense of enchantment with a privileged past and of the interpretative tradition of Jacob Burckhardt’s classic *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. After citing reasons for dispensing with the notion that the Renaissance was a historical period and noting the pitfalls of alternatives, Starn suggests that its loss of vitality as a periodic construct enables the Renaissance to be seen more clearly as a compelling cultural movement with an extensive and diversified network of practices and ideas.

Review Essay

Jan Lewis and **Peter S. Onuf** maintain that, like Russia’s Lenin, China’s Mao, and other revolutionary leaders inextricably linked with the histories of the states they founded, Thomas Jefferson continues to loom large in

United States civil culture. In their review of recent books about Jefferson by Conor Cruise O'Brien, Joseph Ellis, Pauline Maier, Andrew Burstein, and Annette Gordon-Reed and a recent documentary film by Ken Burns, they take stock of the third president's standing in American historical consciousness. A powerful tendency still exists, Lewis and Onuf contend, to make Jefferson the part that stands for the whole of United States history—to judge the nation by judging Jefferson. This "American synecdoche" is especially visible, they argue, in works like those of Burns, O'Brien, and Ellis, which make Jefferson's character the focus. And they believe it is implicit in studies that presume there is a pantheon of American heroes and ask whether Jefferson belongs in it. Lewis and Onuf conclude that books like those of Burstein and Gordon-Reed, which situate Jefferson in the cultural and social milieu of his time, offer a better approach to historians' understanding of American nationhood. Their essay thus not only offers an assessment of recent studies of Jefferson, it also raises more general questions about how historians understand the lives of great leaders.



Joyce Appleby

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The Power of History

JOYCE APPLEBY

WHEN I WAS A COLLEGE SOPHOMORE, about this same time of the year in 1948, I declared my major in history. That was fifty years ago. In this essay, I would like to draw on those years to discuss where we have been as a group of scholars and teachers and, more important, how we might enhance our influence upon our times. This may sound pretentious, but history has an enormous power, and we historians occupy a special relationship to it.

I don't think that ours is a time of particularly momentous changes. This old globe and the human race on it have been undergoing dramatic transformations for many, many centuries. It is the conceit of all contemporaries to think that theirs is a time of particularly momentous changes. I decline that option. Nor does the coming of the twenty-first century quicken millennial anticipations in me. Still, I am convinced that, in good times or bad, critical ones, transitional ones, or normal ones, history can help human beings think better, live more richly, and act more wisely.

I have quoted my favorite lines from Carl Becker at the end of many a talk, but in this essay I want to begin with them. Confronting his colleagues' adamant certitude about history's scientific foundations, Becker asserted that the value of history was not scientific but moral: "by liberalizing the mind, by deepening the sympathies, by fortifying the will, history," he claimed, "enables us to control, not society, but ourselves—a much more important thing; it prepares us to live more humanely in the present and to meet rather than to foretell the future."¹ We're certainly at home with that sentiment today, but between Becker's time and our own, there has been a succession of challenges to historical scholarship that has changed our fundamental way of thinking about the past and the human experience.

Becker made a critical observation about history's effect when he differentiated history's moral value from a scientific one: people do not need to understand scientific advances to benefit from them. They might have difficulty telling a microbe from a speck of dust, but they would recover from illness as long as their doctors knew the difference. The same could be said of social-scientific research on recidivism, or teenage pregnancy, or financial forecasting: those who benefit from the knowledge need not understand it. Not so with history. It must be a personal possession to do its work, and we who teach, exhibit, preserve, research, and write

I would like to thank Mary Corey and Ann Caylor for help at two critical moments in the preparation of this address.

¹ Carl Becker, *Dial* 59 (September 2, 1915): 148.

history have a responsibility that is measurably different from that of the scientist—we must make an intellectual connection with our audiences to have an impact.

Today, we confront a challenge strikingly different from that of Becker's time. The static in our conversation with the public comes not from an inappropriately positivistic view of history but from its very opposite—confusion about the nature of historical knowledge and the amount of credibility it deserves. Such confusion can well incite indifference, even antagonism. You can't learn what history has to impart if you start with a false idea of what history is and how historians—amateurs and professionals alike—acquire knowledge about the past. Even worse, without this understanding, you become susceptible to rumors of cultural warfare and academic conspiracies. Doubts about the validity of historical knowledge having been registered, they must be addressed.

I liken the public's consternation about historical knowledge to the epistemological crises that figure in a provocative article by Alasdair MacIntyre.² "Epistemological crisis" is a high-falutin' phrase for what happens inside our minds when a whole set of assumptions collapses, usually as the result of a startling discovery like the betrayal of a friend or corruption in a trusted institution. At that juncture, MacIntyre explains, we can grab a new set of assumptions as we would a life raft, or we can become more philosophical and reflect upon the relationship of all presuppositions to practical action. Clearly the latter, introspective response appeals to MacIntyre, prompting him to advance historical narratives as healers of the damage done, because a historical narrative enables the person—or the field—undergoing the epistemological crisis to explain why the original, faulty assumptions went wrong and then link that explanation to the deeper illumination of how those assumptions influenced action. A narrative that encompasses the sequential steps of unreflective belief, stunned disbelief, and more comprehensive understanding restores the value of human reasoning.

I think that much of the educated public is having an epistemological crisis about history. They may not be able to put the Thirty Years' War in the right century, but they have certainly heard about revisionism. They know that a subject whose very certainty bored them into the ground has suddenly begun to shake like the San Andreas Fault. Competing accounts of the Holocaust, arguments over the dropping of the atomic bomb, the appearance of Harriet Tubman in school textbooks, descriptions of the demographic disaster that followed Columbus's landfall in the New World, challenges to the frontier myth, not to mention talk of deconstruction and multiperspectivity, have led to a radical defamiliarizing of the past.

Historians, I believe, are an ideal group to undertake the task of explaining to the public how we got from facts to narratives. We are able to do this in part because the processes through which we reconstruct events are not so remote from everyday thinking. More pertinently, we have gone through a remarkable period of self-scrutiny that has made us acutely self-conscious of the conceptual underpinnings of history. We are now aware of the way that language, logic, and social prescriptions

² Alasdair MacIntyre, "Epistemological Crises, Dramatic Narratives, and the Philosophy of Science," *The Monist* 60 (1977): 453–71; rpt. in Gary Gutting, ed., *Paradigms and Revolutions* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1974).

affect our scholarship. We have examined our writings as craft, cultural artifact, and vehicle of power. Simple words like “representation,” “texts,” “interpretation,” “genres,” and “experience” have taken on Delphic overtones, as we have undergone our own version of an epistemological crisis. Not always comfortable, this working-over has raised consciousness along with ire, turning us into good navigators through choppy intellectual waters. This is what I want to talk about—the course we’ve recently traveled and how our reflective backward glance might be turned to account in a broader public discussion.

My story covers our discipline’s successive engagement, first with the new social history of the 1960s and 70s, then with the concept of the social construction of reality, and finally with the diffused influence of postmodernism. Different, yet overlapping in time and consequence, the effect of all three has marked a sharp departure from the approach to history I learned as an undergraduate fifty years ago. More important, as I develop in my conclusion, creating a historical narrative of our own epistemological crisis just might enable us to open the public to a history that simultaneously allows us to let go of ossified categories of thought, work through the political uses of the past, and gain a realistic appreciation of how we create knowledge.

To return for a moment to where I started in 1948: although Carl Becker’s skepticism about historical facts had been widely disseminated—notably, in his 1931 AHA presidential address, “Everyman His Own Historian”—when I went to school at mid-century, history texts were still confidently empirical and distinctly God-like with their 360-degree perspective and omniscient voice. Debunking was a favorite classroom entertainment, and, with the close attention given to politics and its ancillary topics of dynasties, elections, diplomacy, and war, there was much to debunk. No doubt, sophisticated heirs of Becker existed, but they weren’t grading my exams.

It was not until the late 1960s after I had received my PhD that I had my first bruising intimation of an epistemological crisis. It came through my husband. When I had returned to graduate school at age thirty-two, my professors had all been considerably older than I. The reverse was true when my husband began doctoral work six years later. All of his professors were much younger and filled with Young Turk élan. Eager to share his learning, he brought home news of something called a “model.”

“What’s a model?” I asked.

“Well, it’s the way of making precise your assumptions. You form a model of them.”

“Are historians going to start writing about models?”

“It’s not a subject; it’s a concept in your head.”

“Not in *my* head.”

To say that I was furious with this talk of models is to underestimate the anxiety of a freshly minted PhD sensing that she was already out of date, moored to a view of history charmingly compatible with saddle shoes and Sinatra swooners.

An essay by H. Stuart Hughes conveys a sense of the profession’s *Zeitgeist* in 1963 that I unwittingly reflected. A gem of conceptual clarification, “The Historian and the Social Scientist” is also a historical marker. Hughes had spent a year at the

Stanford Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and, with a convert's zeal, he set out to get historians to adopt some social-scientific techniques, among them model-building. Praising his colleagues for their splendid caution in rejecting the metahistories of Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, he hastened to point out that there were lower levels of generalization that historians were already using, implicit in such terms as "industrialization" or "education" or "revolution." Behind these, he suggested, were models—that word again—that they should make specific. He went on to describe quantitative methods—opinion surveys, sampling techniques, projective tests, content analysis, and scaling—that could introduce precision and analytical rigor to historical studies. Indeed, Hughes hoped that these arrows in the social-scientific quiver might fell the Hegelian dichotomies that historians favored, making room for gradations and continua.³

Social scientists had something else for historians. In their effort to develop larger and larger generalizations about behavior, they had generated hypotheses, lots of them lying ready for people with the empirical bent of historians to test: hypotheses about family formation, voting behavior, residential patterning, and electoral cycles. Historical evidence could be adduced to geographers' hypotheses about the concentric circles of city growth or sociologists' distinctions between sponsored and challenged mobility.

One can't help being amused (and amazed) at the gingerly fashion in which Hughes recommended the glories of schematization and testable hypotheses, knowing that a swarm of quantitative mavens was already poised to turn the discipline upside down with their statistical wizardry. We can figuratively imagine Hughes in 1963 quickly stepping out of the way to avoid the crush of graduate students rushing to their IBM punch cards. The work of these young quantifiers had immediate substantive, conceptual, and ideological effects. Historians' methods heretofore had focused on evidence, not data, concentrating on how to interrogate dead witnesses or determine the authenticity of documents. Never before, I think, had historians made explicit the assumptions undergirding their research or shown a preference for analysis over description. In doing both, social historians raised the consciousness of the entire discipline.

The objects of attention changed as well. For years, the traditional methods of historical scholarship had ruled out research on ordinary people. Then the synergy of computers and social-science techniques supplied the deficiency, proving the truth of Ernest Gombrich's quip that "where there's a way there's a will." It was, in fact, the possibility that something meaningful could be discovered about the unexceptional men and women of the past that stirred the investigative passion of doctoral candidates. Fueled by social curiosity, they strove for a comprehensive knowledge of a past, one in which, for example, Thomas Jefferson could be re-remembered surrounded by his daughters and grandchildren, the enslaved persons at Monticello, the poor farming families of Albemarle County, and the rank and file of voters who had made him president. Soon, the wonderment was how Jefferson and other eminent men had ever been detached from their lived

³ H. Stuart Hughes, "The Historian and the Social Scientist," in Alexander V. Riasanovsky and Barnes Riznik, eds., *Generalizations in Historical Writing* (Philadelphia, 1963), 30, 37, 47–49, 51.

experience, making us aware of how a particular convention in historical writing—now strange to us—had acquired a taken-for-granted naturalness.

The new social history swept all before it for a decade or more. Its practitioners were brash, bold, and a bit too overconfident of their capacity to refashion the historical record, but they delivered the goods—lots of them. They put out an “all points bulletin” for missing persons from the past and soon had a squad room full of raffish characters pressing to get into the history books. With a crowd of new figures—working wives, rebellious slaves, despairing immigrants, striking laborers—clamoring for attention, it soon became clear that, much like uninvited guests at a party, they weren’t going to fit in. It wasn’t just that the newly researched subjects weren’t dressed properly, they also gave evidence of cherishing values inimicable to the ones featured in the familiar account of the nation’s steady advance towards “liberty and justice for all.” Their lives couldn’t be folded into old stories, because the old story line was too simple in its linear development, too naïve in its celebration of individual achievement, too complacent in its insistence upon common national values.

The ideological fallout from longitudinal studies took people unawares. Investigating the behavior of groups, social historians came up with group results! They reported their findings through norms, modes, and standard deviations. Quantitative analysis inevitably uncovers patterns, systems, and processes. From these artifacts of research, it was but a short step to the conclusion that the great bulk of American lives had been constrained by such impersonal forces as resource endowments, capital investments, racial preferences, and categorical mistakes like thinking it was natural for women to stay at home. With long-run data sets recorded, scaled, analyzed, and compared, American history acquired what had always been rigorously denied—a structure. And there were many structures—affecting education, marriage, longevity, mobility, and opportunity in the American past.

Old forms that had stultified research initiatives could now be breached. One could study slaves as well as slavery, immigrants rather than immigration, laborers, not just unions, and women other than eminent females. While it is true that statistics can imply structures without ever proving their existence, in this case the statistics acted like a lever, moving the historical imagination right off its individualistic axis. Literally an embarrassment of riches, documentation of the lives of women, workers, farmers, enslaved persons, and Native Americans revealed a disquieting connection between history and national identity. The nation depended on and expected a tale of social advance, but there wasn’t enough success in the fresh stories to merge them seamlessly into this established narrative. Incorporating the new scholarship into the old posed more than a challenge to synthesizing skills, it forced a recognition of the powerful pull of what we might call the metahistory of the country’s material and moral progress.

The new social history, with its unsung heroes and documented diversity, had dug into the American psyche like a dental hygienist and found a sore spot. What had happened to the indisputable facts that had tied the American past to a progressive future? Why wasn’t that old social alchemy that had turned diverse ethnic heritages into a unified culture still working? As the anguished cries about the fragmentation

of American history bounced off the walls of classrooms and filled newspaper op-ed pages, a question insistently pushed itself to the fore—"What lay behind the calls for a unitary history?"

Historiographical forces are no more unidirectional than history itself. Although steering in a different direction, the new social history actually reinforced the positivist outlook that Carl Becker had mocked, despite the ideological havoc it had wreaked, for it had produced a wealth of facts. Moreover, its statistics—arrived at after years of painstaking effort—were often presented standing on their own, as though career patterns, family formation, or voting behavior explained themselves. Without making an effort to discover the human activity behind the statistic, scholars ran the risk of naturalizing existing social arrangements, or they conferred an unthinking legitimacy on the status quo by ignoring the power relations that had produced the pattern. The genuine delight at so many new empirical findings threatened to return history to a new kind of fact mongering.

Moving from information about ordinary people to an understanding of what all this data meant proved difficult as well. Since readers still wanted to know why people acted as they did, tropes from the old national story line were invoked to do the work of interpretation. Occupational mobility was good; immigrant groups that saved for their children's education were more American than those that pooled family wages to buy houses; voting that presaged party formation contributed to the nation's political progress.⁴ Some practitioners spoke dismissively of "literary evidence" and demeaned studies lacking a quantitative underpinning with a new pejorative, "impressionistic," but, as is so often the case with history, those topics that had been shoved aside profited from their neglect.

Social history settled into middle age, its disruptive potential spent by the late 1970s, while that old elitist inquiry, intellectual history—transmogrified into the history of *mentalités* and ideologies—emerged with born-again vitality. Ideology, as a term, lost its Marxist provenance and became the organizing concept for a fresh look at the connection between belief and behavior, rhetoric and reality. In contrast to formal systems of thought, ideologies were seen as mobilizing the emotions while structuring the opinions that generated aversions, enthusiasms, commitments, and prejudices. In its retrofitted form, the concept of ideology enabled scholars to talk about thinking as a social activity. When first applied by historians of the United States to this country's nation-building acts of colonial resistance, revolution, constitution-writing, and party founding, it revitalized political history. Like the new social history, the "Republic Revision" of the 1960s directly challenged the venerable assumption that America had been born free, rich, and modern.⁵

Ideology soon became the political subset of a more profound historical inquiry that began with the assertion that our sense of reality is socially constructed.⁶

⁴ James Henretta, "The Study of Social Mobility: Ideological Assumptions and Conceptual Bias," *Labor History* 18 (1977): 165–78.

⁵ Daniel T. Rodgers, "Republicanism: The Career of a Concept," *Journal of American History* 92 (June 1992): 11–38.

⁶ Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, 1967); Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York, 1966); Joyce Appleby, "Republicanism and Ideology," *American Quarterly* (Fall 1985): 1–13.

Moving well beyond an appreciation of context, those who began studying under this new influence asserted that our sense of reality itself is socially constructed. This in turn led to a sequence of intensifying questions that has yet to find a resting place. Where earlier disembodied ideas like liberty and class had held sway, now a rather disembodied society became the matrix for cognition and understanding. Society, in this view, shaped human consciousness, so that any particular structuring of consciousness could be studied as a historical precipitate.

The social dynamics of scientific discovery were made accessible in Thomas Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, a book that became something of a social force itself.⁷ The power of society to bend nature to its ends focused the insights undergirding women's studies, changing the referent of "gender" from a grammatical classification to the cultural elaboration of being female. Soon followed the social construction of disease, of deviance, of experience, of the sacred, and most dramatic, of the subject—that subject, the essential thinking man, that once verified existence for Descartes.⁸ Scholars began to talk about context as more than an amalgam of economic and social qualities, stressing the persuasive power of "paradigms," a word whose brushfire, spread through the groves of academe, gave evidence of a paradigm shift in the making.

Despite the heavy emphasis now laid upon society, the great German sociologist Max Weber had actually given a psychological underpinning to the idea of the social construction of reality. All human beings, Weber maintained, had an "inner necessity to comprehend the world as a meaningful cosmos and to know what attitude to take before it." Following this lead, Peter Berger claimed that the "human craving for meaning has the force of instinct."⁹ The concept of the social construction of reality thus presumed a human longing that society met with its repertoire of myths, sciences, laws, art, and literature—an arresting proposition that, someday, someone ought to test.

The muted discussions of such ideas in the 1970s was soon drowned out by the din that Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida created in the 1980s. Foucault elaborated a new theory of historical development that replaced the cherished modern mover, the autonomous man, with the postmodern specter of omniscient society exercising a diffuse and pervasive power through discourse.¹⁰ More specifically, Foucault scrutinized the mechanisms through which force had been asserted in the modern period, swooping up the scientific revolution, the market, humanitarian reform, and the communication system based on print into one conglomerate of social authority. He searched through history for the hidden organizers of consciousness, the discursive imperatives that controlled both reflection and action. At the same time, he found in the study of the past significant clues about the way that new techniques like solitary confinement or the Catholic confessional restruc-

⁷ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962).

⁸ Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991): 773–97.

⁹ Norman Birnbaum, "Conflicting Interpretations of the Rise of Capitalism: Marx and Weber," *British Journal of Sociology* 4 (1953): 134; Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York, 1967), as quoted in Rhys Isaac, "Order and Growth, Authority and Meaning in Colonial New England," *AHR* 76 (June 1971): 730.

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, Richard Howard, trans. (1965; New York, 1973); *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York, 1970); *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1978).

tured social thinking. What gave Foucault's ideas their sharp edge was his profound skepticism about all the categories of modern thought—the state, nature, the individual, rationality. For him, they became discursive objects to talk about, but they were never to be given the status of a foundation or an origin. And the social power that intrigued him came not from the men with the bayonets and batons but from us, the ordinary and unthinking users of those discourses of everyday life that distribute prestige, contempt, justification, and authority.

An even more radical skeptic than Foucault, Derrida has concentrated his fire upon the realist assumptions embedded in the Western conviction that words could represent reality. Equally suspect to him were the invidious dichotomies of white/colored, male/female, real/fictitious, sickness/health, sacred/profane.¹¹ Despite the overt commitment to rationality, writings in the Western tradition, he has said, can always be found undermining these categories because they were not, in actuality, opposites that explained the world but elements within a hermeneutic system. The deconstruction of texts—Derrida's perverse method of reading from the margins—offered a way of penetrating the silences and contradictions in texts, but one without the hope of a final interpretation, because texts, for him, act more like a pinball machine than a safe deposit box. The slipperiness of words and the unconscious intentions of word users leave all texts open to successive readings. We can see the cherished clarity of philosophers disappear, wrapped in a fog of linguistic ambiguity. Gone, too, is the raw encounter with reality celebrated by the Enlightenment. In had come the insidious instruction of society, interpreting the world before we discovered it on our own, categorizing and codifying, honoring and disparaging, naming and organizing.

It is in this sense that postmodernists have applied the word “textuality” to everything that exists. Everything is a text because everything has been socially rendered. We speak of a particular mountain, and we evoke the multiple mountain discourses from Mount Sinai through plate tectonics. Textuality, for the postmodernists, explains far more than written documents. It is a synonym for interpretation, that powerful social instructor. They see language, both in its structure and its specificity, as the means (or magic) through which human beings confer meaning on a meaningless world. While “death of the author” statements raised eyebrows, the larger point sunk in: the author's identity is not as helpful in determining how a work acquires sense as is a knowledge of the protocols, rules, and discursive conventions that enable an author to mean something in the first place. Postmodernists have completed the job of placing culture where once stood nature, as the primordial force in human existence.

The postmodern imagination in historical studies followed the new social history into the margins of life: the neglected, silenced, eccentric, and transgressive.¹² In these interstices of the historically significant, postmodernists have traced the

¹¹ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, Gayatri Spivak, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1976).

¹² Pauline Rosenau, in *Postmodernism and the Social Sciences* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 8, summarized their topics memorably as: “what has been neglected . . . the forgotten, the irrational, the insignificant, the repressed, the borderline, the classical, the sacred, the traditional, the eccentric, the sublimated, the subjugated, the rejected, the nonessential, the marginal, the peripheral, the excluded, the tenuous, the silenced, the accidental, the dispersed, the disqualified, the deferred, the disjointed—all that which the modern age has never cared to understand in any particular detail, with any sort of specificity.”

elusive way that culture serves power. We should accord the movement great respect for turning our attention to the silent workings of human expression and alerting us to the dense intermingling of interpretation and object in language. Stressing the dispersal of authority through multiple levels of social interaction, they have, however, been less successful in linking power to any identifiable group. And their contention that it is always power that creates knowledge, not vice versa, ignores the efficacy of Western technology at some risk of credibility.

Flexing a considerable amount of their own social power, postmodernists have rearranged our conceptual furniture and given members of the rising generation a dazzling lexical wardrobe with which to clothe their prose. Their analyses of discourse, language, rhetoric, subjectivity, and intertextuality have carried us to the spot where imagination and expression encounter the physicality of the world. Even their use of confrontational oxymorons and ear-shattering neologisms have helped in their enterprise, implicitly mocking the clear and distinct idea of the impartial, reasoning man.

Every scholarly movement produces its own waifs. In social history and postmodernist cultural studies, it has been agency. Like all functional inquiries, these have examined the replication of thought and behavior more effectively than they have the introduction of innovations. They have pinpointed how cultural systems of representation and communication perform but not why they lose appeal or even take a different turn. To discuss why a discourse no longer satisfies the living would involve us in the interaction of people with their texts and compel us to look at what happens when the texts that constitute reality are challenged by realities outside of them, such as the joining of the Old and New World. The shift of historical focus from society to culture holds the promise—as yet unfulfilled—of examining the mechanisms through which social power is exercised. As Karl Polanyi remarked years ago, the fact that a ruling class wishes to rule is an insufficient explanation for their success: “the fate of classes will be much more determined by the needs of society than the fate of society is determined by the needs of classes.”¹³ The same can be said of discourses.

Historians’ recent self-scrutiny has also been informed by some arresting outside critiques of our intellectual practices. Particularly resonant has been Edward Said’s exploration in *Orientalism* of how Westerners have dealt with those people whom they encountered during a long career of global exploration and military conquest.¹⁴ Said’s work has inspired an examination of how “the other” has been turned into an essentialized object in Western literature. Partha Chatterjee and Ashis Nandy have analyzed Western culture from the perspective of the perceiving “other.” Nandy finds disturbing the American self-image as “a model for the rest of the world, a haven where the poor, the powerless and the discarded of other lands have come and remade their lives voluntarily and produced a culture that now makes transcultural sense.” It is “the power of . . . the displaced, the decultured and/or recultured,” Nandy writes, “and the public values that can survive in such a society of the uprooted which dominates the global cultural order today.” But, far from praising this life form of the refugee, Nandy fears its invasive presence and its

¹³ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (New York, 1944), 152–53.

¹⁴ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

alluring mishmash of secularism, Baconian rationality, and incessant, mindless development. Such a culture, he cautions, ensures the decline of community and “the reduction of the person to a fully autonomous, unencumbered individual.”¹⁵ Having an enormous partiality for the “fully autonomous individual,” I had to read that several times before I grasped its import.

Eastern critics have been particularly astute in assessing how history has shaped Western consciousness. Viewed in the West as a universal form of inquiry, history appears to them as the normalizer of rapid change and a medium of evangelical nationalism. As Prasenjit Duara has explained, Westerners have naturalized the nation-state, making it the container for the experiences of the past. People in the West, he points out, learn history in order to become members of their society: “It is designed to instill pride and/or vengeance for the nation, not to understand the grammar that could question its categories.” History teaching is identity formation.¹⁶ William McNeill has made a similar point. History “got into the classroom,” he reminds us, “to make nations out of peasants, out of localities, out of the human raw material that existed in the countries of Europe and in the not so very United States as well.”¹⁷ Initially tied to the concept of civilization, history glided like a tango dancer into the service of Western nations as they began their ascent to world power.

Thinkers outside the West have helped us see how deeply embedded our categories of thought are in a narrative about human experience that begins with Adam and winds through Adam Smith. Part propaganda and part whistling through the cemetery, national histories have been uniformly proleptic, not just explaining change but also proselytizing for it. They animated the past with anticipation of things to come, like industrialization, the nation-state, democracy—robbing these developments of their contingent origins. Our histories have also served as the authoritative documents for judging those people without history.¹⁸ Treating European history as a universal process, they hypostatized a time line for the human race that turned “backward” into an awesome term.

While Easterners like Nandy wish to emphasize the idiosyncrasy of the West in order to nurture alternative discourses, for us their insights pry loose vestigial assumptions. To naturalize economic developments, for instance, is to move the topic out of the domain of politics and deliver it to science, just as a naturalized “rational chooser” belongs not to a moral order but to a type of analysis in the social sciences. To stand outside of the filiation of history and the nation-state in 1998 is not to disparage it but, rather, to get some purchase on the powerful presuppositions that have shaped our thinking. American historical writing has played no small

¹⁵ Ashis Nandy, “Themes of State, History, and Exile in South Asian Politics: Modernity and the Landscape of Clandestine and Incommunicable Selves,” *Emergencies*, nos. 7–8 (1995–96): 109–14.

¹⁶ Prasenjit Duara, “Why Is History Anti-Theoretical?” Paper presented at the symposium “Theory and Practice in Modern Chinese Research History,” at the Center for Chinese Studies, UCLA, May 10, 1997, quoted with permission, to be published in *Modern China* (April 1998). See also Duara, “Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China, 1900–1945,” *AHR* 102 (October 1997): 1032.

¹⁷ William H. McNeill, Symposium at the Library of Congress, March 1–2, 1996, as reported in *Occasional Papers of the National Council for History Education, Inc.* (September 1996): 1.

¹⁸ Vinay Lal, “On the Perils of Historical Thinking: The Case, Puzzling as Usual, of India,” *Journal of Commonwealth and Post-colonial Studies* 3 (Fall 1995): 79–112.

part in the creation of “the American people.” It may once have been important to construe the nation as the holder of the collective experience for our “imagined” community, but the trope carries too much baggage to persist.¹⁹ The identity politics of our day have emerged precisely in reaction to the claims of the nation to represent a homogenized people. The challenge now is to think ourselves outside those old categories, not in order to weaken the country to which we give our political allegiance but to free ourselves from a kind of intellectual bondage.

To return to my original proposition that history has a compelling role to play in contemporary debates: I do not suggest that we sally forth to perplex the public with the conceptual conundrums of postmodernism. Rather, I want us to do what historians do very well—act as translators. Indeed, we might even say that we have been cultural translators all along, immersing ourselves in that past that is a foreign country in order to sustain our connection to it. We could minister to the confusion and cynicism rampant today by explaining to our audiences how curiosity, interpretation, and culture form the interacting nexus of all knowledge.

There is a pervasive notion abroad in the land that, somehow, the past lingers on to force the hand of those who reconstruct it. Yet we know that the past as a series of events is utterly gone; only its consequences have infiltrated the present. Some remnants remain like litter from a picnic, but these material leftovers never speak for themselves. In fact, they are inert traces until someone asks a question that turns them into evidence. We need to converse about the vital connection of curiosity and inquiry in scholarship, because one effect of the attacks on Western knowledge has been to popularize a skepticism detached from its critical roots. Ours is a knowledge-dependent society, yet people are quick to believe that knowledge changes in arbitrary ways, even that cabals of like-minded academics exist to poison the well of truth. We live in an age without consensus, where, paradoxically, men and women all over the world are gravitating to the same opinions. History can minister to both perplexities, not only by preserving the endangered diversity of the human experience but also by nurturing an understanding of how learned opinions are formed. Whether we meet our audience gathered in the classroom, at museum exhibits, reading our books, or in public forums, we need to offer an alternative to cynicism by making accessible how we reconstruct the past. And since our work is similar to the construction of all knowledge, learning how historical truths are put forward and tested possesses a protean utility.

We should explain the relation of facts to interpretations. Carl Becker said that historians didn’t stick to the facts, the facts stuck to the historians. Yet many of our critics devoutly believe that we could stay out of trouble by sticking to facts—like Julius Caesar’s indubitable crossing of the Rubicon. But facts will satisfy neither them nor us. Thousands of people crossed the Rubicon every day; we stick to the fact of Caesar’s passage because it is tied to an interpretation of the Roman Empire.²⁰

The public is peculiarly nostalgic about historical knowledge and thus repeatedly

¹⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

²⁰ Carl Lotus Becker, “What Are Historical Facts,” *Detachment and the Writing of History: Essays and Letters of Carl L. Becker*, Phil L. Snyder, ed. (Westport, Conn., 1972).

horrified when historians disturb prior accounts of an event. California textbooks have recently been revised to tell a different story about the Franciscan missionaries and the indigenous people they sought to Christianize, one that describes the effect of the diseases that the friars unknowingly carried north with them. Behind this revision is an active Native American movement and years of painstaking research and scholarly debate about the demographic dynamics set off when Europeans, Africans, and Asians intermingled with native Americans. A compelling instance of power as knowledge and knowledge as power, the new histories are sure to provoke controversy.

We recognize that curiosity drives research, but we are less certain what drives curiosity. There is much about the past that we do not know and will not know until someone asks a question that leads to that particular patch of material remains. We need to explain that historical knowledge, like all knowledge, is revised because of the new questions driving new research. The same public that hates and fears historical revisions rarely laments revisions in chemistry or medicine, which, like those in history, are the result of further investigations, a point that needs sharpening in public.

We could also make more salient the embeddedness of history in the present. A paradox at first glance, the sparking of research by the currency of curiosity makes sense once one gives up the notion that historians operate like vacuum cleaners, sucking up scraps from the past for later assembling. Our common experience with memory helps to correct this impression. We know that things have happened in our lives; we know that we retain a selective memory of them and, further, that different questions can force us to recover what had been forgotten and hence to view the whole from a different angle of vision. If we can close the door on the popular view of history as an uninterpreted body of facts, we can open it to the infinitely more interesting issue of how questions lead to knowledge through the mediating filter of culture.

History is powerful because we live with its residues, its remnants, its remainders and reminders. Moreover, by studying societies unlike our own, we counteract the chronocentrism that blinkers contemporary vision. That's why we cannot abandon intellectual rigor or devalue accuracy. History has an irreducible positivistic element, for its subject is real, even if that reality is evanescent and dependent upon texts. Historical writing creates objects for our thoughts, making audible what had become inaudible, extracting latent information from the objects that men and women have constructed. This materiality of historical evidence does restrain us. Imagine a willful forgetting of the Holocaust had the Nazis won World War II. Eventually, someone would have picked up the trail of clues or stumbled over the contradictions in the documents created by the victors. Texts would then replace texts, but the impetus for the change would have come from the past itself, just as scholars reconstructing the succession of post-Columbian demographic disasters had lots of evidence to go on, once their curiosity had turned in that direction. The concreteness of history is what gives it the power to compel attention, to stretch imaginations, and to change minds.

Yet historians have altered their approaches to the past. We can take the case of the United States. During the nineteenth century, most American history was

compensatory, giving to the people an account that justified the country's egregious differences: its relative egalitarianism in a world where privilege was still associated with excellence, its democratic politics in an international order of belligerent monarchies, its heterogeneity at a time when the ideal of a country was to have one faith, one tongue, one ruler, and one set of presumptive ancestors. American history turned the nation's deficits into assets.

This account changed abruptly in the twentieth century when historians took on the role of social critics, reexamining the founding era. In *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, Charles Beard dragged the Founding Fathers from their pedestals so that their now-demonstrated human frailty might justify new flexibility in interpreting the Constitution. Following Beard's lead, historians located interest-group politics in every subsequent era. Over time, the Progressives' fascination with class struggles merged with the 1960s search for neglected Americans. Admirable as this work has been, it has had the effect of prolonging the life of the Progressive paradigm, the earlier summons to muckraking finding an echo in the battle cry of "race, class, and gender."

An enduring legacy of the Progressives' reforming impulse has been that few historians have felt comfortable showing capitalism in a favorable light or even in approaching it as a cultural phenomenon of enormous range and fecundity. Far more often, capital and capitalists appear as shadowy presences or, worse, as emblems of human rapacity. Despite capitalism being the driving force behind Western modernity, scholars have often treated its origins as exogenous, its effects as testimony to mankind's post-lapsarian condition. From studies of primitive accumulation to those on advertising-induced consuming tastes, capitalism has been treated as an imposition from outside, disconnected from its cultural roots. Having spent a good part of my life thinking about the human possibilities disclosed by the market economy, I have become convinced that this consensual rendering of market relations has constricted our capacity to understand the most remarkable organization of human talent in history. The loss is not moral but intellectual—the dozens of research agendas not pursued, not even conceived because of a reigning ideology.

The complexity of historians' response to capitalism cannot be laid entirely at the door of an outdated paradigm. There's more to it than that. As R. N. Carew Hunt noted long ago, "for nearly two thousand years European civilization has rested upon a contradiction—between a philosophy and a religion which teach that all men are brothers, and an economic system which organises them as masters and servants."²¹ In the United States, this contradiction became more acute because of the emphasis placed upon political equality. Looking askance at the European system of inherited status, early nineteenth-century Americans frequently assumed that economic freedom and political freedom would be mutually enhancing. These quasi-utopian hopes led to inevitable disappointment. And there was much to be disappointed about.

A hundred and fifty years ago, historians exalted the nation's commercial values as proof of democratic vigor; since the Progressives, they have focused more upon

²¹ R. N. Carew Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism* (New York, 1951), 3.

those groups that failed to benefit from a profit-driven economy. Perhaps now, as the twentieth century closes, we may be ready to explore the social complexity of our entrepreneurial system while shedding the celebratory and compensatory burdens of our predecessors.

The power of history is liberating. The last four decades have demonstrated this, if proof be needed. First, social historians located and analyzed groups that had been ignored by historians. Then investigations of ideologies and paradigms, followed by postmodernist critique and cultural studies, plumbed the depths of society's shaping hand in organizing human consciousness through models, discourses, and language's insinuating codes. Today, as teachers, exhibitors, preservers, and researchers of the past, we have been forced to think through the acts of appropriation and remembrance. We can no longer plead ignorance of their effects. We're now self-conscious about our assumptions, our forms, our voices. If we can live with this indeterminacy, pursue its implications, contend over meaning, give repeated witness to the magnificence of the human effort to understand, and share these acts with the public, we can be certain that history—the quintessential Western discourse—will have no end.

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An Ottoman Occidentalizer in Europe: Ahmed Midhat Meets Madame Gülnar, 1889

CARTER VAUGHN FINDLEY

Truly it is a strange coincidence that two minds can be so compatible.¹

THE STRONG SHIFT OF THE LAST TWO DECADES from materialist to culturalist analyses of imperialism has foregrounded the processes by which Europeans sought to achieve cognitive mastery of the world and then bring external “reality” into line with those representations. Europeans constructed a new image of themselves, defined in opposition to images of an external Other, often identified with the “Orient,” starting with the end of the “Orient” they knew best: the Middle East and North Africa. Predominantly, what was at stake was not just Europeans’ cognitive control of the Orient or the colonial world generally but rather European elite males’ cognitive control of all their Others, domestic and foreign, as defined by gender, class, religion, ethnicity, or any combination of traits.²

The means to establish cognitive control was a system of alteritist discourse (discourse about Others), which suffused all forms of cultural production—writing and publication, the visual and performing arts, collection and exposition, and the ambiguously named “disciplines” that still structure universities. Now much

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¹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan* (Istanbul, 1307/1889–90), 779b. The book was originally serialized in his newspaper, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, and is printed in double columns the width of newspaper columns, designated in page references in this article by “a” (right) and “b” (left). Note: the dates of Ottoman publications cited in this article, unless otherwise indicated, refer to the lunar Islamic religious calendar, the *hijri* calendar. Some Ottoman sources give dates in the solar Ottoman financial calendar (*rumi* calendar). Both kinds of dates are followed by equivalents in the common international calendar. See n. 51 for more information on these calendars.

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979); Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993), 5, 60, 221; Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge, 1988); Irvin Cemil Schick, *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse* (forthcoming), 2–3, 37–39 (prepublication pagination); Patrick Wolfe, “History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism,” *AHR* 102 (April 1997): 408–09; Angela Woollacott, “‘All This Is the Empire, I Told Myself’: Australian Women’s Voyages ‘Home’ and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness,” *AHR* 102 (October 1997): 1006, 1019–21.

criticized, European alteritist thought of the era of imperialism was not altogether blameworthy. Orientalism, for example, produced still-valued contributions to scholarship, literature, and the arts.³ Yet the “representational violence” of some alteritist visions and their utility for asserting dominance and dependence are clear.⁴

The frequency of contradictions and exceptions among alteritist statements does not disprove, but rather reflects, the systematic operation of the “discursive formation” that produced those statements and their dispersion of meaning. The Other’s attributes were mutable and contradictory, but all consistently differentiated her or him from the Self. Moreover, the implicit equation among all Others induced an interchange of attributes, the results of which included a feminization and eroticization of the Orient. What held alteritism together was a dualistic epistemology, founded on ineluctable polarities—Self and Other, male and female, Europe and Orient—whose interaction engendered an exponential proliferation of disparate ideas and images.⁵ The evolutionism of nineteenth-century European thought made spatial and temporal remoteness two more interchangeable categories: Europe’s Other was also its past.⁶

While alteritist discourse has existed throughout history, nineteenth-century alteritism has especially fascinated recent scholars. The simultaneous acceleration of both technological advance and imperial expansion produced a rapid growth of techniques for ordering information and tangibly representing alteritist visions in ways that viewers expected to find borne out when they traveled to the places depicted. Not only museums and zoos but also congresses of scholars or diplomats and—most distinctive of the period—world’s fairs and exhibitions all asserted such visions and helped to establish their credibility. Inventions such as telegraphy and photography enhanced the effect of immediacy, while the railroad and steamship hastened travel between the “represented” and the “real.” The impact of the exhibitions began to wane after 1900; yet, for a time, the world came to be “experienced as though it were an exhibition.”⁷

Visitors from the “Orient” joined the throngs at the exhibitions. Their minds were surely more attuned to the European alteritism of their time, even though its assumptions of European superiority were degrading to them, than to such recent trends as anti-Orientalist criticism or the wider culturalist reanalysis of imperialism.

³ For example, Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 111–62 (Verdi’s *Aida*, Kipling’s *Kim*), 195: “This is not to denigrate the accomplishments of many Western scholars, historians, artists . . . whose . . . efforts in making known the world beyond Europe are a stunning achievement.” Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York, 1993), 99–118, esp. 101 defining scholarly orientalism; Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 98, influence of Indological scholarship on development of Indian historiography and nationalism.

⁴ Schick, *Erotic Margin*, 98.

⁵ Michel Foucault, *Archéologie du savoir* (Paris, 1969), 31–54, 74, 94–101 (the discursive formation, with dispersion and difference—rather than synthesis and unity—as characteristic); Schick, *Erotic Margin*, 54–56, 59 (“the copulation of clichés” [Nabokov]), 95–97, 161; Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), 67, 82; Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney, “Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the Expositions Universelles,” *Assemblage* 13 (1990): 55–56. As Schick points out, while some critics take the proliferation of conflicting statements to argue that the binarisms are reductionist, an alteritist discourse inherently has a dualistic foundation.

⁶ Schick, *Erotic Margin*, 66–73.

⁷ Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 32, 149, 172–73; Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World’s Fairs* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 181.

However, imperialist alteritism provoked manifold resistances at the time.⁸ With individual responses differentiated by all the variables that shape identity, visiting “Orientals” did not “simplistically appropriate” European models but rather “filtered” and reshaped them “according to self-visions and aspirations,” maintaining “critical distance.”⁹ These “resistant voices” must have gained strength—so this essay argues—from the contradictions of European alteritism. Not only that, but the congresses and exhibits provided settings where the visitors interacted, with consequences that the organizers could not foresee or control. All these considerations point toward the development of an Occidentalizer counter-discourse, which became an important component of anticolonial nationalism.¹⁰

One thoughtful observer who traveled from the Middle East to late nineteenth-century Europe was the Ottoman author Ahmed Midhat. His *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan* (A Tour in Europe, 1889) recounts his journey to a scholarly congress of orientalists in Stockholm and his subsequent travels, including a visit to the World Exhibition in Paris. Now largely forgotten but pivotal to his career, the book shows how two examples of “the world-as-exhibition” looked to a self-described Occidentalizer.¹¹ By contextualizing him in terms of recent scholarship on culture and imperialism, a study of his narrative may help to raise awareness of the importance of the late Ottoman Empire for the study of Occidentalism and of its larger context in anticolonial nationalism.

XIAOMEI CHEN ARGUES THAT although modern Chinese self-understanding had been “historically ‘contaminated’ and even constructed by cultural and cross-cultural appropriations,” Chinese thought was no “outpost of mindlessly replicated Western thought.” In China (and elsewhere), Orientalism was “accompanied by . . . *Occidentalism*, a discursive practice that, by constructing its Western Other, has allowed the Orient to participate actively and with indigenous creativity in the process of self-appropriation.” Significantly, Chinese Occidentalism assumed two distinct forms that served “strikingly different political ends.” One form empowered its

⁸ Gyan Prakash, “Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism,” *AHR* 99 (December 1994): 1475–90; Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, “World History in a Global Age,” *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1034–60; Pier M. Larson, “‘Capacities and Modes of Thinking’: Intellectual Engagements and Subaltern Hegemony in the Early History of Malagasy Christianity,” *AHR* 102 (October 1997): 995–1002.

⁹ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 11, 41–42, identifying these qualities with Osman Hamdi (1842–1910), the Paris-trained painter and director of the Antiquities Museum in Istanbul. He was one of Ahmed Midhat’s mentors, and the two traveled together from Istanbul to France: *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan*, 13a–14a, 23a–24b, 26b, 29a, 46a, 51a, 53b, 56b, 72a.

¹⁰ Xiaomei Chen, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* (New York, 1995). See also James G. Carrier, ed., *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (Oxford, 1995); Nasrin Rahimich, *Oriental Responses to the West: Comparative Essays in Select Writers from the Muslim World* (New York, 1990). I shall capitalize “Occidentalism” and “Orientalism” as names for two discursive formations; to mark the distinction. I shall not capitalize “orientalism” as the name of a scholarly discipline except where context or usage requires it.

¹¹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan*, 6a: *müstegrik* (orientalist), *müstagrîb* (here, occidentalizer). He used the term only once, to note the irony of his being sent to the orientalist congress; yet the term describes his career rather extensively: Orhan Okay, *Batı Medeniyeti Karşısında Ahmed Midhat* [A.M. Confronts Western Civilization] (1975; rpt. edn., Istanbul, 1991), hereafter, Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*.

proponents to dominate their own society. The other called for “political liberation against indigenous forms of ideological oppression.”¹²

Nineteenth-century Orientalism and Occidentalism both developed in “the world system of nation-states,” which sanctioned the nation-state as “the only legitimate expression of sovereignty,” while operating to deny realization of that form to all but a few societies outside Europe.¹³ The struggles of colonial or semi-colonial societies to overcome this condition have inspired the most stimulating recent work on nationalism. Prasenjit Duara has shown how the linear, teleological, Enlightenment model of history served to create “the false unity of a self-same, national subject evolving through time.”¹⁴ Interacting with the evolutionist thought of which Social Darwinism was only part, this model of history left behind its own retrospective dispersion of suppressed narratives, including critiques of the utopian vision of modernity, often expressed in terms of a defense of indigenous spirituality against occidental materialism.¹⁵

Partha Chatterjee, too, emphasizes that “anticolonial nationalism creates its own domain of sovereignty” within the colonial (or semi-colonial) society, well before it begins its overt struggle against imperialism. It does this by creating two domains—an outer, material domain and an inner, spiritual domain, in which it refuses intervention by outside powers. In the spiritual domain, “nationalism launches its most powerful, creative . . . project: to fashion a ‘modern’ national culture that is nevertheless not Western.” Much as European Orientalism was part of a larger, European elite males’ alteritist discourse, so, too, this cultural nationalism of colonial or semi-colonial societies formed part of the indigenous elite males’ discourse of alterity. Stimulating innovation in fields ranging from language to gender relations, anticolonial alteritism also aimed at cognitive control of all Others—both the dominant foreign and the subaltern domestic Others. Alongside a new patriarchy as the image of the indigenous elite male Self, for example, there emerged a concept of the “new woman,” whose education and attainment of a “superior national culture” entitled her to an expanded but still bounded domain of autonomy. With spiritual-material, male-female, and elite-subaltern dichotomies, Chatterjee argues, anticolonial nationalism remains trapped in “false essentialisms.”¹⁶ However, contemporaries found these binarisms meaningful, and they could interact to produce analytical frameworks that transcended mere binarism and had emancipatory potentials.

Recent scholarship on anticolonial nationalism, however, has not yet addressed the heterogeneity of colonial and semi-colonial societies.¹⁷ A case still unexamined

¹² Chen, *Occidentalism*, 4–5, 9.

¹³ Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, 1995), 8–9, 22, 69.

¹⁴ Duara, *Rescuing History*, 5, 65.

¹⁵ Duara, *Rescuing History*, 205 and following. The concept of discursive dispersion thus applies to Ahmed Midhat in two senses: first, his Occidentalism produced a dispersion of sometimes contradictory statements, rather than unity or consistency; second, his thought in general was eventually left behind by the linear historical narrative constructed for the nation-state, becoming part of its dispersion of rejected narratives.

¹⁶ Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 6–10, 127–28, 134; Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1986).

¹⁷ Wolfe, “History and Imperialism,” 418–20; Woollacott, “‘All This Is the Empire,’” 1003–29.

in the light of the theoretical works just discussed, the late Ottoman Empire vividly illustrates this heterogeneity. It was doubly imperial—not unique in that, but unique in its version of the problem.¹⁸ On the one hand, it remained a formally independent, multinational empire. On the other hand, it lost territory to separatist nationalisms and to great-power imperialism, and it slipped into economic and political dependence. Under the circumstances, Ottoman society produced a “segmented bourgeois class formation,” including an Ottoman-Muslim bureaucratic intelligentsia with vital interests in preserving and modernizing the empire, and an ethnically divided, non-Muslim commercial bourgeoisie that became identified with separatist nationalisms and dependent integration into the world economy.¹⁹ The Ottoman-Muslim intelligentsia propagated an oxymoronic Ottoman nationalism to try to hold the empire’s peoples together. This deferred the development of Turkish political nationalism, which might have corresponded better to the empire’s semi-colonial status but would have meant sacrificing the official elite’s imperial dream and its self-concept. The elite defined itself not by ethnicity but by state service and assimilation of the Ottoman-Islamic imperial culture. Over time, the Ottoman elites differed over redefinition of their collective identity and over choices between the Ottoman-Islamic and the Western. In general, they clung to Ottomanism as long as there was an empire to cling to and—as rulers of a partly European empire—became increasingly European-oriented.²⁰

By the time the empire’s terminal crisis (1908–1923) had ended, the Turkish republic and Turkish nationalism had emerged, and the construction of a linear historical narrative of a unitary, “self-same, national subject” had begun. Honoring two groups of political progressives, the Young Ottomans (1860s–1870s) and the Young Turks (1889–1918, in power only after 1908), this narrative created its own retrospective dispersion as it grew, leaving other figures in its wake as conservative or reactionary.²¹ Ahmed Midhat was exceptionally interested in fashioning a modern Ottoman culture that was “nevertheless not Western.” Yet he carved out most of his career between the suppression of the Young Ottomans and the triumph of the Young Turks, and he was at odds with both groups. The fact that his intricate and insightful Occidentalizer vision ended among the abandoned invites attention to him anew.

¹⁸ For example, Austria-Hungary and Russia were doubly imperial in the sense of being multinational empires that were honorary great powers but perhaps more nearly semi-peripheral in Wallersteinian terms. China was doubly imperial in being semi-colonized while also being a multinational empire, but with a very large Han Chinese majority and a non-Han, Manchu dynasty. Also semi-colonial, the multinational Ottoman Empire lacked China’s massive ethnic majority and was ruled not by Turks but by a cosmopolitan ruling class historically identified by service to the sultan and assimilation of the Ottoman-Islamic imperial culture, including the Ottoman-Turkish language, an originally artificial medium made up of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian.

¹⁹ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York, 1996), 3 and chaps. 2–3.

²⁰ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York, 1995), 7–10.

²¹ Hanioglu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, chaps. 2 and 9 on their *Weltanschauung*; review by Engin Akarlı, *Middle East Journal* 50 (1996): 607, questioning its unity; Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, N.J., 1962).

A MAN OF HUMBLE ORIGINS WHO ROSE BY HIS TALENTS, Ahmed Midhat (1844–1912) became a successful writer and publisher—a literary jack-of-all-trades. One Ottoman intellectual who was not actually an official, he personified an emerging Ottoman print capitalism.²² For years, he edited and largely wrote the newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (Interpreter of Truth). An unabashed popularizer and encyclopedist who often cribbed from European sources, he authored some 150 books of several genres, serializing most in his newspaper. Translations of European novels had appeared before, but he became the first Ottoman novelist.²³ Because widespread illiteracy still limited readership for works in Ottoman Turkish, he also wrote plays in order to reach a wider audience.²⁴

His works fed a keen hunger in a society where modern print media had developed only lately²⁵ and where contacts with the outside world were fast intensifying. He was not always a careful stylist, yet his best writing still appeals, and some of his novels are avant-garde in technique.²⁶ Once dubbed a “forty-horsepower writing machine,” he enjoyed a popularity comparable to Charles Dickens’s or Mark Twain’s.²⁷ Ahmed Midhat’s popularity partly derived from his exuberant nature and communitarian view of society.²⁸ It was hard to leave

²² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), 33–46. So prolific was Ahmed Midhat that he founded a printshop to publish his own works (1871). Johann Strauss, “Les livres et l’imprimerie à Istanbul (1800–1908),” in *Turquie: Livres d’hier, livres d’aujourd’hui*, Paul Dumont, ed. (Strasbourg and Istanbul, 1992), 11. See also Atatürk Library, Istanbul, Fatma Aliye Mss. 14/ . . . (unnumbered), Ahmed Midhat to Fatma Aliye, August 9, 1309 (*rumi*)/August 21, 1893: Ahmed Midhat had a special typesetter at the printshop just to print books of his that were *not* serialized in the newspaper.

²³ Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, xi, 349; Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel bir Bakış* [A Critical Look at the Turkish Novel] (Istanbul, 1987), 42–65; Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri* [Fathers and Sons: Epistemological Bases of the Tanzimat Novel] (Istanbul, 1990); Ahmet Ö. Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1983), 50; Robert P. Finn, *The Early Turkish Novel, 1872–1900* (Istanbul, 1984), 8; Johann Strauss, “Romanlar, ah! O romanlar! Les débuts de la lecture moderne dans l’Empire ottoman (1850–1900),” *Turcica* 26 (1994): 147, 149–51; Jitka Malečková, “Ludwig Büchner versus Nat Pinkerton: Turkish Translations from Western Languages, 1880–1914,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9 (1994): 73–99.

²⁴ İnci Enginün, *Ahmet Midhat Efendi’nin Tiyatroları* [A.M.’s Plays] (Istanbul, 1990), 2–3; Ahmed Midhat, *Menfa* [Exile] (Istanbul, 1293/1876), 66–67: referring to the Ottoman Empire in Social Darwinist terms as a place that had “not yet approached the highest level in civilization,” he estimated the number of Ottomans who could read with comprehension at one in ten and those who could “write something and explain what they had written” at one in three thousand, adding that a popular book might sell 1,500, or at most 2,500, copies over five years.

²⁵ Only 436 books were printed in Ottoman Turkish prior to 1876; Strauss, “Les livres et l’imprimerie,” 6. The first Ottoman newspaper, the official gazette, first appeared in 1831; the first privately owned Ottoman newspaper in 1840; Carter Vaughn Findley, “Knowledge and Education,” in *Modernization in the Middle East: The Ottoman Empire and Its Afro-Asian Successors*, Cyril E. Black and L. Carl Brown, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 141.

²⁶ Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 12; Finn, *Early Turkish Novel*, 14, 21; Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel*, 82; Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel bir Bakış*, 53–65; Parla, *Babalar*, 73, noting that Ahmed Midhat’s *Müşahadat* [Observations] (Istanbul, 1308/1890–91), an essay in literary naturalism, is both a meta-novel and a critical novel: he makes both the writing and the reading of the novel a part of the work, into which he introduces himself as a character.

²⁷ Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, “Ahmed Midhat Efendi,” in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* [expanded Turkish version of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*] (Istanbul, 1940–88), 1: 186.

²⁸ In keeping with Ottoman supranationalism, this vision took in both the household or neighborhood level and that of relations among the diverse communities of the multinational empire: Ahmed Midhat fraternized with Ottoman Greeks, Armenians, and Jews among his traveling companions: *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 14a–b, 51a, 58a–b, 62b, 1043a.

Istanbul, he said, because he was a father figure to sixty or seventy families with over three hundred members.²⁹

Collaborator and publicist of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909), Ahmed Midhat is easily branded a conservative, yet he had progressive traits. In contrast to the progressive ideologues who took constitutionalism as their “symbol of western modernity,” he—while sharing some of their positivistic and Social Darwinist ideas—believed social, economic, and cultural change should come first.³⁰ Not a religious conservative at all, on balance he favored westernization. Like many other Ottoman writers, he criticized excessive, superficial westernization, a danger personified in his works by playboys whose rootlessness brought them to bad ends.³¹ Much more than other writers, however, he examined both Ottoman and European cultures minutely to distinguish good and bad points in each.³² As a result, he advocated change in many domains, from table manners to social roles. While championing the “patriarchal life” of the Ottoman household, he became a pioneer author of books for and about children³³ and a precursor of change in gender relations.³⁴

²⁹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 11b. Later in Switzerland (886b), he responded to the idea of going up into the mountains by making a similar point with a word play on his name: he was not a coward, but he was no longer his own *Midhat* because he was the father of a large family and the scribe and servant of a people who needed the service (*hidmet*) of his pen.

³⁰ Hanioglu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 27–28, 31–32 (constitutionalism as symbol of modernity), 96; Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal, 1964), 281–86, an excellent short appreciation of Ahmed Midhat in English; Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 7–13, 111; Ahmed Midhat, *Sevda-yı Say-ü-Amel* [Passion for Effort and Labor, his translation for *l'amour du travail*] (Istanbul, 1296/1879), 4–6, 13, 18–21, 45, promoting this spirit of enterprise in contrast to the ideologues' call for “love of fatherland and freedom” (*sevda-yı vatan-u-hürriyet*); François Georgeon, “L'économie politique selon Ahmed Midhat,” in *Première rencontre internationale sur l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie moderne*, Edhem Eldem, ed. (Istanbul, 1991), 464–65, 469–79, also identifies Ahmed Midhat as precursor of the protectionist “national economy” policy, as opposed to the conventional economic liberalism of the day.

³¹ Şerif Mardin, “Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*, Peter Benedict, Erol Tümer, and Fatma Mansur, eds. (Leiden, 1974), 403–46.

³² Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 7–9, 29, 408.

³³ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 769b (using the French phrase *vie patriarcale*, transcribed into Arabic letters); Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 226–34; Handan İnci, “Ahmet Midhat Efendi ve Çocuk Terbiyesi” [A.M. and Child Education], *Türk Dili*, no. 521 (May 1995): 577–89.

³⁴ It was still early to expect a fully developed feminism among Ottoman writers, although the women's press dates as far back as 1868: Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* [The Ottoman Women's Movement] (Istanbul, 1994), 22–42; see also Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven, Conn., 1994), for similar but slightly later developments in Egypt. While Ahmed Midhat's position on women had ambiguities, he was not the kind of westernizer whose “feminism” mimicked European attacks on Islam; see Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven, 1992), 152–64, critique of Egypt's Qāsim Amīn. Ahmed Midhat defended veiling and Islamic criteria of chaste behavior but advocated enlarged possibilities for women; see Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 159–234; Hakkı Tarık Üs, ed., *Ahmet Midhat Efendi ile Şair Fitnat Hanım* (Istanbul, 1948), his correspondence with the woman poet Fitnat; Ahmed Midhat, *Fatma Aliye Hanım, yahut bir Muharrire-i Osmaniyenin Neş'eti* (Istanbul, 1311/1893–94), republished in modern Turkish as *Fatma Aliye: Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarın Doğuşu*, Bedia Ermat, ed. (Istanbul, 1994), his biography of the first important Ottoman woman novelist, his protégée; Carter Vaughn Findley, “La soumise, la subversive: Fatma Aliye, romancière et féministe,” *Turcica* 27 (1995): 153–76. Ahmed Midhat was polygamous, but his second marriage was of a kind that led some progressive Ottomans to defend polygyny. Having written a novel, *Henüz Onyediyi Yaşında* [Still Only Seventeen] (Istanbul, 1298/1881), about prostitution, he contracted his second marriage in 1884 with a Greek prostitute, thus rehabilitating her (Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 203, 345). He alludes to his dual *harem* only once (*Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 816b), yet it helps explain his attitude toward fallen women in Europe.

To publish in Istanbul during this period, authors had to know how to get past the censors. They had to praise the sultan as the patron of learning, as Ahmed Midhat often did.³⁵ They also had to avoid many topics. Most politics was off limits, but left open were many social issues, which Ahmed Midhat found highly congenial. Given the parallelism between patrimonial sultanate and patriarchal family, a discussion of familial and gender relations was becoming a proxy for political debate in this period, a fact whose implications the censors seemingly failed to realize.³⁶ Ahmed Midhat's book reads in part as an early contribution to this debate by proxy.

The reign of Abdülhamid combined censorship and repression with rapid growth in publishing and diffusion of new ideas—a paradox that no one embodied better than Ahmed Midhat.

AHMED MIDHAT FOUND THAT ONE FRUIT OF THE SULTAN'S FAVOR was his selection to represent the Ottoman Empire at the Eighth Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm. He spent seventy-one days in Europe, visited the Exposition Universelle in Paris and other sites, and then wrote a book that opened a new phase in his career.

He had published books since 1870, a major goal always being to make Europe known to the Ottomans.³⁷ His earlier books had been "mental journeys" based on reading, however, while this thousand-page travel narrative recounted a "real journey."³⁸ Not a journey to an unknown country by one who had no idea what to do there, his European tour was a "transition from the imaginary to the real."³⁹ Although it is ironic that the route from his imagined Europe to the "real" one led to such alteritist representations as the orientalist congress and world exhibition, Ahmed Midhat in effect parried the irony by approaching Europe with the same expectations Europeans had of finding their prior representations borne out when they traveled to the "real Orient."

Behind Ahmed Midhat stood a centuries-long tradition of Ottoman travel writing, but we would not know it from this book. Few such works had been published by 1889, and he does not cite them. To the contrary, to increase his own importance, he has a learned Ottoman agree that this will be the first travel book to "make Europe known to the Ottomans."⁴⁰ The works with which Ahmed Midhat

³⁵ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 7b, 125a–b, 215b–216a, 445b–47b; Strauss, "Les livres et l'imprimerie," 22.

³⁶ Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940* (Cambridge, 1991), 7–8, 87–88, 194–238; Zafer Toprak, "The Family, Feminism, and the State during the Young Turk Period, 1908–1918," in Eldem, *Première rencontre internationale sur l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie moderne*, 441–52; Strauss, "Les livres et l'imprimerie," 23; Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 27; Findley, "La soumise," 175; Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "The Persian Gaze and Women of the Occident," *South Asia Bulletin* 11 (1991): 23, "[Iranian] travelers . . . focused their attention on women because for them, the public appearance and behavior of European women symbolized a different order of politics and gender relations."

³⁷ Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 409–13, his bibliography.

³⁸ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 2b–3b: *seyahat-ı fikriye* and *seyahat-ı hakikiye*, respectively.

³⁹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 4b: *hayalilikten hakikiliğe intikal*; Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 29–30.

⁴⁰ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 1004a. This may have been feigned ignorance to ward off the censors or to avoid publicizing other writers' books. See also Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York, 1982); Sinan Kunalalp, "Les Ottomans à la découverte de l'Europe: Récits de

compared his travel account were not other writers' travel books but his own earlier works, the purpose being to prove his authority.⁴¹ Ahmed Midhat stated that he would speak only from observation and not swell his book with things from guidebooks. In fact, compilation, a method used by earlier Ottoman travel writers, was essential for his fast-paced encyclopedism.⁴² After recounting each day's outings, he added write-ups about major tourist sites, cribbed from guidebooks or similar sources. Arrival at a new city always called for a potted history.⁴³ Still, he presented his trip as a research project, in which he sought to proceed as disinterestedly as if he had come to earth from another planet.⁴⁴ His positivistic faith in impartiality expresses the confidence of the era that believed a photograph captured reality or that an exhibition displayed the world.

If Ahmed Midhat's "Tour in Europe" resulted in part from pedestrian information-gathering and writing strategies, this did not preclude his pursuing ambitious literary ends. His artistry becomes clear from the way he combined translation and compilation with descriptive and novelistic passages including moments of rhetorical eloquence, dialogue, stage setting, and character development. Beyond that, two traits of the travel book stand out.

Near the end of the book, Ahmed Midhat recounts a discussion in which the noted statesman and intellectual Sadullah Paşa, Ottoman ambassador in Vienna, proposed evaluating Europe's progress in terms of "material" and "moral." Attribution to Sadullah gives this idea distinguished provenance.⁴⁵ Yet Ahmed Midhat had already made it his leitmotif, developing it in much earlier discussions. One reason for this may have been that the moral-material duality paralleled Sultan Abdülhamid's view that Western civilization consisted of "technique" and "idea," the former helpful to the Ottomans, the latter dangerous for ill-educated peoples who still needed paternal guidance.⁴⁶ But Ahmed Midhat's use of this dichotomy gave his work more than a kind of political correctness. Explicitly applying the moral-material dichotomy to the Other suggests applying it to the Self, implying an analytical framework that transcends simplistic binarism. This turns the trip to the

voyageurs de la fin de l'Empire," *Etudes turques et ottomanes: Documents de travail*, theme issue on "Voyageurs et diplomates ottomans," no. 4 (December 1995): 51–58.

⁴¹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 71a–b, relating how an instructor at the *Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in Paris had reportedly referred to the author of *Paris'te bir Türk* [A Turk in Paris] (Istanbul, 1293/1876), which he had written before ever going there, as a Turk who knew Paris well; 788b, setting out for Geneva, he reminded his readers that he had already taken them there imaginatively in his novel *Demir Bey* (Istanbul, 1305/1888); 927b, discovering that he was staying in Konstanz at a place where Jan Hus had been imprisoned, he pointed out that he had written about Hus in his *Mufasssal Tarih-i Kurun-ı Cedide* [Detailed History of the Middle Ages], 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1303–05/1886–88).

⁴² Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 432a; Carter Vaughn Findley, "Ebu Bekir Ratib's Vienna Embassy Narrative: Discovering Austria or Propagandizing for Reform in Istanbul?" *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 85 (1995): 41–80.

⁴³ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 251a, 376a, 924b, 968a.

⁴⁴ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 656a–b.

⁴⁵ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 1004b. Sadullah Paşa (1838–1891) was the author of a famous poem on "The Nineteenth Century"; Carter Vaughn Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), 174 and sources cited there.

⁴⁶ Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 8–10. Such thinking had currency elsewhere in the Islamic world, too: Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (Chicago, 1982), 46–47.

realm of material progress into a reflection as well on the spiritual realm in which a modern Ottoman culture might be created.

Ahmed Midhat's encounters at Stockholm with other congress participants, particularly Madame Gülnar, whom we will meet below, and several other Russians with whom he also subsequently traveled, added another element to this exploration of "culture as the space of difference."⁴⁷ Their shared reflections raised above the travel narrative a descant in which members of two societies—old enemies but akin in their marginality to the West—jointly critiqued what they saw. This remains Ahmed Midhat's narrative: the Russian voices are mediated through him. Still, he attempts to transcend common limits of elite, male alteritism and produce a multiple-voiced, dual-gendered critique.

AHMED MIDHAT'S ITINERARY TOOK HIM BY SHIP from Istanbul to Marseille, by train to Copenhagen, and on by steamer and train to Stockholm. Given the political configuration of Sweden-Norway, the orientalist congress convened in both Stockholm and Christiania, as Oslo was then known. Thereafter, he traveled with one or more of his Russian friends to Berlin (three days' stay), Paris (twelve days), across Switzerland to Vienna (five days), and back by train to Trieste and steamer to Istanbul.

If Ottoman novelists, as recent critics have argued, used the novel as a literary "technology" with which to regulate cultural change, Ahmed Midhat used the travel narrative analogously as a means of Occidentalism empowerment.⁴⁸ Much as Europeans demonstrated their command of practicalities in their travel books—a literary form dependent in turn on many other technologies of travel—he sought to convey his mastery of the requirements for a successful journey across Europe. Ever methodical, he saw his trip as one big tour made up of smaller ones, using the same term, *cevelan*, for all. Using guidebook, map, and compass to plan and follow his routes, he organized his book as a day-by-day account, inserting descriptions of sites and events. As he planned his outings, he perfected a method of studying his map and listing the streets he wanted to follow.⁴⁹ He liked to start the day early with a walking tour planned the night before, returning to the hotel to meet his travel companions. They would then devote the rest of the day to major sites. At night, they would go to the theater, spend the evening over dinner, or retire early to sleep or write. Occasional references to writing articles for his newspaper or keeping a journal imply regular attention to these pursuits. It is hard to see how he could have written his book so quickly otherwise. The "little museum" of brochures and catalogues that he collected also helped.⁵⁰

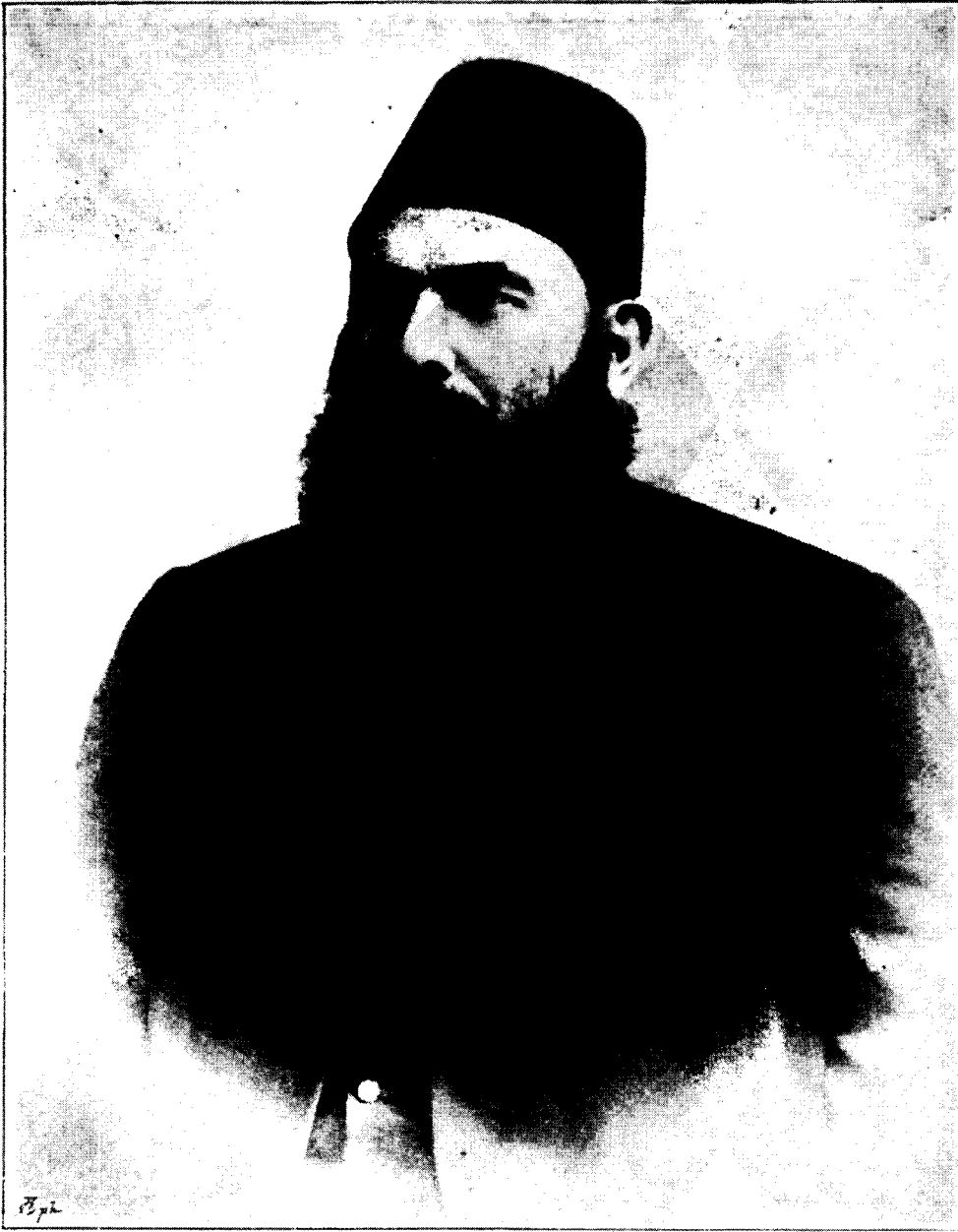
In addition to guidebooks and maps, the Ottoman traveler confronted endless

⁴⁷ Duara, *Rescuing History*, 233.

⁴⁸ Parla, *Babalar*, 57–58; Schick, *Erotic Margin*, 8: "Foucault has introduced the term 'technology' to denote the discursive tools with which knowledge of social realities is constructed," citing Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton, eds., *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (Amherst, Mass., 1988), 18.

⁴⁹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevlan*, 5b, 71b, 248a, 376a, 500a, 529b–530a; Woollacott, "'All This Is the Empire,'" 1005, 1007–10.

⁵⁰ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevlan*, 131a, 473b, 484b, 508a, 598a, 889a.



Ahmed Midhat Efendi, 1897. From *Tercüman-ı Hakikat ve Musavver Servet-i Fünun Gazeteleri tarafından müştereken tertib olun[an] . . . Girit Muhtacine İaneten Nüsha-i Yegâne-i Fevkalade (Numéro spécial et unique des journaux Tercjuman-i Hakikat et Servet-i Funoun, publié aux profits des nécessiteux musulmans de Crète)* (Istanbul, 1313/1897), in the Milli Kütüphane (National Library), Ankara, Turkey.

complexities of a world culturally polarized between *alafranga* and *alaturka*⁵¹ and had to negotiate transitions from one to the other in matters ranging from clocks and calendars to the intricacies of dress and deportment, sources of fascination to Ahmed Midhat. To deal with such matters, he advocated “researching the country,” adding that he had done so for fifteen years to learn about Europe before going there. Prior study of guidebooks enabled one to make the most of one’s time and to know things even the locals did not.⁵² Occidentalism empowerment thus included power over Europeans, at the price of mastering European ways. Travelers dependent on human guides were prisoners in their hands. Baedeker was right about this: travelers owed their freedom to him. Local guides spouted misinformation, led travelers to brothels, and took those who wanted to shop to stores that gave the guides kickbacks. An explorer in red fez rather than pith helmet, Ahmed Midhat showed such people that he was in control. He did not fault natives for staring as he studied fine Parisian buildings with binoculars in one hand and guidebook in the other; he persisted because he had to try to memorize everything he saw.⁵³

The smart Ottoman traveler, moreover, knew the advantages of travel by train or ship, preferring the latter to avoid the smoke, coal dust, and uncomfortable motion. Ahmed Midhat planned unavoidable train trips in short stages, preferably at night, so as not to lose days. He knew to telegraph ahead for hotel reservations. Aware of the dangers of European cities, he knew that the police would respond to travelers’ complaints, especially in Germany and Switzerland. He understood the importance of maintaining his health and acted accordingly.⁵⁴ Ahmed Midhat did not have to tell his readers that no Ottoman traveler could manage without knowing at least one European language, preferably French. Implying his own mastery, he related an impassioned speech that he allegedly made at the congress, extemporaneously in French, on Muslim women. He recounted the speech in Ottoman as a polished

⁵¹ The Turkish names for the two poles derive from the Italian *alla franca*, “Frankish” or European style, and *alla turca*, Turkish style. In *alaturka* time, the day began at the apparent setting of the sun, and the hours were counted in two cycles of twelve, ending with sunset at twelve o’clock the next day. Seasonal shifts in the length of the days meant that the start of the *alaturka* day had no fixed *alafranga* time. Guidebooks for Europeans traveling in the Ottoman Empire used to include tables showing how to convert *alaturka* to *alafranga* time the year around. As for calendars, the Ottomans commonly used both the lunar Islamic religious and a solar financial calendar. In the latter, the date of the month followed the Julian reckoning, still used by Orthodox Christians (many of whom lived under Ottoman rule), but the year was based on the Islamic religious calendar. By the 1880s, the difference in length between lunar and solar years had introduced a gap of about two years between dates in the *hijri* lunar religious calendar (spelled *hicri* in Turkish) and the solar calendar, which was referred to as either *mali* (financial) or *rumi* (Greek). Ahmed Midhat cited his dates *rumi* until he got to Stockholm, where, following the congress program, he began to cite them European style (*alafranga*); he cited the time *alaturka* until he arrived in Paris, nearly halfway through his trip; *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 35a, 51a, 61b, 134a, 473b. The Turks officially adopted the international clock and calendar in 1925.

⁵² Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 66b, 126a–128a, 772b.

⁵³ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 249a–250a, 251a, 643b–644a, 859b; Edward Mendelson, “Baedeker’s Universe,” *Yale Review* 73 (1985): 387–88, Karl Baedeker (1801–1859) emphasized how his guidebooks freed travelers from human guides; James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford, 1993), 65–67, 71–72; Alan Sillitoe, *Leading the Blind: A Century of Guidebook Travel, 1815–1914* (London, 1995).

⁵⁴ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 9a, 59b, 72b, 343a, 364b–365a, 374a, 375b–376a, 859b–860a, 989b–990a. Considering how conscious Turks are of the dangers of U.S. cities today, it is interesting to find a similar attitude toward European cities of a century ago.

composition, enough so to make one wonder if he could have delivered it with the same panache in French.⁵⁵ How much confidence his readers gained from this picture of prowess is uncertain.

Ahmed Midhat also did not need to tell his readers that the unaccompanied Ottoman Muslim traveler had to be male, but some of his references to gender issues reflected that fact. His warnings about European prostitutes conflated alterity, femininity, and sexual danger in a way that turned the tables on European Orientalist alteritism and attitudes toward “oriental” women. This conforms to a larger pattern in Ottoman Occidentalism: figuring the West as feminine and its greatest danger to the East as its libidinousness.⁵⁶ However, in Ahmed Midhat’s Occidental alteritism, this is only one message about gender, as we shall see below.

The point on which he gave fellow Ottomans the least help was finance. He never broached the issue directly, but his indirect references show that he traveled in style. He had been sent to the congress as an official delegate by a sultan who conferred honors and stipends on people to obligate them to himself. For his mission, Ahmed Midhat had been awarded the second highest civil official rank, which entitled him to be addressed as *Votre Excellence* in French and required him on state occasions to wear a gold-embroidered dress uniform with decorations and a ceremonial sword.⁵⁷ Whether he owed it more to the sultan’s largesse or his own success in publishing, Ahmed Midhat was able to buy the best tickets at the opera, dine wherever he pleased, and, if tired, let waiters choose what to bring. When he got his feet wet touring the gardens at Versailles in the rain, he bought new shoes and discarded the wet ones before returning to Paris.⁵⁸ Perhaps proper to the place, the gesture was not one that many of his readers could have afforded to emulate.

A traveler as gregarious as Ahmed Midhat could not be expected to travel alone. He never did for long, even though he presents himself as the lone delegate from Istanbul at Stockholm.⁵⁹ Then as now, exhibitions and congresses not only projected visions of the world but also created settings for unexpected meetings among people of diverse backgrounds. So it was for Ahmed Midhat, especially at the congress.

⁵⁵ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 164a–167b; Muḥammad Amīn Fikrī, *Irshād al-Alibbā’ ilā Maḥāsīn Ūrubbā* [Guidance for the Intelligent to the Good Things of Europe] (Cairo, 1892), 658, mentioning Ahmed Midhat’s summarization of his father, Fikrī Pasha’s, Arabic presentation. In a later private letter, Ahmed Midhat admitted that he understood French better than he wrote it; it would be surprising if the same were not true of his speaking: Atatürk Library, Istanbul, Fatma Aliye Mss. 14/... (unnumbered), Ahmed Midhat to Fatma Aliye, December 27, 1309 (*rumi*)/January 8, 1894.

⁵⁶ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 67a–b, 583a, 811b, 975a, 989b, 1017b; Parla, *Babalar*, 17–21, 79–116; Woollacott, “‘All This Is the Empire,’” 1021–26; Schick, *Erotic Margin*, 122–24: the common Turkish use of the term *frenji* to mean either “syphilis” or “European” also mirrors European alteritist assumptions about the disease risks associated with women in other societies.

⁵⁷ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 147a: his rank was the *rütbe-i bala*.

⁵⁸ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 362a, 646b, 743b.

⁵⁹ K[arl] U[no] Nylander, *Orientalistkongressen i Stockholm-Kristiania några Skildringar från Utlandet* (Uppsala, 1890), vii n. 1; and Paul Haupt, “Report on International Congress of Orientalists,” *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution to the End of June 1890* (Washington, D.C., 1891), 85: lists indicating five (Haupt) or six (Nylander) participants present from “Turkey,” in addition to at least four from Egypt, and eighteen from Russia; Ahmed Midhat mentions four Egyptians and four Russians but no other Ottoman.

There he befriended numerous delegates, including Egyptians and Russians.⁶⁰ Perhaps, then, his most important travel skills were his social ones.

ONE OF THE GALA EVENTS IN STOCKHOLM was a reception at the Grand Hotel, an occasion featuring waiters clad in Egyptian costumes and entertainment provided by the opera orchestra and ballet. For Ahmed Midhat, this spectacle was quickly eclipsed by an astonishing introduction to a “polyglot” Russian noblewoman, who immediately began talking to him in Ottoman and gave her name as “Gülнар” (Rose). When he expressed admiration but pointed out that this beautiful name was not proper to her nationality, she handed him her card, with the name engraved on it in Arabic calligraphy. The name he needed to know, she said, was “Gülнар.”⁶¹

Ahmed Midhat thus began his acquaintance and friendship with one of three Russian travelers. His interest in Madame Gülнар and later her compatriots may seem surprising, given the history of Ottoman-Russian enmity. Yet, since he was an author approved at the highest level, Ahmed Midhat’s attitude of fascination toward these travelers cannot be considered accidental; it matches other signs of circumspection in Ottoman policy toward Russia at the time. He justified his view with interesting blurrings of alteritist distinctions: the Russians’ customs are like the Ottomans’; the French say that if you scratch a Russian, a Tatar emerges, and the same is true of an Ottoman. The Russians had started accepting European civilization before the Ottomans and had gone further, but they had not lost their Asian manners and customs, and so on. When the Russian physician Dr. Boris Yanpolskii, whom he met through Madame Gülнар, treated both of them for colds, Ahmed Midhat compared the Russians’ humaneness to the Ottomans’ generosity. He added the Social Darwinist note that such qualities were greater among peoples who, like them, were still on the lower rungs of civilization. He also valued his colloquies with the Russians as a way to learn about Russia’s Tatars; he did not protest that Russia ruled the Tatars.⁶²

Through Madame Gülнар, Ahmed Midhat met not only Dr. Boris, as he called him, but also an old man, whom he called Professor Goldwald (the real name, Gottwald, might have had off-color associations in Turkish), and his daughter.⁶³

⁶⁰ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 118b, 119b, 140b, 161a–161b, 220a, 227a–227b, 304a. The Egyptians were ‘Abdullah Fikrī Pasha (1834–1890), his son Muḥammad Amin Fikrī Bey (1856–1900), and Shaykhs Ḥamza and ‘Umar; they also visited the Paris exposition, among other places, but at different dates; Fikrī, *Irshād*; Anouar Louca, *Voyageurs et écrivains égyptiens en France au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1970), 197–208; Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 1–2.

⁶¹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 173a–174b. From the Persian word *gul* (pronounced *gül* in Turkish), meaning “rose” or “flower,” *gülнар* means either the wild pomegranate or a deep red double rose. It is one of many women’s personal names derived from the word *gül*, which has important symbolic associations in traditional poetic imagery.

⁶² Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 278a, 282b, 359a–b, 444a–445a; İlber Ortaylı, “II. Abdülhamit ve Rusya,” paper presented at congress of Turkish Historical Society, Ankara, September 14, 1994.

⁶³ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 175b, 194a: Gottwald inscribed two of his books in Arabic for Ahmed Midhat, who thus surely knew the old man’s real name. The first syllable of Gottwald would, however, have been hard to distinguish in Arabic script from the Turkish word *göt* (“backside” and related meanings). Fikrī, *Irshād*, 609–10, gave the name as Gotwal (Kütwāl) and expressed very similar opinions about him and Madame Gülнар (Kulnār). N[ikolai] P[avlovich] Zagoskin, *Biograficheskii slovar’ professorov i prepodavatelei Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta (1804–1904)* (Kazan, 1904),



Madame Gülnar, wearing the Ottoman decoration "Order of Compassion" (*Nişan-ı Şefkat*), an order exclusively for women, which she received during her visit to Istanbul in the winter of 1890–1891. From *Servet-i Fünun*, no. 15 (1891): 171 (in the Harvard University Library).

They traveled together to Berlin, from which the professor and his daughter returned to Russia. Ahmed Midhat and Madame Gülnar went on to Paris and visited it together. Parting from her there, Ahmed Midhat went to Switzerland, joining Dr. Boris and traveling with him as far as Vienna.⁶⁴

The varying importance that Dr. Boris, the old professor, and Madame Gülnar assume in Ahmed Midhat's book raises a question: Which had more to do with his presentation of the Russians, positivist objectivity or didactic Occidentalism? Probably the latter, and not only in Madame Gülnar's case, though she was the most important of the three.⁶⁵ For example, Dr. Yanpolskii provided Ahmed Midhat the occasion to praise members of subject nationalities who were loyal to the sovereign they served; for, as he assumed was "clear from his name," this prominent St. Petersburg physician was a Pole. He may have been, but the evidence is not as clear as Ahmed Midhat's interpretation of it, inspired by his Ottomanist ideology.⁶⁶

The old professor, "Goldwald," provides another case of literary ventriloquism. At a congress where some people did embody the ignorance or bias that critics of Orientalism decry, he was exceptional. Ahmed Midhat describes him as an eighty-year-old who knew Russian, German, French, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, all very well, and had retired from teaching to become a librarian in Kazan. The professor had published on Islam and maintained good relations with learned Tatars. At the congress, there were many who loved Islam but none as much as he.⁶⁷ Pointing out how few congress participants had deep knowledge, the professor said that even the best had much to gain from a learned Easterner like Ahmed Midhat. Standing next to Ahmed Midhat's chair as he spoke, the old man then kissed his head, but would not let our startled author kiss his hand in return, as Ottoman custom required in order to show respect. Ahmed Midhat was still young, the old man continued, and must work hard to show the wisdom of Islam to Europe.

226–28, "İosif Feodorovich Gotval'd," (1813–1897); my thanks to Jared Ingersoll-Casey for translating the Russian text.

⁶⁴ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 441a, 786a. To justify traveling alone with Gülnar from Berlin to Paris, he says only that he had trouble in Germany because he knew no German and that her status as a woman made it impossible for her to deal with train stations and customs inspections. This does not account for their twelve days in Paris, where they were, however, soon joined by her mother and son.

⁶⁵ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 173a–786a: Madame Gülnar figures throughout approximately 60 percent of the narrative. She remained a subject of discussion between Ahmed Midhat and Dr. Boris until they parted (1024a).

⁶⁶ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 771a, 819b. Ahmed Midhat had spent part of his early life in the Ottoman Balkans, knew enough Bulgarian that he could understand some of the Russians' conversation, and may have interpreted the name Yanpolskii as deriving from "polski" (Polish). He presented Dr. Boris as highly critical of Poles who pretended to be loyal to the Russian Empire but, unlike him, were not. The name Boris, however, was highly unlikely for a Catholic. Dr. Boris might have been a descendant of a Polish noble family that owned land in Russian territory, possibly in the Ukraine, that had converted to Orthodoxy at some point, and had fallen into poverty. Dr. Boris also told (854b) how he had been born to a poor family, had with much difficulty completed his education in his native region (unspecified), then had studied medicine in Paris and Vienna, before rising to become the third obstetrician in St. Petersburg. In Russia, the initial poverty of anyone who rose that far was probably only relative. Ahmed Midhat liked this story, being a self-made man himself, as well as an advocate of the Ottomanist synthesis of nationalities. He praised Dr. Boris as a "perfect person" (*insan-ı kâmil*), a phrase he also used to describe Madame Gülnar: 463a, 838b. His applying to non-Muslims, one of them female, a term that sufis originally used for a spiritual paragon again shows that Ahmed Midhat was no religious conservative.

⁶⁷ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 175b–176a.

Europe had made progress in industry and science but not in wisdom.⁶⁸ The most learned professors still busied themselves with philology; after taking this key in hand, they would advance to higher levels of learning. As for the Tatars, the old man painted a sad picture of intellectual stagnation, adding that they had not advanced since passing under Russian rule, although contact with Ottoman prisoners during the Russo-Turkish War had provided some stimulus.

Out of date by 1889, this view of the Tatars is hard to evaluate. The professor's age might explain it, or it might represent Ahmed Midhat's underestimation of the Tatars or his wish not to antagonize the Russians.⁶⁹ As for Professor Gottwald's critique of European scholarship, he himself was a minor orientalist, whose publications had hardly advanced beyond the philological. However, the reassuring words and the patriarchal kiss on the head memorably bridged alteritist polarizations.

The person at the congress who most intrigued Ahmed Midhat was Madame Gülnar. It did not take long to learn her real name and that she was a countess, but she asked him not to use her real name in his book. He promised, referring to her first as Madame Gülnar, eventually just as Gülnar—appellations that concede a Turkish identity while maintaining her liminality.⁷⁰ Was he as interested in manipulating her image as she was? Olga Sergeyevna Lebedeva (1854–?) by her right name, she impressed him first by the quality of her Turkish. She explained that she was from the Kazan region, where her family employed Tatar workers and had relations with notable Tatar families, that she had long known Tatar, and had begun to learn Ottoman when she went to Petersburg. She also knew numerous European languages and enough Arabic and Persian for use in Ottoman; in addition, she

⁶⁸ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 195a–196a; this wording harmonizes the professor's thinking with Ahmed Midhat's material-moral dichotomy and Sultan Abdülhamid's technique-idea polarity; Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 266–68.

⁶⁹ See also Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 445a–447a, for another similar discussion about the Tatars with Madame Gülnar, ending with Ahmed Midhat's praise of the Ottoman sultan for promoting the superior intellectual development of the Ottomans, compared to other Muslim peoples, including Tatars and Iranians; Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Quelquejay, *Les mouvements nationaux chez les Musulmans de Russie* (Paris, 1960), 1: 26–41; Edward J. Lazzerini, "Gadidism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: A View from Within," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 16 (1975): 245–77; Abdullah Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri* [The Kazan Turks] (Ankara, 1966), 117 and following; François Georgeon, *Aux origines du nationalisme turc: Yusuf Akçura (1876–1934)* (Paris, 1980), 16–18.

⁷⁰ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 198–199b: he assured her that he had accepted "Gülnar" as her name in all things Ottoman—a major qualification. Since Turkish custom is almost always, except in very intimate circumstances, to use titles of address (which follow the given name), it is significant that he persisted in calling her "Madame Gülnar," instead of the Turkish equivalent, Gülnar Hanım ("Miss Rose," *hanım* meaning "lady," "Mrs.," or "Miss"). His usage reflects the Turkish sense of a we-they relationship between Islam and Christendom, such that Gülnar—unless she converted—could not be Gülnar Hanım, any more than Ahmed Midhat Efendi could be Monsieur Ahmed Midhat. Gülnar could be her name in things Ottoman, but she could not have a full Ottoman-Islamic identity, as far as he was concerned. Equally noteworthy are the situations where he referred to her simply as Gülnar, or as his "companion" (*arkadaş*; *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 444a, 477a, 506a, 575a, 661a). The best explanation of these un-Turkish forms of reference may be one observed in the case of European women travelers in the Middle East, who were sometimes treated as "honorary men"; Helen Wheatley, "From Traveler to Notable: Lady Duff Gordon in Upper Egypt, 1862–1869," *Journal of World History* 3 (1992): 93; Woollacott, "'All This Is the Empire,'" 1007. However, in other settings, she was sometimes referred to as Gülnar Hanım: as author, she was sometimes so named on title pages, perhaps by her own doing. See also "Gülnar Hanım, Nam-ı Diğer Madam Olga de Lebedef" [G. Hanım, Also Known as Madame O. de L.], *Servet-i Fünun* [Riches of Science] (a leading review of the period) 15 (1891): 170–73.

played the piano and painted. An admirer of Ottoman customs, she wore Turkish clothing at home and put fezes on her children.⁷¹ Madame Gülnar showed Ahmed Midhat a manuscript of a book that she had translated from Russian into Ottoman, and he noted with surprise that the translation hardly needed correction. When he asked for a copy to publish in Istanbul, she simply gave him the manuscript.⁷² In another appraisal of her written Ottoman, Ahmed Midhat wrote that it was not inferior to that of the newspaper *Tercüman* published by the noted Crimean Tatar intellectual Ismail Gasprinski (1851–1914).⁷³

Later, as traveling companion, Madame Gülnar displayed behavioral traits not unknown in other accomplished, upper-class, nineteenth-century ladies. In contrast to Ahmed Midhat's energy and early starts, she needed more sleep, often felt ill, and spent some days without leaving the hotel. While she showed surprising stamina for things she wanted to do, like visiting the Louvre, on balance her sightseeing was limited. While Ahmed Midhat often felt homesick, if she felt similar feelings, he did not report them, not until she got a letter in Paris, informing her that her mother would shortly arrive with Madame Gülnar's nine-year-old son Sasha, who had a chest ailment and needed to travel. After the old countess and the boy arrived, Ahmed Midhat was startled at Madame Gülnar's childlike submission to the will of her mother and her absent husband.⁷⁴ For example, when Ahmed Midhat invited Madame Gülnar to visit the Père Lachaise cemetery, her mother forbade it, saying "the weak nerves of women are affected by such sights." After a century, it is hard to know which of Madame Gülnar's idiosyncracies were hers alone and which resulted from then-prevalent factors of gender, class, or ethnicity. In 1889, the nature of women's dress might explain her inability to keep up with Ahmed Midhat or her wish not to go out some days.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 173b–174a; A. N. Kononov, *Biobibliograficheskii slovar' otechestvennikh tyurkologov, dooktyabrskii period*, 2d edn. (Moscow, 1989), 143–45, "Lebedeva, Ol'ga Sergeevna (Gyul'nar-khanum)"; Nazan Bekiroğlu, "Unutulmuş bir Müsteşrik: Olga dö Lebedeva/Madam Gülnar" [A Forgotten Orientalist], *Dergâh: Edebiyat, Sanat, Kültür Dergisi* 4, no. 46 (1993): 8–10. Kononov, 143, states that she had studied with Kayyum Nasiri (1824–1902), a prolific writer and pioneer of the modern Tatar literary language; Bennigsen and Quelquejay, *Les mouvements nationaux chez les Musulmans de Russie*, 38–39; Battal-Taymas, *Kazan Türkleri*, 121–28. My thanks to Jitka Malečková for translating the Kononov article.

⁷² Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 196b–199a; B. M. Dantsig, *Blizhnii Vostok* [The Near East] (Moscow, 1976), 301; Kononov, *Biobibliograficheskii slovar'*, 144; Gülnar had gone to Istanbul in 1888 to publish works of Alexander Pushkin in Ottoman translation, but the censors forbade publication, suspecting that she was a Russian propagandist; after she met Ahmed Midhat in Stockholm, he edited her work and arranged for publication in Turkey. The works of Pushkin that she translated and published were *Snowstorm* (*Metel'*) and *Queen of Spades* (*Pikovaya Dama*). These were published as *Kar Fırtınası* (Istanbul, 1307/1889–90) and *Kağıt Oyunu* (Istanbul, 1309/1891–92); Bekiroğlu, "Unutulmuş bir Müsteşrik," 9.

⁷³ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 782b; Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *La presse et le mouvement national chez les Musulmans de Russie avant 1920* (Paris, 1964), 35–46; Lazzerini, "Gadidism at the Turn of the Century," 245–77; Hakan Kırımlı, *National Movements and National Identity among the Crimean Tatars, 1905–1916* (Leiden, 1996); Martin Kramer, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congress* (New York, 1986), 36–54.

⁷⁴ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 443a, 545a, 546a, 687a, 726a–727b, 776a.

⁷⁵ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 688b. Seeing Madame Gülnar only through his eyes makes it speculative to go further in trying to understand her. See Mark S. Micale, *Approaching Hysteria: Disease and Its Interpretations* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Hysterical Woman: Sex Roles and Role Conflict in 19th-Century America," in Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985), 197–216, 330–35.

What mattered to Ahmed Midhat was that he found in Madame Gülnar a Turkophile, companion, and intellectual counterpart. He stressed how much more he learned from outings when she went along. At art museums, her knowledge was so valuable that he was all ears from head to toe, he wrote, clinging to her words as if they were his very life.⁷⁶ All finery and diamonds at the reception where they met, she had not cared about such things or about how the other women were turned out; she had talked to him about intellectual matters. “Truly, it is a strange coincidence that two minds could be so compatible.” On their last night in Paris, Madame Gülnar presented to him her plan to translate literary works from Ottoman into Russian and from Russian into Ottoman, seeking his help. Despite fear that his own work would keep him from following through, he could not refuse; Ottomans and Russians were neighbors, he wrote, who—while both borrowing from Europe—had remained strangers. Moreover, women who attracted attention by their genuine, fine qualities achieved the honor (*şeref*) of belonging to “the most beautiful, refined, and sacred part of humanity.”⁷⁷

Madame Gülnar thus not only introduced into the narrative a third subject position between Self and Other, a role that the two Russian men helped play, she also became a prototype for the “new woman.”⁷⁸ Signs that Ahmed Midhat later grew disillusioned with her suggest that her usefulness as an embodiment of this image proved short-lived.⁷⁹ However, the idea of the “new woman” was destined for great and lasting importance. Muslim Ottomans were still unaccustomed to women whose honor could be an honor (*şeref*) won by achievement as well as one dependent on chaste behavior (*iffet, ismet*). In Ahmed Midhat’s narrative, Madame Gülnar becomes, in fact, a surprisingly early evocation of the desexualized, high-achiever image that entered mainstream nationalist discourse decades later to justify the movement of women into public life under the Turkish republic.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan*, 353a, 392a, 574b, 578a. Even without a Freudian interpretation of the image “all ears from head to toe,” we note the implications of gender-role shift in his depiction of himself as dependent on Madame Gülnar. In contrast, Orientalist discourse tended to picture travel as a male monopoly: Woollacott, “‘All This Is the Empire,’” 1022, 1025.

⁷⁷ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan*, 775a–783b. Madame Gülnar did translate works of Alexander Pushkin, M. Y. Lermontov, and Leo Tolstoy into Ottoman; she wrote several works in Ottoman, including some about Russian writers; and she translated at least one Islamic work into Russian. See also Gülnar Hanım, “İslam Kadınlarında Hürriyet” [Freedom among Islamic Women], serialized in *Kadın* [Woman], nos. 12–15 (1324/1909); and compare Bekiroğlu, “Unutulmuş bir Müsteşrik,” 9; Kononov, *Bibliograficheskii slovar’*, 144–45; “Gülnar Hanım,” *Servet-i Fünun* 15 (1891): 170–73 (recounting her activities during a stay in Istanbul, 1890–1891).

⁷⁸ Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 127.

⁷⁹ Atatürk Library, Istanbul, Fatma Aliye Ms. 14/. . . , Ahmed Midhat to Fatma Aliye, December 11, 1309/December 23, 1893 (he speaks as if it were *he* who had wanted to make of Madame Gülnar a means for publication among Europeans, and she had agreed but not brought it off); December 27, 1309/January 8, 1894 (criticizing Madame Gülnar for flightiness; she had given her translation of Fatma Aliye’s book, *Nisvan-ı İslâm* [Islamic Women] to an unqualified person to correct); [December?] 27, 1309/January 8, 1894 (mentioning visits of ten and fifteen days in preceding years, during which Madame Gülnar had been sick at his house, indicating that she had come to Istanbul because she could not get along with her husband); Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *Catalogue général*, vol. 49, column 1038: entry for *Nisvan-i-Islam (les femmes musulmanes)*, trans. by Mme. Olga de Labedeff, pseud. Gülnar Hanım (Paris, 1896). She continued to visit and correspond with Ottoman intellectuals for some years more; Bekiroğlu, “Unutulmuş bir Müsteşrik,” 10; “Gülnar Hanım «Madam Olga dö Löbedef,»” *Kadın* 1, no. 16 (January 26, 1324/February 8, 1909): 7–8.

⁸⁰ Ayfer Karakaya Stump, “The Emergence of a Feminist Nationalist Discourse: A Case Study of *Kadın* Magazine (1908–1909)” (MA thesis, Ohio State University, 1996); Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın*

Undaunted by the Europe of congresses and exhibitions, then, Ahmed Midhat found in Dr. Boris a model subject of a multinational empire, in the old professor a paragon of learned impartiality, and in Madame Gülnar an ideal of woman as achiever. At once European and non-European, they became in his narrative virtual alter egos on a voyage of cross-cultural discovery and engagement.

GIVEN THAT AHMED MIDHAT'S CHIEF DESTINATIONS in the "real" Europe were sites intended to represent the Orient in the one case and the world in the other, the orientalist congress and the universal exposition mark the logical starting point for an examination of his reactions to his journey.

The Stockholm Orientalist Congress had a recognizable pattern of panels and papers, but it lasted longer (September 1–12, 1889) and had more of a public, official, and ceremonial quality than is now normal.⁸¹ The congress convened first in Stockholm, then less grandly in Christiania (Oslo). King Oscar II (r. 1872–1907) chaired the opening and closing sessions in the House of the Nobility.⁸² Any of four different levels of dress might be required for a given event, and delegates often had to rush back to the hotel to change.⁸³ The social program included an evening hosted by the king at the Drottningholm summer palace, with the city illuminated in honor of the orientalists on their return, and an outing to Old Uppsala. There, at the legendary burial mounds of the Norse gods Thor, Odin, and Freya—in a uniquely Scandinavian confounding of the spatially and temporally remote—the scholars were given horns of mead to toast the future of oriental studies.⁸⁴ There

Hareketi; Deniz Kandiyoti, "Slave Girls, Temptresses, and Comrades: Images of Women in the Turkish Novel," *Feminist Issues* 8 (1988): 35–50; Sibel Erol, "Formation of a Kemalist Female Identity in Turkish Fiction: A Comparative Analysis" (unpublished paper). The emancipation of Turkish women did not begin after the founding of the republic in 1923, as standard nationalist historiography has maintained. In Ahmed Midhat's thinking, the next step in developing the "serious" female image seems to have been transferring it from the exotic figure of Madame Gülnar to the indigenous one of Fatma Aliye (see n. 34 above), whose biography he published in 1893. Great households had historically produced learned and accomplished women; in that sense, there is a long—but thin—history of female figures a little like Gülnar. The development of the print media was just starting to give such women an important public voice.

⁸¹ This was the eighth in a series of scholarly congresses that began at Paris in 1873, changed its name at Paris in 1873 to the International Congress of Asian and North African Studies, and met for the thirty-fifth congress at Budapest in 1997; Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York, 1993), 103–04; Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 117a–301a; Ignaz Goldziher, "Vom Stockholmer Orientalisten-Kongress," *Pester Lloyd* (Budapest), no. 249, September 10, 1889 (106 papers in six sections, from ancient Semitic to Malayo-Polynesian and Central Asian, but no section for Chinese or Japanese studies; Goldziher [1850–1921] was an eminent Arabist from Budapest); Nylander, *Orientalistkongressen*, accounts by different participants; Haupt, "Report on International Congress," 86; R. N. Cust, "The International Congresses of Orientalists," *Hellas: Organe de la Société Philhellénique d'Amsterdam* 6 (1897): 342–71; Anouar Louca, "En marge du huitième Congrès des Orientalistes," *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne* 9 (1957): 68–80; Bâki Asiltürk, "Ahmet Midhat Efendi Müstesrikler Kongresinde" [A.M. at the Orientalist Congress], *Türk Dili*, no. 521 (May 1995): 570–76.

⁸² The *Riddarhuset*, specially decorated for the occasion with flags, hieroglyphics, and sphinxes flanking the entrance: Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 134a–141b, 219b; Nylander, *Orientalistkongressen*, 6; *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* (September 14, 1889): 307.

⁸³ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 113a: he retained a private servant at the Grand Hotel to help him cope with things like transferring his decorations from his dress uniform to his frock coat in a hurry.

⁸⁴ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 177b–180b; Ignaz Goldziher, "Vom Stockholmer Orientalisten-Kongress," *Pester Lloyd*, no. 249, September 10, 1889.

was also the reception where the waiters were dressed in Egyptian costume, and a command performance of Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida*, the appropriateness of which, an Egyptian delegate delightedly noted, was "no secret."⁸⁵

The social threatened to overwhelm the scholarly.⁸⁶ Count Carlo Landberg, the organizer, was a gentleman Arabist who had married money, held the post of consul-general in Alexandria, and was a personal friend of King Oscar, a patron of scholars.⁸⁷ Countess Landberg played the gracious hostess to Ahmed Midhat and the other official delegates. Ahmed Midhat makes it sound as if the attention she and Madame Gülnar lavished on him sparked a polite rivalry between the two countesses, something that others noticed, too. By the time the congress ended, Count Landberg for his part had offended some delegates, criticisms had appeared in the press, and he was apparently at the end of his tether. He showed up drunk—so Ahmed Midhat relates—at the final banquet and made remarks that further offended.⁸⁸ To the public, meanwhile, the congress provided almost as much of a display as a world exhibition. The delegates were given rosettes to wear on their lapels. So made recognizable everywhere, they were entitled to assistance from the police and officials, as well as to free local travel. Huge crowds turned out to watch them pass, especially when delegates in exotic dress went by.⁸⁹

The evaluation of the congress attributed to Professor Gottwald confirms other evidence that the scholarly side of the congress was not all of a uniformly high standard. Even though leading scholars of the day participated,⁹⁰ Ahmed Midhat

⁸⁵ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 145b–157b, 209a–213a: Fikrî, *Irshād*, 665–68, 703.

⁸⁶ Nylander, *Orientalistkongressen*, 26, 51–52, 93–94; H. O., "Der achte internationale Orientalistencongress," *Deutsche Rundschau* 61 (1889): 300; Haupt, "Report on International Congress," 91: "The scientific character of the meeting . . . was somewhat impaired by the almost excessive hospitality of the Scandinavian hosts, and especially by the number of tourists [gawkers?] who attracted by the program attended [*sic*]."

⁸⁷ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 146a; K. V. Zetterstéen, *Carlo Landberg som Orientalist* (Uppsala, 1942), 27–30; Sven Dederig, "Landberg, Carl (Carlo)," in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Göran Nilzén, ed. (Stockholm, 1985–87), 22: 231–33; Landberg (1848–1924) had gotten his doctorate at Leipzig (1883), acquired an Italian title (whence "Carlo," August 1884), and married a rich, previously divorced German lady (November 1884). The Landbergs gave the reception at the Grand Hotel where Ahmed Midhat met Madame Gülnar; Fikrî, *Irshād*, 666, and Ignaz Goldziher, "Vom Stockholmer Orientalisten-Kongress," *Pester Lloyd*, no. 250, September 11, 1889, both described the lavish decor and the authentic waiters' costumes, which Goldziher, who had studied at al-Azhar in Cairo, termed "faultless."

⁸⁸ The special attention paid to the official delegates may have helped provoke criticisms of the congress, especially those stated in racist terms. Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 261b (the countesses' "rivalry"), 208b–213a (at the command performance of *Aida*, Iranian delegate Muhsin Khan sat in the royal box with King Oscar, Ahmed Midhat was in the next box with Countess Landberg, and the heads of the Egyptian and French delegations were in the next box to that), 220a–222a (he, Fikrî Pasha of Egypt, Charles Schéfer [1820–1898] of France, and some other European scholars were invited to the palace for an audience with the king, where they were given decorations, in his case the Gustav Vasa order, first class), 331 (final banquet). Haupt, "Report on International Congress," 88 (twenty governments sent official delegates, including Egypt, India, Iran, Japan, and the Ottoman Empire); Fikrî, *Irshād*, 703 (the opera). In 1891, Landberg wrote that his health was still "shaken" from these "memorable days," and he referred to the attacks to which he had been exposed: *Actes du huitième Congrès international des orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania*, Part 2 (Leiden, 1893), iii–iv.

⁸⁹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 121b–122a, 134b, 158b, 178b.

⁹⁰ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 170b–172a, was impressed by the Indologist Max Müller (1823–1900) of Oxford; Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary: The Life of Professor the Rt. Hon. Friedrich Max Müller, P.C.* (London, 1974). For papers presented at the congress, see *Actes du huitième Congrès international des orientalistes*; Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, *Recueil de textes et de traductions publié par les professeurs de l'Ecole des langues orientales vivantes à l'occasion du VIII^e Congrès international des orientalistes tenu à Stockholm en 1889*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1889).



The Landbergs' reception at the Grand Hotel, Stockholm, in honor of the delegates to the Eighth Congress of Orientalists, September 3, 1889. A scene including one of the Egyptian religious scholars (ulema) speaking to a lady (left), two Algerians talking to King Oscar II, with Count Landberg partly visible to the right, Countess Landberg on the arm of Iranian delegate Muhsin Khan (foreground), and an Armenian delegate talking to Crown Prince Gustaf (right). Cover illustration from *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, September 14, 1889 (in the Royal Library, Stockholm). Does this picture document the hosts' efforts to include "oriental" delegates in the conference or the artist's interest in exploiting the Orientalist pictorial possibilities of the delegates in exotic dress?

and his Egyptian counterparts were amazed at the points on which some of the Europeans were ignorant.⁹¹ Ahmed Midhat spent much time correcting misimpressions about Islam. With five European languages accepted as official, and papers presented in “oriental” languages as well, the congress was also a “tower of Babel.” When he chaired a session, Ahmed Midhat took pains to translate to and from Arabic for the Egyptian delegates, who had complained that presentations on Arabic studies were not accessible to them. The audience was reportedly pleased with the results.⁹²

Reacting to the congress without the militancy of present-day anti-Orientalist criticism, Ahmed Midhat took pleasure in many of his experiences. He responded good-naturedly to problems, and just as well. While some participants approved Landberg’s effort through the congress to stimulate not only European oriental studies but also the intellectual development of the Orient, and to bring Eastern scholars to the congress not just to admire European learning but to join in this project,⁹³ others failed to share this vision, alleging—sometimes in racist terms—that the “oriental” delegates lacked scholarly qualifications.⁹⁴ The Ottoman educational system had as yet produced few scholars suited to represent it at an international congress, and Ahmed Midhat was not a scholar.

If the Stockholm Congress was a culturally multivalent event, where the official program could not control every visitor’s experience, the Exposition Universelle of 1889 in Paris was more so. No one observer could take it all in; some facets could not even be mentioned in a work that had to pass Ottoman censorship. At one and the same time, this *Exposition tricolore* celebrated the centennial of the French Revolution (Ahmed Midhat certainly could not mention that), it asserted France’s reconsolidation under the Third Republic, it dramatized the European powers’ dominance over their colonies, it displayed the latest advances in art and technology, it fostered internationalism by bringing together visitors and exhibitors from many countries, and it served as an amusement fair for 32 million visitors.⁹⁵ The

⁹¹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 223b–225a: he recounted how an antiquarian professed to have a coin dating from the time of the Prophet Muhammad, even though the earliest Islamic coins were known to be later, and how other delegates had debated whether the *Amthila*, an anonymous work containing Arabic verbal paradigms and long used in the curriculum of the lower *medreses* (Islamic schools of religious studies), was written in Arabic or Turkish. (Ahmed Midhat had studied at a *medrese* at Ruschuk, Bulgaria: 206a.) While Arabic was more widely known than Persian, most European orientalists could only pick their way through texts word by word. Theology (*kalām*) and mysticism were the subjects of greatest interest to European Islamicists, Ahmed Midhat reported, but they remained foreign to the spirit of those fields and needed the collaboration of Muslim scholars, who would also benefit from working with Europeans.

⁹² Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 144a, 160b–164a; Fikrī, *Irshād*, 655–58: his father, Fikrī Pasha, spoke in Arabic on the poetry of Ḥassān ibn Thābit (d. 674); Ahmed Midhat summarized in French; an exchange between the noted Dutch Arabist Michael Jan de Goeje (1836–1909) and Fikrī Pasha followed. Goldziher, “Vom Stockholmer Orientalisten-Kongress,” *Pester Lloyd*, no. 249, September 10, 1889, reported seven papers in Arabic.

⁹³ Ignaz Goldziher, “Vom Stockholmer Orientalisten-Kongress,” *Pester Lloyd*, no. 204, September 6, 1889; no. 249, September 10, 1889; no. 254, September 15, 1889 (praising Landberg as the originator of “powerful ideas” about the profession and about the complementarity between Oriental and Occidental scholarship); Nylander, *Orientalistkongressen*, 34–36; Haupt, “Report on International Congress,” 88, 91.

⁹⁴ H. O., “Orientalistencongress,” 300; Nylander, *Orientalistkongressen*, 70–74 (comments of A. Weber, Berlin, adding that there was “little sign of intelligence to find” on “those Islamic faces”), 116 (R. Rost); Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 2.

⁹⁵ Pascal Ory, *L’Expo universelle* (Brussels, 1989); Smithsonian Institution Libraries, *The Books of the Fairs: Materials about World’s Fairs, 1834–1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Libraries* (Chicago,

exhibition occupied a huge site, with a long tract running from the Trocadéro to the far end of the Champ de Mars, a shorter tract consisting of the Esplanade des Invalides, and a narrow strip connecting these two along the Quai d'Orsay.⁹⁶ The exhibition thus covered some of the most important open spaces of Paris with buildings and exhibits, mostly intended as temporary. The exhibition's structural highlights were the Eiffel Tower and the Palace of Machines, a futuristic structure of iron and glass.⁹⁷ The grand plan, materializing binarist alteritism, assigned the largest, finest spaces to display Europe's progress and the remaining spaces to show the rest of the world as bizarre and picturesque.⁹⁸

A purposeful observer, Ahmed Midhat still could not absorb everything. One would never know from him that Buffalo Bill's Wild West show was in town or that some exhibits of Asian cultures might move creative artists, such as Paul Gauguin or Claude Debussy, "to push their own . . . culture to one side to embrace another."⁹⁹ Ahmed Midhat took no interest in the re-creations of colonial villages.¹⁰⁰ Showing no solidarity with colonial peoples, he was nearly as ready to laugh at them as were the Europeans.¹⁰¹ For him, this was not so much a world exhibition as a Social Darwinist yardstick for measuring Europe's progress and the Ottomans' standing compared to it.

As in Stockholm, he liked some things but not others. He found what he liked least on the Rue du Caire, Cairo Street (see cover illustration). In contrast to Timothy Mitchell's influential recent critique of this scene, Ahmed Midhat's objection was not to the street overall but to a particular facet of it. Created by a French entrepreneur, Cairo Street was a 25-by-160-meter streetscape of façades and a few small buildings, with authentic structural elements worked into ensembles contrived to look old and dusty.¹⁰² Egyptians practicing their occupations enlivened

1992), 1–62, 136–42; Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester, 1988), 37; Richard D. Mandell, *Paris 1900: The Great World's Fair* (Toronto, 1967), 17–24; Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1989): 217–36; Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*; Utz Haltern, "Die 'Welt als Schaustellung': Zur Funktion und Bedeutung der internationalen Industrieausstellung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 60 (1973): 1–40; Christian Beutler, *Weltausstellungen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1973), 176–83.

⁹⁶ Musée d'Orsay, 1889: *La Tour Eiffel et l'Exposition Universelle* (Paris, 1989), 254, 260–63, 266–67 (map and site plans).

⁹⁷ Roland Barthes and André Martin, *La Tour Eiffel* (Paris, 1964); Musée d'Orsay, 1889, 164–95; Stuart Durant, *Palais des Machines: Ferdinand Dutert* (London, 1994); John W. Stamper, "The Galerie des Machines of the 1889 Paris World's Fair," *Technology and Culture* 30 (1989): 330–53; Miriam R. Levin, *When the Eiffel Tower Was New: French Visions of Progress at the Centennial of the Revolution* (South Hadley, Mass., 1989). Ahmed Midhat could not make much of the Eiffel Tower; he was afraid of heights and did not go above the second platform (*Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 537a–540a).

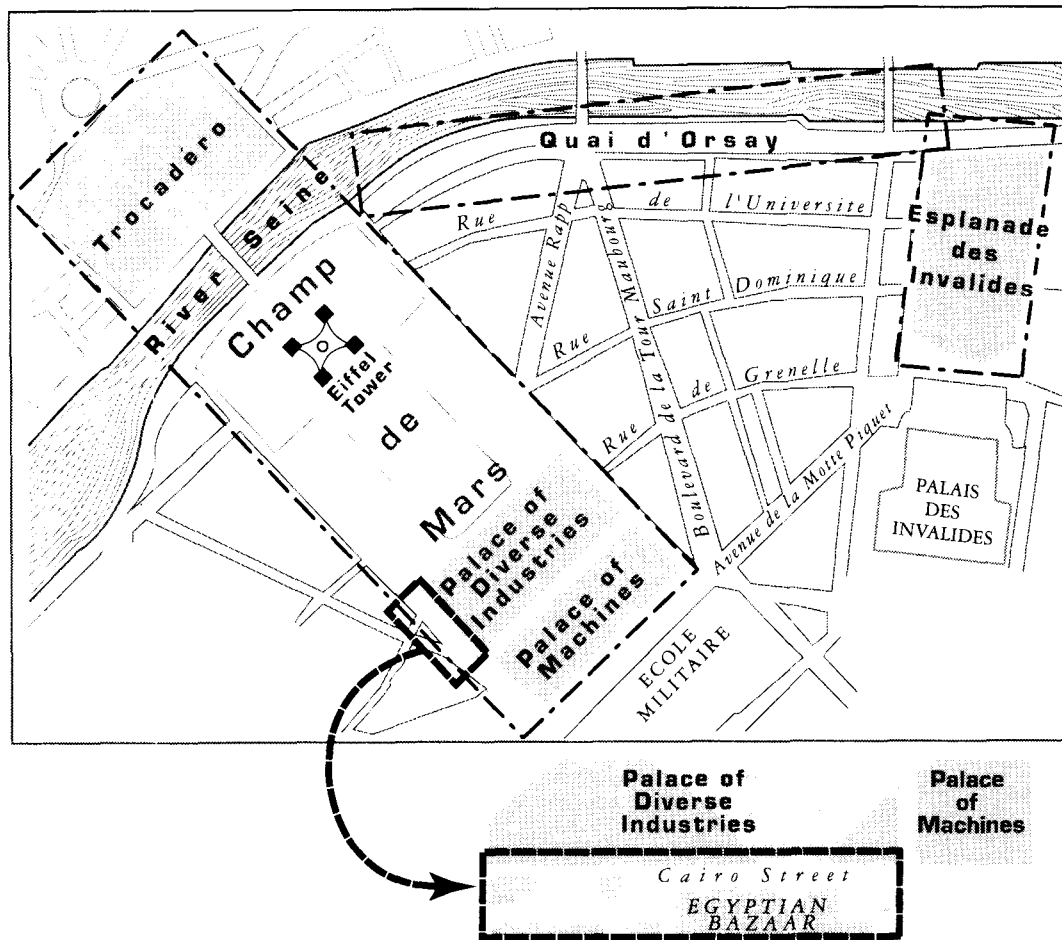
⁹⁸ Çelik and Kinney, "Ethnography and Exhibitionism," 36.

⁹⁹ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 218–19; Roy Howat, "Debussy and the Orient," in *Recovering the Orient: Artists, Scholars, Appropriations*, Andrew Gerstle and Anthony Milner, eds. (Chur, Switzerland, 1994), 45–81; Schick, *Erotic Margin*, 160–61 (on Gauguin); Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, chaps. 3–5.

¹⁰⁰ Ory, *L'Expo universelle*, 88, 99–106; Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 82–109.

¹⁰¹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 806a–808b: later in Geneva, he and Dr. Boris went to a performance of Sudanese musicians and dancers, who were returning from the Paris exhibition. When the audience began to laugh, they did, too. Ahmed Midhat had dismissed the African exhibits in the Berlin Ethnographic Museum as strange or comical (*tuhaf*, 438a).

¹⁰² Fikrî, *Irshād*, 128: "dust-colored" or "dusty" (*mughbarr*), not "dirty," as in Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 1. "Dirty" suggests that Baron Delort, the entrepreneur, had tried to make Cairo look shabby;



Site plan of the Exposition Universelle, 1889, with close-up showing Cairo Street. The long tract, running from the Trocadéro to the Champ de Mars, and the shorter tract consisting of the Esplanade des Invalides were connected by a narrow exhibit space along the Quai d'Orsay. Adapted from maps in Musée d'Orsay, 1889: *La Tour Eiffel et l'Exposition Universelle* (Paris, 1989), 254, 260–61.

the scene, as did the donkeys for the visitors to ride.¹⁰³ Ahmed Midhat neither assailed this Orientalist confusion of the old and exotic nor even remarked that the mosque façade fronted a coffeehouse inside which belly dancers entertained.¹⁰⁴ He zeroed in on the dancers. They could not be Muslims; they must be Jews or Copts. “Not the kind of thing we approve of,” their dance could be seen, even in Egypt or

“dust-colored” implies pains taken to give a realistic impression of an old city with desert on two sides, “to such a point that he made the whitewash dust-colored.”

¹⁰³ Mitchell (*Colonising Egypt*, 1; “World as Exhibition,” 217) says the craftsmen on the street were “Frenchmen dressed as Orientals.” His source, Fikrî, *Irshâd*, 128–33, makes clear that the craftsmen, donkey drivers, and donkeys were Egyptian. Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 526a, 527a (street authentic, but the masters of ceremonies where the belly dancers performed were Frenchmen dressed as Arabs); Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 70, 75–78 (quoting Mitchell); Musée d’Orsay, 1889, 109 (160 Egyptians worked on the street), 261 (map).

¹⁰⁴ Ahmet Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 504b–505a and 1023a. His own Occidental alteritism made the same conflation of old and authentic into a “rule” about European cities: for the traveler, what is worth seeing is the old city.

Tunisia, only in out-of-the-way places of dissipation. Whether it was more provocative than ballet was a matter of judgment; what astonished was how Europeans, men and women, went crazy over it and would watch the same dance for hours.¹⁰⁵ The most noted dancer, “the beautiful Fatma,” was a Tunisian Jew who had won a beauty contest and wore her gold medal around her neck. “She was swathed in taffeta and crepe, but her bosom, neck, and arms were exposed!”¹⁰⁶ No such costume would be seen among any class of Eastern women. For Ahmed Midhat, Cairo Street was a site of representational violence, but the violence focused on gender issues, whose misrepresentation offered the Occidental critic a weapon.¹⁰⁷ One of the Egyptians Ahmed Midhat met in Stockholm, Muḥammad Amīn Fikrī, whose Arabic travel narrative served as the source for Mitchell’s critique, actually liked Cairo Street and the dancers better than Ahmed Midhat did but still voiced some criticisms.¹⁰⁸

What impressed Ahmed Midhat most positively was the Palace of Machines. In what would be called “the last great engineering experiment to appear at an

¹⁰⁵ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan*, 526a–527b. The implication that Egyptians and Tunisians ranked lower on his Social Darwinist evolutionary scale than Ottoman Turks (and presumably Russians) merits notice and may help to explain why he says comparatively little about the Egyptians he met at Stockholm. Sudanese ranked even lower, to judge from his reaction to the dancers mentioned in an earlier note.

¹⁰⁶ The point of noting her Jewishness is probably that she could not be expected to conform to Islamic criteria of modesty or gender segregation. For the same reason, non-Muslim female characters played prominent roles in the novels of Ahmed Midhat and other pioneering Middle Eastern novelists: Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 159–66; Joseph T. Zeidan, “The Image of the Jew in the Arabic Novel, 1920–1973,” *Shofar* 7 (1989): 58–82.

¹⁰⁷ Çelik and Kinney, “Ethnography and Exhibitionism,” 43, including a picture of *la belle Fathma*; Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 23, 25, 26, 76, 77, other scenes of the Rue du Caire; Çelik also illustrates the Cairo Street at the Chicago Exhibition of 1893.

¹⁰⁸ According to Mitchell (*Colonising Egypt*, 1) “the Egyptian visitors were disgusted” by Cairo Street and “stayed away,” their “final embarrassment” being that the mosque façade had a coffeehouse inside it, where (quoting Fikrī, *Irshād*, 136) “Egyptian girls performed dances with young males, and dervishes whirled.” Yet Fikrī’s account of the street is detailed and positive, and his criticisms are quite focused. See 128–29, the street had “the utmost in charm,” and a tent set up as a coffeehouse “in the eastern style” was “among the most splendid ever seen”; 129–32, praise for the enterprising Egyptian merchant whose well-stocked business on Cairo Street (the “Egyptian Bazaar” on the site plan?) served Egyptians in Paris as a rendezvous and place to receive letters; 136, relating—without protest—that the mosque was a mosque on the outside, “no more than that,” that the inside was a “coffeehouse put in place for Egyptian women dancers, and that “slaves” (*‘abīd*, Sudanese?) danced and dervishes whirled; he does not say that males and females danced together; 232–33, at the tent mentioned above, the audience was amazed by the dancers’ movements and costumes “in the old Egyptian style,” and a Mevlevi dervish whirled after them; 346–47, noting that “the beautiful Fatma” was a Tunisian Jew, he considered her to be dressed in Eastern style, noted without disapproving that the tulle that covered her bosom “did not hide what was behind it,” and concluded by praising God for creating such a beauty. For his criticisms, see 233: leaving the tent, he criticized the Europeans for over-reacting to the dancers, himself and his fellow Egyptians for going there, and the dervish for doing what was called “dancing” in such a place, something not appropriate for his order; the spectators had the excuse of novelty; the Egyptian travelers had the excuse that whereas only the dissolute frequented such places in Egypt, here respectable people did; the dervish had no excuse; 374–76: inside the Palais des Industries Diverses, the huge hall that the Rue du Caire ran alongside, he criticized how the Egyptian exhibit there compared to the Iranian and Moroccan ones, asked why the Egyptian government and people had not exerted themselves to show the products of their land adequately, and said he preferred to return to the bustle of the Rue du Caire outside. In Stockholm, the same author displayed similar approval, as noted; Nazik Saba Yared, *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization*, Sumayya Damluji Shahbandar, trans., Tony P. Naufal and Jana Gough, eds. (London, 1996), 73, 82, 97–98, 108–109, 110, 114, 121; Louca, *Voyageurs et écrivains égyptiens*, 199–203.



Cairo Street, Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1889. A French entrepreneur created this evocation of Old Cairo, made up of façades embellished with authentic structural elements from Egypt. Egyptian craftsmen practicing their trades, donkeys to ride, and a coffeehouse where belly dancers entertained. A woman is being pushed along in one of the wheeled chairs available to facilitate movement about the exposition. From William Walton, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1889* (Philadelphia and Paris, 1889), xx.

exhibition,”¹⁰⁹ this structure had its roof supported by arches, each made of two curved iron girders, pivoted where they touched the floor and where they met each other, forming a record-breaking span of 110 meters. With a length of 420 meters, the building enclosed a vast space for the display of machines of all sizes, even locomotives. Electric generators provided power for the machines. Spectators could observe from “rolling bridges” mounted on overhead rails and powered by rotating shafts, which also distributed power from the generators to the machines by means of belts. Equipped with elevators and lit with both electricity and gas, the Palace of Machines epitomized advanced technology.¹¹⁰ The whole exhibition, in fact, was illuminated in both electricity and gas, including such novelties as electric lights built into the fountains to color the jets of water, or the nocturnal spectacle of the Eiffel Tower lit from top to bottom while tricolored spotlights played over the city from its top.¹¹¹

At the Palace of Machines, what fascinated Ahmed Midhat was not the structure, although the rolling bridges were impressive, but the “miraculous” machines, especially small ones usable in Ottoman manufacturing. He focused on machines for working with silk and other fibers, for knitting, embroidering, sewing, shoe-making, printing, and performing household tasks. Characteristically expressing his economic outlook, he noted how a thousand-franc tape machine could support a family. If only Istanbul craftsmen had been sent to Paris, what machines they could have bought to revitalize Ottoman industry.¹¹²

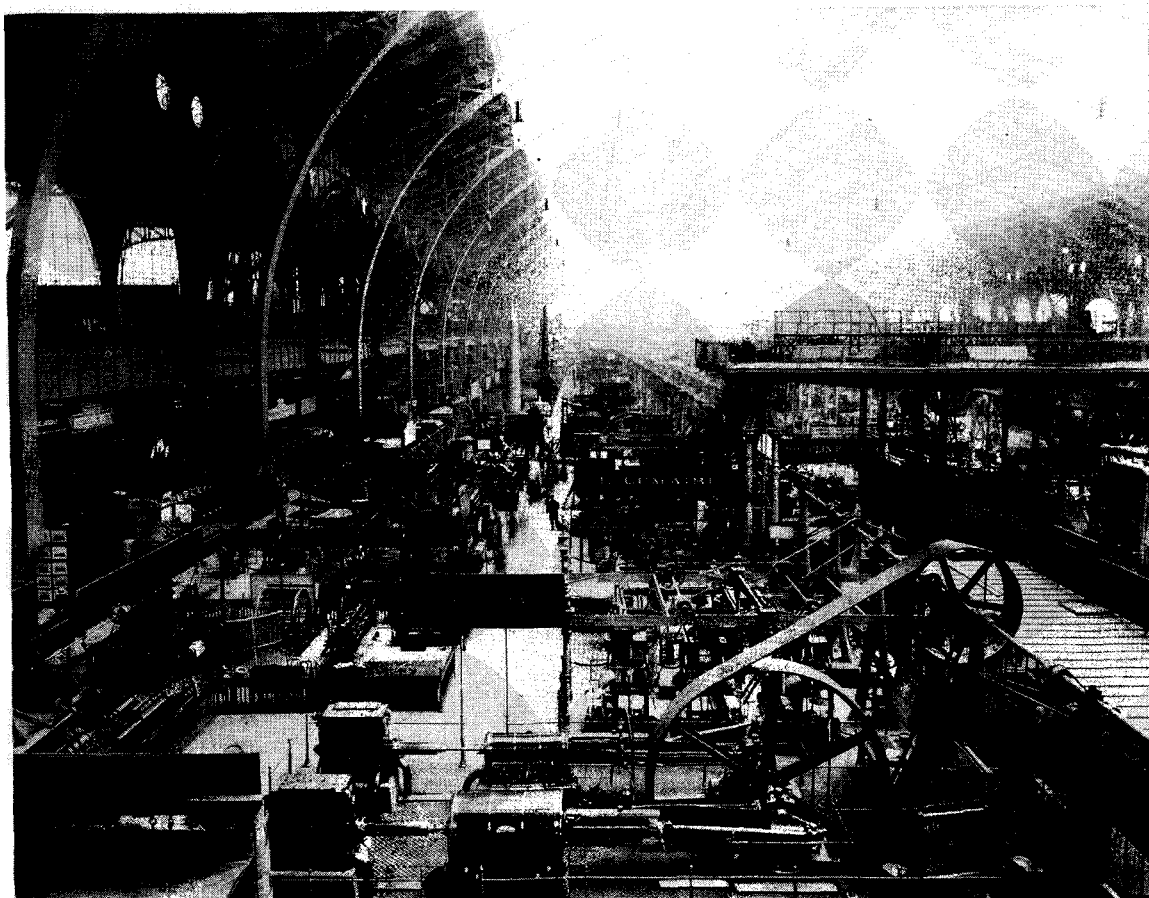
WHILE THE CONGRESS AND EXPOSITION were the most densely charged sites for his evaluative project, Ahmed Midhat’s assessment of Europe’s moral and material progress dominated his narrative. Evaluating the European Other in terms of moral versus material implied reflecting on the Ottoman-Islamic Self in the same terms, most likely with different values assigned to corresponding categories in what thus becomes not a binary but a four-part analytical grid. The introduction, with the Russians, of a third subject position between Self and Other—and Madame Gülnar’s importance in foregrounding gender issues—adds other dimensions to the assessment. As Ahmed Midhat’s evaluative framework expands beyond alteritist binarism, several questions emerge. If discursive dispersion characterized European Orientalism, would his Occidentalism not also produce contradictions important for its understanding? In an Occidentalist narrative, could the idea of “moral

¹⁰⁹ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 155.

¹¹⁰ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 496b, 649b–650b; Musée d’Orsay, 1889, 164–95; Durant, *Palais des Machines*, illustrating the *pont roulant électrique* on p. 40.

¹¹¹ Musée d’Orsay, 1889, 34–35; Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl* [Forty Years] (memoirs) (Istanbul, 1969), 263; Beutler, *Weltaustellungen*, 194–98; Fikri, *Irshād*, 207–08.

¹¹² Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 649b–654b, 677a–683a; the assumption that the state would have had to send the craftsmen to Paris is characteristically Ottoman but at odds with his advocacy of individual enterprise. His comments on the machines show that he was in touch with developments in Ottoman manufacturing; Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge, 1994), 888–933.



Interior of the Palace of Machines, Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1889, showing the curved girders that spanned the vast display floor, the partly glass roof, the side galleries that provided additional display space, some of the large machines, the belts and shafts used to distribute power, the platform from which spectators stepped onto one of the rolling bridges, and the elevated rails on which it ran. From the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-102668.

progress,” in particular, prove meaningful?¹¹³ Ahmed Midhat’s treatment of several themes helps to answer these questions.

Ahmed Midhat explained Europe’s *material progress* in many fields, from the drains that kept streets free of mud to electric lights. Often, as in discussing railroads and printing presses, he evaluated how up to date the Ottomans were. Yet his focus remained on Europe. His assessment seemed to gel in Paris, when he returned from the Palace of Machines to tell Madame Gülnar that Europe’s progress went beyond what he had realized and that the machines at the palace were its greatest proof. Knowing his propensity to identify Europe with material

¹¹³ Ahmed Midhat’s inconsistent usage on this point inspired this study: *Avrupa’da bir Cevelan*, 225b, progress (*terakkiyat*) in science and industry but moral decline (*tedenniyat*); 413b, some things about European literature and theater were enough to make the wise and honorable “weep blood”; 657a, references to both moral and material progress (*terakkiyat*); 771a, references to “moral and material progress” but also to “material progress” (*terakkiyat*) and “moral decline” (*tedenniyat*); 1004b, Sadullah Paşa’s suggestion to divide Europe’s progress into two, the moral and material: *Avrupa’nın terakkiyatını maddi ve manevi olmak üzere ikiye taksim*.

progress and moral decay, she reminded him that he had earlier approved of the big buildings, boulevards, parks, and the extraordinary orderliness. He admitted *admiring Europe's general prosperity, but only the machines merited true envy.*¹¹⁴

On other occasions, he praised Europeans' observance of the law. Repeatedly, he praised the cleanliness and efficiency of European waiters and waitresses; in contrast, Istanbul had few eating places that would not disgust a person of taste.¹¹⁵ On the steamers plying the Bosphorus, he added satirically, passengers seemed to think that the signs saying "*Il est défendu de parler au capitaine*" meant it was forbidden for the captain to talk, but anyone else might talk to him.¹¹⁶ Touring the Ringstrasse in Vienna, Ahmed Midhat felt stupefied, not just by the colossal buildings between the university and the art museum but by the whole conception of structure and space, all put in place within a few decades. But his biggest amazement came in Paris when, asking where he could buy the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, he learned that a commission had been working on it for thirty-five years but was still not through, and that it would eventually be published in many volumes.¹¹⁷

To identify all such elements as "material" progress was to stretch that category. So Ahmed Midhat did in talking with ambassador Sadullah Paşa in Vienna. Europe's material progress was not just its tall buildings, clean streets, and civilized way of life. It was also the "physical embodiment" that every nation gave its culture by organizing and displaying its products in libraries, museums, and public monuments—aspects of progress that the Ottomans still lacked.¹¹⁸ Ahmed Midhat thus accepted the "world-as-exhibition" but interpreted it as a way for a society to stimulate its own cultural development rather than to control the rest of the world.¹¹⁹ He could not sense as fully as Madame Gülnar the factors of process, mentality, and culture that underlay these physical embodiments of progress; perhaps she did not fully sense his need to maintain "culture as the space of difference." He cautioned that the Ottomans must *not* emulate Europe's "moral

¹¹⁴ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 656b–657b.

¹¹⁵ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 468a, 748a, 935b–936a, 939a. As in some other cases, Ottoman conditions compared favorably to Russian ones, according to Dr. Boris, who spoke of loutish waiters who could not answer a simple question without scratching in places that it would not be polite to mention.

¹¹⁶ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 936b–937a; underneath the French, the same signs bore the unequivocal Ottoman legend: "*Kapudan ile musahabet memnudur*" (Conversation with the Captain Is Forbidden). The politeness, efficiency, and multilingualism of a young woman whom he encountered serving on a steamer on the Bodensee between Konstanz and Lindau prompted this comparative reflection on the steamers on Istanbul's waters.

¹¹⁷ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 637a, 1001a.

¹¹⁸ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 1004b–1005b.

¹¹⁹ It helps to note his experiences with museums before he reached Berlin, Paris, and Vienna. As protégé of Osman Hamdi, director of the Istanbul Antiquities Museum, Ahmed Midhat was aware of the major collection of antiquities from Ottoman lands; he had exaggerated in implying that the Ottomans had no museum at all. Among the first European museums he took in were the Nordic Museum in Stockholm and the museum of period buildings at Bygdö outside Oslo-Christiania (*Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 235a–237b, 272a–277b; Nylander, *Orientalistkongressen*, 64–65). All these were museums where a society represents its own past rather than its dominance over others. The Nordic Museum excited his spirit of enterprise, and he proposed an Ottoman ethnographic museum, which would be second to none in richness of exhibits and would draw visitors to Istanbul as the Nordic Museum did to Stockholm.

progress.” A further look at elements he placed under that label will amplify what he meant.

Having to negotiate nineteenth-century European expectations about *dress and deportment*, Ahmed Midhat confronted the intricacy of comparing Ottoman and European lifestyles in matters great and small, far more than would be the case today. He had to master the niceties of introductions and calling cards, the gradations in dress required for the congress, and the mores that not only allowed men and women to mingle freely but also required that he know how to play the cavalier. What could be stranger than for a white-bearded professor to kiss the hand of a young woman, rather than the other way round?¹²⁰ In Stockholm, where some “oriental” delegates wore Western dress and others did not, Ahmed Midhat discovered that while those in Eastern dress were not expected to know how to behave, Easterners in Western dress would not be forgiven the least mistake. Madame Gülnar’s coaching helped him, while reinforcing the point. When he went out in public with the Western-garbed Egyptians, they attracted little notice. But when they went out with the Islamic religious scholars (ulema), the sight of the latter’s Islamic dress drew thousands of gawkers. At the congress, the European scholars “took fright” of the ulema but showed no reluctance to talk to Egyptians in Western dress.¹²¹

Europeans also allowed things that Ahmed Midhat found outrageous. The police would intervene if they saw a man in the streets with his trousers unbuttoned but would allow prostitutes to throng the music halls, using foul language and throwing “paper bullets” at men to get their attention. Truly, decorum was one field in which Ottomans most needed a guidebook to Europe. Ahmed Midhat would soon devote a tome to this extensive study.¹²² Not all the advantages were on Europe’s side, yet if European etiquette was a fit subject for a book, then was all Europe’s “moral progress” really decline?

Questions of dress and deportment bring us back to the individual. The most complex issue in East-West comparisons was *women’s status*, another question complicated by the intricacy of nineteenth-century norms. At the reception where Ahmed Midhat first met Madame Gülnar, for example, she told him straight off that she admired everything about Ottoman culture except veiling. Later that evening, the ballet reopened this question, and they both disapproved of the dancers’ exposure. In an era when European women were normally almost as covered up as Muslim ones, what justified *décolletage* or skimpy ballet costumes?¹²³

Ahmed Midhat had many moments of puzzlement. Upon arrival at Stockholm’s Grand Hotel, his request for a bath and a haircut in his room was fulfilled by a woman hairdresser and a woman bath attendant, much to his discomfiture, although he found no fault in the masseuse’s respect for the privacy that a Muslim man had

¹²⁰ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan*, 232a–b.

¹²¹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan*, 217a, 226b–228a; Nylander, *Orientalistkongressen*, 6.

¹²² Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan*, 582b; and *Avrupa Adab-ı Muâşeretî, yahut, Alafranga* [European Etiquette, or, Alafranga] (Istanbul, 1312/1894–95).

¹²³ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan*, 174b, 186b; Nora Şeni, “La mode et le vêtement féminin dans la presse satirique d’Istanbul à la fin du XIX^e siècle,” in *Presse Turque et Presse de Turquie*, Nathalie Clayer, et al., eds. (Istanbul and Paris, 1992), 190–209; Findley, “La soumise,” 154–56, veil and corset as alternatives symbolic of Islamic and European constructions of patriarchy.

to maintain. He commented that women's employment was widespread in Sweden, yet, because both men and women knew how to behave, no impropriety resulted. Thereafter, he encountered many women honorably employed and always commented positively.¹²⁴ Did such revelations cause moments of cognitive dissonance for Ottoman readers? If so, they had the larger surprise of Madame Gülnar, the "new woman" who added the honor of accomplishment to that of virtuous behavior.

The greater shock was that of women who did not behave virtuously. While hardly the kind of anti-Europeanist who depicted all European women as depraved,¹²⁵ Ahmed Midhat was shocked by European nightlife, much to Madame Gülnar's amazement. He was horrified by the behavior of prostitutes. No Victorian hypocrisy or prudery, his reaction expresses the "communitarian puritanism" of the Muslim Ottoman reformer whose novels obsessively moralized about the evils of "super-westernization."¹²⁶

Most troubling were representations in which Europeans projected an over-charged eroticism onto Islamic societies. In Stockholm, commenting extemporaneously on a paper about Islamic women, Ahmed Midhat critiqued the voluptuous odalisque image of the harem woman, attributing it to European writers and poets rather than scholars. He began with a perfect word-painting of the scantily clad, recumbent woman, being fanned by the black servant with the peacock-feather fan, and smoking a water pipe, its hose in serpentine coils. Without missing a beat, he concluded in the patriarchal mode by attacking the idea that such had been the mothers of the great men of Islam.¹²⁷ For him, the belly dancers in Paris invoked the same imagery.

Among the many female images presented in his book, it is easy to see where the dancing girls and prostitutes fit into his evaluative scheme of material progress and moral decay. Where, however, did the positive images fit? Contradicting Ottoman norms and contrasting radically with the fallen women, the positively portrayed European women—above all, Madame Gülnar—stand out more than any other human figures in the narrative.

Ahmed Midhat's ideas about *family and society* provide a larger context for his view of women. While he met many Europeans who impressed him positively, including entrepreneurs who gave him guided tours of their businesses,¹²⁸ he identified European society largely with the pathologies accompanying industrialization. Here, the data correspond best to the picture of material progress and

¹²⁴ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 113b, 116a–117a, 616b, 748a–b, 887a–888a, 936a.

¹²⁵ Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "Imagining Western Women: Occidentalism and Euro-Eroticism," *Radical America* 24 (1990): 73–87; Tavakoli-Targhi, "Persian Gaze and Women of the Occident," 22, 26.

¹²⁶ Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life," 415–16; Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 67a–b, 579a–581a, 811b–812a, 975a, 989b, 1017b. Another point where the Ottoman situation compared favorably to the Russian: his discussions with Madame Gülnar and Dr. Boris convinced him that the influx of undesirables into their countries did more harm to Russia because of the elites' willingness to mix socially with European gamblers and entertainers (444b, 471b–472b, 1017b).

¹²⁷ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 164b–165a, extemporizing because he was unable to understand the obscure style of the speaker, Hamza Faṭḥallah, who later published his views as *Bākūrat al-Kalām 'alā Ḥuqūq al-Nisā' fī 'l-Islām* [On the Rights of Women in Islam] (Cairo, 1891); Louca, *Voyageurs et écrivains égyptiens*, 203–06. Azhar-trained, Ignaz Goldziher found this the most interesting presentation at this session: "Vom Stockholmer Orientalisten-Kongress," *Pester Lloyd*, no. 249, September 10, 1889.

¹²⁸ Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 55a, 523a–525b, 827b–829a.

moral decay. He had a sociologist's eye for the atomized family and lonely individual in the modern metropolis. For him, real happiness meant living with one's family in one's own home. He and Madame Gülnar had been amazed to conclude that most dwellers in the fine Parisian buildings did not own their own housing.¹²⁹ They agreed—wrongly in her case regarding Russia—that 90 percent of families in Istanbul, Moscow, or Petersburg were homeowners. That compensated for the humble aspect of those dwellings and proved that their owners enjoyed “moral prosperity,” while Parisians had only “outward prosperity.”¹³⁰

As for life inside Parisian dwellings, newspaper statistics showed that a third of births were illegitimate.¹³¹ Most families farmed out their children to wet nurses.¹³² Family relations, as depicted in “realist” novels, were terrible. Those born illegitimate were denied even the meager comforts of French family life. They grew up without religion. Even nationalism was undermined by partisan political division. Consider the man with no legitimate kin, no property, no faith, adhering politically not to his nation but to one of many political parties, and regarding the others with enmity. Such was the plight of one-third of the 2.5 million Parisians. In contrast, Ahmed Midhat preferred the *vie patriarcale* that his own household embodied.

Madame Gülnar reportedly found these arguments so convincing that while she had once thought Russia not a fit place to live, she began to appreciate its way of life, thanks to Ahmed Midhat. In drawing up his balance sheet of material progress and moral decay, what had consoled him most, he wrote, was that “still-backward peoples like us easterners” preserved a happiness that Europeans had lost. Ottomans must not emulate Europe's moral “progress”; that would deprive them of

¹²⁹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 658b: Madame Gülnar recalled statistics indicating that the 2.5 million Parisians were housed under 30,000 roofs; from this, he deduced that fewer than 1 in 800 Parisians could own the buildings they lived in. In Paris, the growth associated with industrialization, redevelopment under the Second Empire, and continued upscaling of the central districts had led to rising rents, speculative building dominated by building societies, and extremely squalid conditions for workers in the outer *arrondissements*; Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Housing the Poor of Paris, 1850–1902* (Madison, Wis., 1985), chaps. 2–4; Adeline Daumard, *Les bourgeois et la bourgeoisie en France depuis 1815* (Paris, 1987), 106–07; Daumard, *Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiens au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1965); Norma Evenson, *Paris: A Century of Change, 1878–1978* (New Haven, Conn., 1979), 199–218. Greater publicity may have made Ahmed Midhat more conscious of housing problems in Paris than in Istanbul.

¹³⁰ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 659b–660a, 662a. He cited Istanbul house prices and should have known conditions there; yet his statement may have less to do with the housing market than with the fact that the house symbolized patriarchal authority and family integrity in his novels, while rented housing symbolized loss of those values: Parla, *Babalar*, 100–01. For Istanbul as a pre-industrial city, ownership, mostly of rudimentary wooden houses, may still have been common, but frequent fires and in-migration had created a housing shortage, and quality of housing would have been low by international standards; Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households*, 32–35, 49. In St. Petersburg or Moscow, ownership of housing probably prevailed in the social milieux Madame Gülnar frequented, but housing for the majority was far worse than in Paris; Joseph Bradley, *Muzhik and Muscovite: Urbanization in Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 53–56, 194–215; James H. Bater, *St Petersburg: Industrialization and Change* (London, 1976), 173–81.

¹³¹ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa'da bir Cevelan*, 767a; Rachel Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris: Strategies for Survival in the Nineteenth Century* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), 4, 36: over 30 percent in the first half of the century, the Parisian illegitimacy rate for the whole century was at least 25 percent.

¹³² George D. Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk: The Wet-Nursing Business in France, 1715–1914* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), associating wet-nursing mostly with the mothers' need to work.

the spiritual values of their “ancient civilization and Islamic religiosity.”¹³³ The pendant to the Europe of material progress and moral decay was an Ottoman world that was materially poor and backward but morally rich and uncorrupted—an Ottoman world that might, however, be enriched not just by modern machinery but also by some of the ideas and human qualities to be found among Europeans at their best.

ALTHOUGH AHMED MIDHAT’S JOURNEY led him to such scenes of European alteritist legerdemain as the orientalist congress and world exhibition, it was for him a trip from the Europe of his prior imaginings to the “real” Europe. While there, by looking for good in both European Other and Ottoman-Islamic Self, by extending his analysis beyond the topics privileged by Ottoman political thinkers, and by imaginatively introducing exogenous voices—including a female voice—into his narrative, he not only explored the “material” domain assigned to the Other, he also reflected on the “moral” or “spiritual” domain claimed for the Self, a realm essential for the creation of a modern Ottoman culture.

His references to the “material” and “spiritual” are not statements to judge by their logical consistency. Rather, they are alternate names for Self and Other in a discursive system characterized by enunciative dispersion. Just as European Orientalist alteritism produced contradictory assertions about the Other that nonetheless cohered in differentiating the Other from the Self, so Ahmed Midhat’s Occidentalism produced contradictory statements about the “material” and the “spiritual” that cohered in differentiating the “material” Other from the “spiritual” Self. The essentialist terminology of “material” and “spiritual” proved but symbolic reference points for an analysis that ultimately reached beyond alteritist polarization, singling out some non-material forms of progress—entrepreneurial spirit, the “extraordinary order,” the idea of the “new woman”—as worthy for appropriation from the realm of the supposedly “material” Other to that of the “spiritual” Self.¹³⁴

If Chinese Occidentalism served domestically for oppression at some times, for liberation at others, Ahmed Midhat’s Occidentalism combined political conformism under an oppressive regime with social, economic, and cultural self-strengthening for Ottoman society. That sufficed to make him a conservative dissident from the political progressives’ utopian visions of modernity. Those, however, were visions that could not even be published in Istanbul between about 1880 and the Young Turk revolution of 1908, a period during which publication and the circulation of new ideas nonetheless expanded rapidly. Ahmed Midhat’s ideas would later be left behind in the backwash of the emergent, linear, national narrative, yet they are essential for understanding his period, and they have lasting value. The only major Ottoman thinker of the pre-1908 period who sought to achieve a balanced blend of

¹³³ Ahmed Midhat, *Avrupa’da bir Cevlan*, 765b, 771b, 1005b.

¹³⁴ Compare Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 132–34, discussing how, in India, the issue of female emancipation was re-sited over time from the “material” realm (open to discussion with the colonizer) to the “spiritual” realm (not open to discussion with the colonizer).

East and West,¹³⁵ “matter” and “spirit,” he as Occidental clearly showed how an Ottoman thinker could creatively engage with Europe and yet resist its cultural power, a power that—if omnipresent—was not omnipotent.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Okay, *Ahmed Midhat*, 408, noting that the same concern appears after the 1908 revolution in two thinkers, the Islamist poet Mehmet Akif (1873–1936) and the social thinker and nationalist ideologue Ziya Gökalp (1875–1924).

¹³⁶ Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, *Postmodern Theory: Critical Interrogations* (New York, 1991), 55: “Misinterpretations of Foucault turn on a conflation between power as omnipresent and omnipotent,” a statement applicable to much anti-Orientalist criticism; Schick, *Erotic Margin*, 94.

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AHR Forum
The Persistence of the Renaissance

The Renaissance remains a focal point of conflict and controversy, despite changes in historians' methods and interests that have threatened and continue to threaten its standing as a significant object of historical inquiry. This AHR Forum examines the state of Renaissance studies at the end of the twentieth century and twenty years after William J. Bouwsma's notable AHA Presidential Address, in which he marked the passing of the traditional organization of Western history including the Renaissance. Essays by Kenneth Gouwens and Paula Findlen analyze the continuing lure of the Renaissance and suggest how recent work in intellectual and cultural history can give the term a new meaning and new place in our understanding of the past. Gouwens does so by redefining Renaissance humanism as a discursive field, Findlen by examining Renaissance material culture as a source of historical consciousness. Bouwsma, Anthony Grafton, and Randolph Starn conclude the Forum with comments on the essays and on the larger issue of the place of the Renaissance in contemporary historical scholarship.

Introduction: The Persistence of the Renaissance

PAULA FINDLEN and KENNETH GOUWENS

IN HIS LANDMARK PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS to the American Historical Association twenty years ago, William J. Bouwsma spoke of the “collapse of the traditional dramatic organization of Western history” and, with it, the privileged place of the Renaissance in that narrative. The 1950s had witnessed the development of an “amiable but slightly complacent consensus” among historians that the Renaissance occupied a pivotal position in a linear process of development culminating in the modern age.¹ By the late 1970s, however, three related developments in historiography were undermining that consensus. First, social historians, who had come to dominate the profession around the time that Bouwsma was writing, preferred to focus on popular rather than elite culture. Since the accomplishments of the latter had traditionally supported claims for the importance of the Renaissance, there was little room in this new narrative of society for the intellectual, cultural, and political activities around which the concept had coalesced.²

At the same time, the Renaissance became an important testing ground for the newly emerging field of women’s history. In her classic essay, “Did Women Have a Renaissance?” appearing two years before Bouwsma gave his address, Joan Kelly transformed the image of the Renaissance from a Burckhardtian epiphany for the individual into a period of declining freedoms and social and political retrenchment for women.³ The new emphasis on the restrictions faced even by elite women further undermined the salutary image of the Renaissance that traditional accounts had presented. If the Renaissance had mostly a negative effect on half the population, as Kelly suggested, then it was hardly a movement to embrace.

The final blow to the Renaissance was philosophical rather than empirical. Doubts about the intelligibility of the modern age combined with a postmodern incredulity toward metanarratives to undercut *any* claim of filiation between the

¹ William J. Bouwsma, “The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History,” *AHR* 84 (February 1979): 1. The address was delivered at the Annual Meeting of the AHA in San Francisco, December 28, 1978. For the broader context of postwar consensus among historians in the United States, see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), pt. 3 (“Objectivity Reconstructed”).

² On the triumph of social history in the late 1970s, see Lawrence Stone, “Social History,” in Stone, *The Past and the Present* (Boston, 1981); and Lynn Hunt, “Introduction,” in Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History: Essays* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

³ Joan Kelly, “Did Women Have a Renaissance?” in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds. (Boston, 1977). See also the response of David Herlihy, “Did Women Have a Renaissance? A Reconsideration,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 13 (1985): 1–22.

Renaissance and the present. In such changing times, the Renaissance no longer looked like a bold statement about the birth pangs of the modern world but appeared to be an antiquarian's category. Surveying the shambles into which his chosen field had fallen, Bouwsma lamented that "the venerable Renaissance label has become little more than an administrative convenience, a kind of blanket under which we huddle together less out of mutual attraction than because, for certain purposes, we have nowhere else to go."⁴

In the two decades since Bouwsma's essay appeared, the Renaissance has proved far more resilient than had seemed imaginable in the 1970s, even while defying coherent resynthesis. Most of the leading research universities in the United States today include a Renaissance specialist, and the subject remains prominent in department catalogues, syllabi, and course descriptions.⁵ If institutional inertia partly explains this persistence, consumer demand also plays a role. While students may not flock to courses on the Renaissance in the numbers that they did when it enjoyed pride of place in Western Civilization surveys, there is still a healthy clientele for the subject. Drawn in part by past exposure to artistic images from fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italy, students come with expectations about what the Renaissance is that derive largely from the popular culture of the Renaissance that has given it a stable niche in the world of documentaries, museum exhibits, and even consumer goods such as Caryco's "Dress-Me-Up" Michelangelo's *David* refrigerator magnets.⁶ Even students who have never before studied the Renaissance usually arrive with a cluster of assumptions about the period's uniquely optimistic view of human potentiality and of individual creativity. They tend to approach the Renaissance with a confidence in the importance of its more prominent artifacts and with some sense that knowledge of it should be a vital part of their cultural edification.

In contrast to their students, however, history faculty have remained uncomfortable with the term "Renaissance"—so much so, in fact, that many have substituted the lackluster and no less value-laden term "Early Modern" (a curious choice, particularly on the part of scholars ostensibly fleeing teleological narratives). Studying early modern Europe admittedly can encompass the Renaissance, but it no longer makes it a focal point of the transition to the world that we inhabit. The *Annaliste* historiography against which Bouwsma reacted twenty years ago, which emphasized gradual structural changes, has given way to microhistorical studies that are less embedded in any overarching narrative—studies that exhibit a fascination with the unique and, at times, sensational aspects of human experience. Consequently, the base of our knowledge has expanded, but no coherent paradigm has emerged, only an increasingly complex mosaic of details from a wider social spectrum and geographical range.⁷ Few of us would endorse a return to the old

⁴ Bouwsma, "Renaissance and the Drama of Western History," 3.

⁵ Edward Muir, "The Italian Renaissance in America," *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1095–1118, esp. 1107.

⁶ Other consumer products playing on Renaissance images include Don Martin's "Mona Laffa" and "Mona Crya" coffee mugs, the Sistine Chapel Ceiling umbrella, and *National Lampoon's* "Undiscovered Notebook of Leonardo da Vinci."

⁷ Current consensus represents something of a balance between Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's classic statement that nothing had changed over five hundred years and the alternate view that history was a series of discrete, dramatic events. See Le Roy Ladurie, "History That Stands Still," in *The Mind and*

pieties about the place of the Renaissance in "The Rise of the West," yet the current incoherence of the Renaissance, as a historian's category, deserves further reflection when the subject remains so lively as an aspect of public history. If scholars persist in situating their work *in* the Renaissance, as many social historians seem to do judging by the titles of their books, which suggest that there is a world of "Renaissance" lovers, urban criminals, homicidal townspeople, agricultural laborers, and rioting wool carders to be explored, then we need to continue to redefine the concept in a meaningful way.⁸ The often vague and laconic use of the term "Renaissance" in such work begs the question rather than addresses it.

The arrival of the "new" social history and the post-1960s disillusionment with the narrative of Western Civilization did not, however, put an end to the study of the "elite" culture of the Renaissance. Indeed, scholarship in the past decade has reinvigorated Renaissance studies in ways that Bouwsma could not have predicted. Foremost among these have been developments in cultural and intellectual history and a renewed emphasis on interdisciplinary scholarship in the humanities. With the advent of the "new cultural history," Renaissance cultural materials have proved to be fertile ground for doing the sorts of close iconographic and textual readings that are the hallmark of this burgeoning field. Similarly, the continuing popularity of the "new historicism" in the realm of literature, a subject created by a core of prominent Renaissance scholars such as Stephen Greenblatt, has emphasized the importance of interdisciplinary methodologies in approaching a past that is largely discernible through the interconnections between literary and visual documentation.⁹ Such scholarship has not created a new coherent portrait of the Renaissance, by any means, but it has at least presented it as an object lesson in how to interpret culture.

Renaissance intellectual history, meanwhile, has proved remarkably resilient, and the hermeneutics of reading and methods of textual criticism have proved especially fruitful areas of inquiry.¹⁰ This work has fundamentally transformed how we look at humanists' practices. In so doing, however, it has also called into doubt the vaunted "modernity" of Renaissance humanists' methods as well as the transformative

Method of the Historian, Siân Reynolds and Ben Reynolds, trans. (Chicago, 1981). For an overview of this tradition, see Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School, 1929–89* (Stanford, Calif., 1990). Microhistory, as practiced by such historians as Carlo Ginzburg, has also moved the field further away from the traditional story of the Renaissance. For a trenchant assessment of the shortcomings of microhistory as practiced by American scholars of the Renaissance, see Anthony Molho, "American Historians and the Italian Renaissance: An Overview," *Schifanoia* 8 (1989): 9–17, esp. 16. While we cannot agree with all of Professor Molho's criticisms, his cautions about the fragmentation of the field surely merit our attention.

⁸ The following prominent titles suggest the range of subjects for which social historians have appropriated the "Renaissance" imprimatur: Judith C. Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 1986); Samuel Kline Cohn, Jr., *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980); Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance* (Baltimore, Md., 1993); Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1996); and Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (New York, 1993).

⁹ See, for example, Randolph Starn, "Seeing Culture," in Hunt, *New Cultural History*; and Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980).

¹⁰ See William J. Bouwsma, "From History of Ideas to History of Meaning," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12 (1981): 279–91.

power of their encounters with ancient texts.¹¹ By implication, when not explicitly, these studies pose the question, was the classical revival itself really of such great historical consequence? Rather than emphasizing the traditional view of humanism as the cultivation of skills that shaped the modern spirit, this new form of scholarship presents the Renaissance as an epoch in which we can watch closely the formation of a literary canon and the subsequent birth of many modern disciplines of knowledge.

In the space of this *Forum*, we do not presume to articulate a universally acceptable reinterpretation of the Renaissance. Nonetheless, we do believe that certain elements within recent scholarship suggest that we can, in fact, define the term meaningfully in a way that seemed impossible before the emergence of the new intersection between cultural and intellectual history. Claims to a special filiation with the present were never really a sound basis on which to build a field, so perhaps it is best that we follow the practices of Renaissance humanists themselves, and claim the past for the future. As the millennium approaches, the time for conceptual *renovatio* may be at hand.

¹¹ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986).

AHR Forum
Perceiving the Past:
Renaissance Humanism after the “Cognitive Turn”

KENNETH GOUWENS

IN HIS AHA PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TWO DECADES AGO, William J. Bouwsma sought to redefine the “Renaissance” in a way that freed it from its mooring to traditional teleological narratives of the “rise of the West” that had fallen into disrepute. While resisting the temptation to portray the “Renaissance” as the font of modernity, he did identify in Renaissance thought anticipations of late twentieth-century tenets about the constructedness of language and culture. In so doing, Bouwsma reaffirmed the abiding historical significance of Renaissance humanism, the subject on which his own scholarship had long focused.¹ We may find it startling, then, that the word “humanism” does not appear in the body of the essay, an omission that can scarcely have been accidental.² Perhaps, in 1978, Bouwsma finessed mention of the term because of a desire to reach beyond traditional categories? Yet since “humanism” continues to appear in the titles of academic articles and monographs, one may inquire into its durability. How has a concept long considered part and parcel of the “history of ideas” fared in the past twenty years, as the triumphant social history of the 1970s has given way to forms of “cultural” history? As we enter a new millennium, what approaches to the study of Renaissance humanism promise the firmest methodological purchase and the most heuristic value? On what grounds, finally, might such a seemingly unfashionable subject still merit the attention of the broader community of historians?

This essay will argue that Renaissance humanism provides an especially rich site for exploring the power of the past to shape and even to transform its students. It urges intellectual historians, in particular, to deepen the exploration of questions raised by the “linguistic turn” by drawing on recent scholarship in the field of cognitive psychology, particularly as it has been elaborated by Jerome Bruner.³

For helpful comments on drafts of this essay, I am indebted to Paula Findlen, Katharine Cheap, Julia Gaisser, Frances Jamerson, John Martin, Patricia Osmond, Ross Eittle Pemberton, Sheryl Reiss, Lawrence Rhu, Ronald Witt, and the two anonymous readers selected by the *AHR*.

¹ Bouwsma has long been recognized as a leading authority on Renaissance humanism. Among his more important publications are *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1968); *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1990); and an AHA pamphlet entitled *The Interpretation of Renaissance Humanism* (Washington, D.C., 1959), reprinted in 1966 and again in 1973 (AHA pamphlet no. 401, now under the title *The Culture of Renaissance Humanism*).

² “Humanism” appears only in the titles of the works cited in the notes to Bouwsma’s address, “The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History,” *AHR* 84 (February 1979): 1–15.

³ Over the past quarter-century, the field of cognitive psychology has burgeoned in both its theoretical sophistication and therapeutic applications, a development that has gone mostly unnoticed

Specifically, Bruner's central thesis in *The Culture of Education* (1996) "is that culture shapes mind, that it provides us with the toolkit by which we construct not only our worlds but our very conceptions of our selves and our powers."⁴ It is important to note that, while Bruner takes into account recent research about the mechanisms by which the mind processes information, he focuses on the ways in which "human beings in cultural communities create and transform meanings."⁵ His new hybrid, "cultural psychology," thus emphasizes the intersubjective context in which individuals process perceptions, construct systems of meaning, and communicate them to others. Thus our meaning-making (both individual and collective) takes place not in some abstract realm of computation but in dialogic encounters (whether imagined or real) in which emotions and feelings figure prominently. The self is neither exclusively formed from without nor oblivious to its cultural environment but develops through its interaction with that environment.⁶

By taking into account the cognitive dimension of the revival of antiquity—that is, Renaissance humanists' intellectual and affective encounter with the past, their interpretations of that encounter, and its consequent shaping of their conceptual vocabularies and modes of experiencing the world—we can better gauge the impact of the study of the ancients upon them. Moreover, by making the "cognitive turn," we as historians may better be able to appreciate the dynamics—and the transformative potential—of our own dialogic encounters with individuals and cultures of the past.

The interpretation of "humanism" long dominant among intellectual historians, one that treats it as a specific program of studies championed by professional rhetoricians, has tended to undervalue its transformative aspects. In particular, a

among historians and literary critics, many of whom still give pride of place to Freudian and Lacanian approaches or their variants. For an overview of cognitive psychology, see John R. Anderson, *Cognitive Psychology and Its Implications*, 4th edn. (New York, 1995); John B. Best, *Cognitive Psychology*, 4th edn. (Minneapolis, 1995); and Robert L. Solso, *Cognitive Psychology*, 4th edn. (Boston, 1995). Its arrival as a subdiscipline has been marked recently by the appearance of guides such as *The Blackwell Dictionary of Cognitive Psychology*, Michael W. Eysenck, et al., eds. (Oxford, 1991); and Ian Stuart-Hamilton, *Dictionary of Cognitive Psychology* (London, 1995). For an example of the field's possibilities, see the provocative collection *Thinking in Sound: The Cognitive Psychology of Human Audition*, Stephen McAdams and Emmanuel Bigand, eds. (Oxford, 1993). One recent study has applied the category to the theories of cognition in medieval Europe: Simon Kemp, *Cognitive Psychology in the Middle Ages* (Westport, Conn., 1996). Eysenck, *Blackwell Dictionary*, 61, provides a useful starting point for approaching the field: "Cognitive psychology is concerned with information processing, and includes a variety of processes such as attention, perception, learning, and memory; it is also concerned with the structures and representations involved in cognition. The greatest difference between the approach adopted by cognitive psychologists and that followed by the Behaviorists is that cognitive psychologists are interested in identifying in detail what happens between stimulus and response." While Eysenck favors a mechanistic view, this essay will draw extensively (albeit not uncritically) on the more humanistic theories of Jerome Bruner, *The Culture of Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996). Bruner himself wishes to move beyond the "cognitive revolution" (to which he has made numerous influential contributions) to advocate a "cultural" approach that, in contradistinction to more mechanistic/computational variants of cognitive psychology, emphasizes the vital role of intersubjectivity along with affect in the processes of cognition and meaning formation. See the review by Clifford Geertz, "Learning with Bruner," *New York Review of Books* 44 (April 10, 1997): 22–24.

⁴ Bruner, *Culture of Education*, x.

⁵ Bruner, *Culture of Education*, 4.

⁶ Bruner, *Culture of Education*, 14, elegantly states this position: "Interpretations of meaning reflect not only the idiosyncratic histories of individuals, but also the culture's canonical ways of constructing reality. Nothing is 'culture free,' but neither are individuals simply mirrors of their culture. It is the interaction between them that both gives a communal cast to individual thought and imposes a certain unpredictable richness on any culture's way of life, thought, or feeling."

myopic focus on the often austere formal writings of humanists has led inadvertently to our studying them apart from the broader cultural milieu in which they participated. Recent revisionist scholarship has provided a clearer sense of just how humanists actually read texts—that is, their training, methods, and hermeneutic assumptions. Despite its efforts to situate reading in its socioeconomic contexts, however, this scholarship has tended to undermine rather than to validate claims for the historical significance of the humanists. Thus it is perhaps not surprising—though nonetheless remarkable—that an entire generation of social historians has practically written humanism out of its narrative of the Renaissance, which they have conceived of, more often than not, as a period rather than as a cultural movement. Tellingly, Edward Muir's recent survey of American historical scholarship on the Italian Renaissance gives negligible attention to developments in the field of intellectual history over the past quarter-century.⁷

And yet it is precisely this overlooked recent scholarship in intellectual history that has opened the way for a “cognitive turn” in our understanding of the significance of the Renaissance. Close work on humanists' textual criticism has focused our attention on how they actually read and appropriated classical sources. Now, we must expand this base to attend to the totality of the humanist encounter with antiquity: an encounter that included the revival and imitation of less edifying texts as well as of the elevated ones, and that extended beyond the strictures of literary imitation to include an effort to re-create modes of thought and of living that ancient authors had idealized. When viewed in this context, the affective dimension of humanism becomes clearer, and we can better appreciate the enthusiasm that propelled the revival of antiquity in the Renaissance, in which literary pursuits, artistic production, and formation of character constituted a dynamic, unified program of cultural restoration and renewal. Thus interpreted, Renaissance humanism provides a rich site for examining the consequences of scholars' encounter with the past—a past that in time came to include not only antiquity but also the earlier years of the Renaissance itself, which sixteenth-century humanists reified for posterity as a completed period just as they were becoming aware of their own distance from it. Once we have restored the experiential elements to our conception of humanism, we can better appreciate its significance, both for our study of the historic importance of the Renaissance and, more generally, for our own encounter as historians with remembered cultural pasts: an encounter whose potentially transformative power becomes manifest in the light of recent scholarship on perception, memory, and the interactive context within which the self takes shape.⁸

⁷ Edward Muir, “The Italian Renaissance in America,” *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1095–1118. The generation in question consists of the “students on the other side of the lectern in the late 1960s who later happened to become historians of Renaissance Italy” (Muir, 1106), whose accomplishments garner most of Muir's praises. While surveying recent developments in social, economic, and political history, Muir omits mention of the contemporaneous pioneering work of intellectual historians such as Arthur Field (Indiana), Anthony Grafton (Princeton), James Hankins (Harvard), Eugene F. Rice, Jr. (Columbia), Nancy Struener (Johns Hopkins), and Ronald Witt (Duke). I single out these scholars from the many intellectual historians of the Renaissance who have published internationally influential books and essays within the past quarter-century because all six are affiliated with institutions that Muir includes in his listing of the top twenty-eight graduate schools of history (Muir, 1107, n46).

⁸ Bruner, *Culture of Education*, 36: “What characterizes human selfhood is the construction of a

WHILE SCHOLARS HAVE LONG VIEWED HUMANISM as the central intellectual movement of the Renaissance, the term has too often served as an amorphous catch-all phrase for describing the ideals and aspirations of fourteenth through sixteenth-century European intellectuals. Since the 1940s, however, Paul Oskar Kristeller has articulated and periodically restated an interpretation that has by now gained general assent. Kristeller defined Renaissance humanism as a “broad cultural and literary movement” with “important philosophical implications and consequences” but with no shared philosophical doctrine except “a belief in the value of man and the humanities and in the revival of ancient learning.”⁹ Humanists advocated a wide-ranging cultural and educational program centered on the *studia humanitatis*—grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry, and moral philosophy—training in each of which included the study of Greek, and especially Latin, classical texts. They tended to be professional rhetoricians, serving either as teachers of the humanities or as secretaries to princes or civic governments. Sharing an emphasis on the dignity of humankind and on the importance of individual experience, they found in the writings of classical authors, and particularly in Cicero’s and Quintilian’s rhetorical works, theories of composition and models for imitation that helped them to express these concerns.¹⁰

While Kristeller’s definition has provided a useful structure for approaching the study of humanism, its very rigor has proved restrictive, the “broad cultural and literary movement” often being reduced in practice to a narrower conception of the identity, activities, and influence of the humanists. As Bouwsma wrote in 1975, since the definition “depends on the identification of a kind of lowest common denominator for humanism, it may also have the unintended effect of reducing our perception of its rich variety and thus of limiting our grasp of its historical significance.”¹¹ Yet no alternate definition has come close to taking its

conceptual system that organizes, as it were, a ‘record’ of agentive encounters with the world, a record that is related to the past (that is, ‘autobiographical memory,’ so-called) but that is also extrapolated into the future—self with history and with possibility. It is a ‘possible self’ that regulates aspiration, confidence, optimism, and their opposites. While this ‘constructed’ self-system is inner, private, and suffused with affect, it also extends outward to the things and activities and places with which we become ‘ego-involved’—William James’s ‘extended self.’”

⁹ Within the vast bibliography on the topic, see esp. Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948); Vito R. Giustiniani, “Homo, Humanus, and the Meanings of ‘Humanism,’” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46 (1985): 167–95; and Paul Oskar Kristeller, “The Humanist Movement,” in *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York, 1961), 3–23 (quotation from 22). The best recent synthesis is that of Ronald G. Witt, “The Humanist Movement,” in Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1995), 2: 93–125. See also Donald R. Kelley, *Renaissance Humanism* (Boston, 1991); Jill Kraye, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge, 1996); and Charles G. Nauert, Jr., *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, 1995).

¹⁰ Kristeller, “Humanist Movement,” 19–21. On the importance of Cicero, see also Hans Baron, “Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 22 (1938): 72–97; and *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, rev. edn. (Princeton, N.J., 1966).

¹¹ William J. Bouwsma, “The Two Faces of Humanism: Stoicism and Augustinianism in Renaissance Thought,” in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of Its European Transformations*, Heiko A. Oberman with Thomas A. Brady, Jr., eds. (Leiden, 1975): 3–60, at 3. On the other hand, as Kristeller has noted (“Humanist Movement,” 20), “Any particular statement gleaned from the work of a humanist may be countered by contrary assertions in the writings of contemporary

place.¹² Most recent studies of particular genres, humanists, or the reception of influential classical authors in the Renaissance have taken Kristeller's position as a starting point, detailing with precision the technical innovations of humanists but often sidestepping the critical issue of why Renaissance thinkers regarded their revival of antiquity as exciting and even transformative, let alone why our students and colleagues might potentially find them so as well.¹³ Undergraduates enter courses on the Renaissance at least casually acquainted with the artistic masterpieces created by Raphael and Michelangelo, yet usually with no prior knowledge of those artists' humanist contemporaries, such as Angelo Colocci and Jacopo Sadoleto. In discourse among professors, meanwhile, a proliferation of social-historical studies nominally on the "Renaissance" has tended to disregard the subject of humanism altogether. Aside from antiquarian curiosity or a resignation to mid-career inertia, then, why ought historians to bother teaching about or studying Renaissance humanism at all?

The case against emphasizing the importance of the humanist movement would seem at first glance to have gained added force from within intellectual history in the now-classic study *From Humanism to the Humanities*, by Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine.¹⁴ Focusing on the actual training and methods of humanists, they have

authors or even of the same author." Scholars of humanism who emphasize one of its philosophical dimensions, be it political, moral, or religious, have found a need to elaborate on Kristeller's strict definition. On political thought, see Baron, *Crisis*; and Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, Vol. 1: *The Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1978). On the humanist use of eloquence to direct people toward the good, see Hanna H. Gray, "Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24 (1963): 497–514. On humanist religious thought, see the following outstanding contributions: Salvatore I. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla: Umanesimo e Teologia* (Florence, 1972); John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore, 1983); Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1970); John W. O'Malley, S.J., *Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century: Preaching, Rhetoric, Spirituality and Reform* (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1993); Lewis W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963); Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, Ind., 1985); and Ronald G. Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works, and Thought of Coluccio Salutati* (Durham, N.C., 1983). For a recent rethinking of the broader analytic categories in which the debates about Renaissance humanism have long been embedded, see Randolph Starn, "Who's Afraid of the Renaissance?" in John Van Engen, ed., *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1994), 129–47.

¹² Bouwsma's own suggested solution, that Stoicism and Augustinianism should provide interpretive foci for understanding Renaissance humanism, has not gained much assent. The publication a decade ago of a three-volume collection of essays, most of which exemplify the Kristellerian approach to humanism, has by no means put an end to controversy: Albert Rabil, Jr., ed., *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1988). See Bouwsma's trenchant rejoinder in *Church History* 59 (1990): 65–70.

¹³ For genre studies, see John W. O'Malley, S.J., *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521* (Durham, N.C., 1979); George W. McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation in Italian Humanism* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); and John M. McManamon, S.J., *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989). For exemplary intellectual biographies, see John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic* (Leiden, 1976); O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden, 1968); and Witt, *Hercules*. On reception, see Julia Haig Gaisser, *Catullus and His Renaissance Readers* (Oxford, 1993); James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1990); and Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, Md., 1985).

¹⁴ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986).

helped to demystify the encounter with antiquity so celebrated by scholars such as Eugenio Garin.¹⁵ Skeptical of longstanding claims that humanistic education instilled moral excellence, they examined sources such as textbooks and student notes to reconstruct teachers' assumptions and methods. In practice, they argued, humanist education fell conspicuously short of its lofty ideals: rather than inspiring creativity and preparing citizens for the moral responsibilities of public service, it consisted primarily of rote memorization and drills. Both teacher and student notes evidence a focus on well-turned phrases rather than on any given author's argument as a whole. Students did gain facility in the Latin language, Grafton and Jardine conceded, but only in a way that stifled creativity and promoted a docility well-suited to courtly culture. Moreover, far from encouraging a transformative encounter with the minds of the classical past, humanist education amounted to little more than a wholesale appropriation of scraps sliced raw and bleeding from ancient texts, and prepared with the mildest of seasonings so that they might be consumed without upset to the body politic.¹⁶ If, on occasion, that fare seemed to have nourished and edified a creative genius, it was sheer coincidence, since the system of training militated against it.

Grafton's extensive articles and books on the history of textual criticism, meanwhile, have suggested that fourteenth and early fifteenth-century humanists lacked the scholarly tools necessary to comprehend the legacy of antiquity. If later textual critics in the humanistic tradition such as Angelo Poliziano, Joseph Scaliger, and Isaac Casaubon contributed much to modern critical methodologies, earlier humanists often made a hash of things in their encounters with ancient texts.¹⁷ James Hankins's magisterial *Plato in the Italian Renaissance* has similarly exposed the linguistic and critical weaknesses of early Renaissance readers of manuscripts of ancient Greek philosophy.¹⁸ Analyzing the ways that fifteenth-century Italian scholars interpreted Plato, he shows how Leonardo Bruni's fumbling attempts to understand the philosopher gave way to Marsilio Ficino's allegorical readings. Hankins demonstrates how both scholars sought to make Plato "safe" for fifteenth-century Christians, a desire motivated in part by marketing concerns for the commodity of Plato studies. Thus, while clarifying the problematics of presenting pagan texts to a Christian audience and the adaptive responses of interpreters to that challenge, Hankins also elucidates the deficiencies of figures such as Bruni as readers of ancient texts. The encounter with the past in early Renaissance

¹⁵ For an informative, if scathing, account of Garin's interpretation of Renaissance humanism, see Robert Black, "Italian Renaissance Education: Changing Perspectives and Continuing Controversies," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52 (1991): 315–34, esp. 316–19. For example, Garin wrote glowingly of the impact of humanist education: "The school created in fifteenth-century Italy was . . . an educator of man, capable of shaping a child's moral character so as not to be preconditioned but free, open in the future to every possible specialization, but before all else humane and whole, with social links to all mankind and endowed with the prerequisites for the mastery of all techniques but in full self-control" (translated by Black, "Italian Renaissance Education," 317).

¹⁶ I appropriate the phrase "raw and bleeding" from E. P. Thompson's review of Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, where it is deployed somewhat differently: "the concepts are not cut, raw and bleeding, from the side of context and applied to 17th-century England." Thompson, "Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context," *Midland History* 1, no. 3 (1972): 47.

¹⁷ Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1983–93); *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); and *Commerce with the Classics* (Ann Arbor, forthcoming).

¹⁸ Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*.

humanism comes across in Hankins's account as a rather tawdry affair, with Bruni translating Plato's writings in large part so that he can exploit them as cultural capital to enhance his own scholarly standing.¹⁹ In this, too, Hankins's account parallels Grafton and Jardine's argument, which portrays Guarino Guarini of Verona as using high-sounding claims about moral edification as a sales device for duping the upper classes into believing that his educational "product" would benefit their children. Rather than transforming culture, then, the revival of antiquity in the early Renaissance would appear to have amounted to little more than a marketing ploy on the part of intellectual entrepreneurs who managed to popularize a flawed and useless product, selling "antiquity reborn" to customers of the sort that are said to be "born every minute."

TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS to the field of intellectual history have tempered our appreciation of humanists' innovations with an awareness of the gap between ideals and practice, as well as of the influence of such mundane concerns as making a living on their choice of materials and manner of presentation. These studies have also set a new standard of subtlety and precision for discerning just how humanists read and rendered ancient sources. Yet the reconstruction of humanistic education from its explicit traces in students' notebooks builds on problematic assumptions. Few of us would wish our teaching and its impact on our students to be abstracted from lecture notes, whether our students' or our own, and we may well suspect that such sources do not reflect the entirety of Guarino's teaching, either. Surely, some of our own speculations on the significance or purpose of what we are doing tend to appear in the interstices of programmatic assignments and not in the notes on the lectern. Otherwise, these might sound (and in fact be) "canned." Admittedly, this argument from silence risks anachronism through projection; but, at the least, we ought to acknowledge the

¹⁹ I draw the term "cultural capital" from Pierre Bourdieu, whose work has influenced (albeit often only indirectly) much recent American scholarship, for instance, Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, Md., 1993), esp. 244–45. See Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1984). Bourdieu's approach to aesthetic taste leaves little room for pleasure as a motivation to consumption, excepting the rather hollow charms of one-upmanship and of delight in the cachet that certain items might be thought to bestow upon their owner. This is, in effect, a reduction of aesthetic appreciation to the level of that bottom-dwelling cultural critic, StarKist's Charlie the Tuna, who collected artifacts he imagined "tasteful" so as to increase his own desirability, yet did so with no regard for whether or not he might actually enjoy them. (I should note in passing that upon reading this essay, my colleague Lawrence Rhu alerted me to the fact that the Shakespeare scholar Michael Bristol has similarly drawn the StarKist analogy in discussing the concept of cultural capital. While I have yet to see Bristol's account, I am gratified that another Renaissance scholar concurs in finding something fishy about Bourdieu's reasoning.) Compare Bruner, *Culture of Education*, which highlights the more useful aspects of Bourdieu's approach to culture, albeit with insufficient acknowledgment of its pitfalls. See the criticisms of Bourdieu's assumptions in James D. Tracy, "Erasmus among the Postmodernists," in *Erasmus' Vision of the Church*, Hilmar M. Pabel, ed. (Kirksville, Mo., 1995), 1–40, at 23–24. On the tendency of "serious" scholarship to underestimate or disregard the significance of aesthetic pleasure, see the observations of Randolph Starn, "Pleasure in the Visual Arts," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Views from the Outside; A Centennial Commemoration of Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968)*, Irving Lavin, ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 151–62.

limitations of using sources such as lecture notes as representing the totality of classroom education.²⁰

More important, while Grafton and Hankins have elucidated the physical conditions under which humanists read, how their eyes may have moved across the page, and especially how they transformed texts (often, arguably, for the worse) in the process of interpreting them, we get no coherent picture of how the reading of ancient texts in turn affected the humanists.²¹ The omission is striking, particularly on the part of academics who have committed their own careers to the close study of humanist texts. Moreover, the concentration on how humanists have changed texts has distracted our attention from the fact that spending so much time reading the classics must have had *some* noticeable effect on them. For example, if Bruni did not exactly have the great encounter with antiquity celebrated by Eugenio Garin, surely reading Plato had *some* impact on him. Or are we to imagine that all his study went in one eye and out the other?

By attending to such concerns, I would argue, we can complete the “cognitive turn” in the study of Renaissance humanism that Grafton and Hankins have helped to initiate. Instead of asking how humanists transformed texts, however, let us focus on the impact of texts on *them*, an issue that certainly merits our attention in light of humanists’ own emphasis on the persuasive force of eloquence and, therefore, on the transformative power of reading.²² Consider the following passage from Petrarch’s famous *On His Own Ignorance*:

the true moral philosophers and useful teachers of the virtues are those whose first and last intention is to make the hearer and reader good, those who do not merely teach what virtue and vice are and hammer into our ears the brilliant name of the one and the grim name of the other but sow into our hearts love of the best and eager desire for it and at the same time hatred of the worst and how to flee it.²³

²⁰ For a measured and careful corrective to Grafton and Jardine’s searing assessment of the goals and impact of Italian humanist education, see Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, Md., 1989), esp. 407–10. According to Grendler (408), “there seems no reason to doubt that teachers and theorists who asked students to compile notebooks of moral and civic *sententiae* tried to teach these values.” Moreover, “[t]he fact that Italian intellectuals and others clung to and repeated the values of the citizen-orator in the midst of the disasters of the Cinquecento argues that they took these commonplaces seriously, and that the values taught in humanistic schools had some impact.” Granted, humanists’ methods of teaching introductory Latin to schoolchildren, which Grafton and Jardine have greatly illuminated for us, was not always the sort of dialogic encounter with texts and discussion among equals that psychologists such as Bruner advocate. On the other hand, we may find instructive the parallel that Grendler draws between drilling in Latin grammar and performing athletic or musical exercises, in which drudgery is in the eye of the beholder and in which rote learning and repetition may help to prepare the way for creative efforts later on. Thus Grendler argues (407): “Learning to write and speak fluently a non-native language, especially one as complex as classical Latin, requires an enormous amount of drill and practice. Renaissance schoolboys put forth this effort because society valued these skills highly and rewarded those who mastered them. And many Renaissance men loved Latin and the civilization that its mastery unlocked.”

²¹ Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics*, forthcoming from the University of Michigan Press, promises to address these issues at length. See also the thought-provoking assessment of the hermeneutics of reading in Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, esp. 1: 18–26, “Towards a Typology of Reading in the Fifteenth Century.”

²² Gray, “Renaissance Humanism,” provides the classic and still authoritative statement of the place of persuasion to the good in humanists’ ideal of eloquence.

²³ Petrarch, “On His Own Ignorance and That of Many Others,” in Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and John Herman Randall, Jr., eds., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago, 1948), 49–133, at 105.

The interlocutor Eusebius in Erasmus's well-known colloquy, "The Godly Feast," similarly holds forth on the transformative effect of reading the classics:

Speaking frankly among friends, I can't read Cicero's *De senectute*, *De amicitia*, *De officiis*, *De Tusculanis quaestionibus* without sometimes kissing the book and blessing that pure heart, divinely inspired as it was. But when, on the other hand, I read these modern writers on government, economics, or ethics—good Lord, how dull they are by comparison! And what lack of feeling they seem to have for what they write! So that I would much rather let all of Scotus and others of his sort perish than the books of a single Cicero or Plutarch. Not that I condemn the former entirely; but I perceive that I am helped by reading the latter, whereas I rise from the reading of those others somehow less enthusiastic about true virtue, but more contentious.²⁴

Some would have us take such descriptions of affective response as boilerplate, intended not to express actual feeling but just to promote the product that humanists were marketing. But on what grounds ought we to dismiss as cynical the expressions of enthusiasm and excitement accompanying these scholars' discoveries of ancient texts, their testimony to the effects on them of reading those texts, and their extensive efforts to model their own compositions upon them? Certainly, humanists followed standard formulae in writing about the excitement of discovery; but, since we all express ourselves through language that is embedded in one or another discursive field, we ought to consider the possibility, at least on occasion, of taking the humanists at their word.²⁵ The evidence of cognitive psychology suggests, moreover, that such excitement could have important intellectual consequences: for, as Morton Reiser and others have argued, emotion plays a critical role in the process by which we perceive and remember experiences.²⁶ Thus humanists' enthusiasm over the revival of antiquity suggests not only that at times they "meant" what they were doing but also that their efforts must surely have had lasting effects on them. In any case, the practice of reading and imitating ancient texts certainly increased the conceptual vocabulary of the humanists. Imitation, in particular, has too frequently been portrayed as constraining, with humanist "apes" of Cicero sacrificing both technical accuracy and creativity in their composition of derivative prose.²⁷ Thus Ciceronian Latin is said to have become (at least by the early sixteenth century in Rome) an oppressive prison-house for humanistic expression.²⁸

²⁴ Desiderius Erasmus, "The Godly Feast" (*Convivium religiosum*), in *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, Craig R. Thompson, trans. (Chicago, 1965), 46–78, at 65.

²⁵ As a corrective to Grafton and Jardine's rather cynical take on Erasmus's expressions of aesthetic and moral values, see Tracy, "Erasmus among the Postmodernists," 24–28.

²⁶ Morton F. Reiser, *Memory in Mind and Brain: What Dream Imagery Reveals* (New York, 1990). See also the provocative (if controversial) case studies of "flashbulb" memories (memories vividly impressed upon the mind by emotional intensity), such as *Affect and Accuracy in Recall: Studies of "Flashbulb" Memories*, Eugene Winograd and Ulric Neisser, eds. (New York, 1992); and Martin A. Conway, *Flashbulb Memories* (Hillsdale, N.J., 1995).

²⁷ For a recent evaluation of the contrast from a very different perspective, see Caroline Walker Bynum, "Wonder," *AHR* 102 (February 1997): 1–26, the text of her AHA Presidential Address.

²⁸ D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, 115–43, takes this approach, drawing in part on Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* (1528). According to D'Amico, Ciceronianism contributed to a more comprehensive staleness and inbreeding in Renaissance Rome. For a critique of that position, see Kenneth Gouwens, *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome* (Leiden, forthcoming). I use the phrase "prison-house" to allude to Fredric Jameson, *The Prison-House of Language: A Critical Account of Structuralism and Russian Formalism* (Princeton, N.J., 1972).

For some extremists, that may indeed have been so: for example, Christophe de Longueil (at least as Erasmus describes him) took imitation to excess, and when he wrote about Martin Luther, most supporters of the reformer could not possibly have made sense of the bizarre classicizing circumlocutions that Longueil substituted for Christian terminology.²⁹ Yet research on specific humanists has nearly always led to the opposite conclusion, namely, that the concepts, styles, categories, and vocabularies of ancient writers actually increased their range of expression. For example, Michael Baxandall has convincingly shown how, over the period 1350–1450, the reading and imitation of ancient texts equipped humanists with a more nuanced vocabulary for analyzing paintings and, more generally, for structuring their experience.³⁰

We see the expansion of possibilities already in Petrarch, whose appropriation of traditional forms to make an artistic statement uniquely his own has fascinated generations of literary critics. Robert Durling and John Freccero have elucidated ways in which Petrarch plays on established genres to express innovative ideas.³¹ More important for the humanist tradition, however, is his reinvention of the private letter. Historian Ronald Witt has emphasized the profound impact of Petrarch's discovery in 1345 at the cathedral chapter in Verona of Cicero's letters to his friend Atticus. These letters provided him (as it would later humanists) with a model for the personal letter as conversation, a private form of writing tailored for its recipient and lacking the formulaic strictures of the *ars dictaminis*, the mode of public letter-writing then dominant in Italy.³² Imitating these models, Petrarch composed similar "personal" letters to Cicero, and he subsequently rewrote much of his own correspondence accordingly, even going so far as to fabricate entire letters to complete a coherent and exemplary image of himself. In Petrarch's "private" letters, one can see how imitation does not limit him to parroting his sources. Rather than being just a simulacrum of antiquity, the Petrarchan letter is its own creative act, tailored to a particular recipient (real or imagined) and informal and expressive in tone. Moreover, as Nancy Struever has shown, Petrarch's composition of letter books is itself a form of moral inquiry with an affective dimension. A focus on the discursive frame, structures, and motives of the *Familiars*, she argues, "reveals not just a trivial interest in Ciceronian theme and

²⁹ Gouwens, *Remembering the Renaissance*, chap. 1, provides an account of the case of Longueil and further bibliography.

³⁰ Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350–1450* (Oxford, 1971).

³¹ See, for example, Robert M. Durling, "Petrarch's 'Giovane donna sotto un verde Lauro,'" *MLN* 86 (1971): 1–20; Durling, "The Ascent of Mt. Ventoux and the Crisis of Allegory," *Italian Quarterly* 18, no. 69 (Summer 1974): 7–28; John Freccero, "The Fig Tree and the Laurel: Petrarch's Poetics," *Diacritics* 5 (1975): 34–40; and Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven, Conn., 1982), esp. chap. 8.

³² See Ronald Witt, "Medieval 'Ars Dictaminis' and the Beginnings of Humanism: A New Construction of the Problem," *Renaissance Quarterly* 35 (1982): 1–35, esp. 29–30, with extensive bibliography in the notes. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 404, emphasizes the critical importance of the fact that fifteenth-century humanist educators inserted the letters of Cicero into the curriculum as the model for Latin prose. For an account of Petrarch's critical innovations set against the backdrop of their humanist antecedents, see Ronald Witt, "Petrarch and Pre-Petrarchan Humanism: Stylistic Imitation and the Origins of Italian Humanism," in John W. O'Malley, et al., eds., *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation: Essays in Honor of Charles Trinkaus* (Leiden, 1993), 73–100.

style, but an analytic bent which nourishes strategies of revision, which lend an investigative edge.” Beyond restating classical philosophical commonplaces, Petrarch situates that material in an “intimate discourse” so as to transform “attitudes, mental sets, and . . . investigative behavior.”³³

Recent work on intertextuality further heightens our appreciation for the ways that studying the classics enhanced the expressive range of scholars in the Renaissance. By reading the ancients, they became acquainted with new ways to give metaphoric resonance to their expression of ideas. Thus, in his personal letters to Francesco Vettori around the time of the writing of *The Prince*, Machiavelli draws from his wide reading in the classics a wealth of allusions, not just to support his political views but also to convey a sense of his predicament in exile. The example of Machiavelli is particularly telling, since he turns to the ancients not so much for moral philosophy or for examples of persuasion as for historical validation of his theories on politics and for illustrative examples that allow him to express and elaborate on the subtleties of his experience.³⁴

Humanists’ occasional subversion of the surface meaning of their writings further evidences the scope for creativity within their practice of imitation. Thus Francesco Filelfo’s epic poem *The Sforziad*, while ostensibly singing the praises of Francesco Sforza of Milan, subtly undercuts the “heroism” of his patron’s brutal siege of Piacenza in 1447, as for example when he follows the lead of Book 2 of Virgil’s *Aeneid* by similarly describing the sack of a city as witnessed through the victims’ eyes.³⁵ Moreover, Filelfo uses the “rape” of Piacenza to illustrate metaphorically his own relationship with Sforza and to dramatize the vulnerability of his dependent position as a literary client.³⁶ Finally, as Diana Robin has convincingly shown, the free play for inverting and transposing elements of the humanistic heritage provided women such as Laura Cereta with the means of making a distinctly feminine—and even feminist—personal statement.³⁷

Humanists’ engagement with antiquity even extended to an imagined interaction with ancient writers through the medium of their texts. Thus when Petrarch wrote letters to classical authors such as Cicero and Livy, he initiated a kind of personal connectedness with individuals in the past of which one finds little evidence in the Middle Ages.³⁸ Although the public quality of the letters to Cicero has led some to view them as precious and insincere, Petrarch’s subsequent conjuring up of Augustine in the *Secretum* cannot be dismissed so easily, for at least in this instance

³³ Nancy S. Struever, *Theory as Practice: Ethical Inquiry in the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1992), 4.

³⁴ John M. Najemy, “Machiavelli and Geta: Men of Letters,” in *Machiavelli and the Discourse of Literature*, Albert Russell Ascoli and Victoria Kahn, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), 53–79. For a more comprehensive argument, see Najemy’s superb *Between Friends: Discourses of Power and Desire in the Machiavelli-Vettori Letters of 1513–1515* (Princeton, N.J., 1993). Whether or not we choose to identify Machiavelli as a humanist, he is relevant here because a humanistic education significantly shaped his writing and thought.

³⁵ See the excellent treatment of this subject in Diana Robin, *Filelfo in Milan: Writings, 1451–1477* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 56–81, esp. 77.

³⁶ Robin, *Filelfo in Milan*, 56–81, develops this theme as well. Albert Ascoli sees a similar form of life-writing at work in *The Prince*, in which vulnerability to metaphorical rape by one’s patron forms a demonstrable subtext. Ascoli, “Machiavelli’s Gift of Counsel,” in Ascoli and Kahn, *Machiavelli and the Discourse of Literature*, 219–57.

³⁷ Laura Cereta, *Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, Diana Robin, ed. and trans. (Chicago, 1997).

³⁸ On this, see Witt, “Medieval ‘Ars Dictaminis,’” esp. 30.

his effort to gain guidance from antiquity appears not to have been profit motivated: the *Secretum*, so far as we know, was intended not for publication but for private contemplation.

Similarly, Machiavelli's famous letter of December 10, 1513, to Francesco Vettori, offers an account of reading classical texts that implies interaction and participation:

On the coming of evening, I return to my house and enter my study; and at the door I take off the day's clothing, covered with mud and dust, and put on garments regal and courtly; and reclothed appropriately, I enter the ancient courts of ancient men, where, received by them with affection, I feed on that food which only is mine and which I was born for, where I am not ashamed to speak with them and to ask them the reason for their actions; and they in their kindness answer me; . . . entirely I give myself over to them.³⁹

Although Machiavelli obviously speaks metaphorically here—unlike some Neoplatonists, he was not given to necromancy—in the act of studying and writing, he does seek to participate in the culture of antiquity.⁴⁰ Like Petrarch, he strives to interact with individuals of the past, engaging them as personal guides from whose experience he can learn and with whom he can engage in a dialogue of sorts. The great figures of antiquity thus have a *Nachleben* in the Renaissance, living on in spirit through their writings and the effect of those writings on humanists.

As the example of Petrarch's *Secretum* indicates, in order to appreciate the extent and impact of the humanist movement, we must broaden the scope of our inquiry beyond marketable prose, which constituted only a part of the comprehensive program of renovation to which humanists devoted their lives, to take account as well of their unremunerated, extracurricular reading and writing. Indeed, as we shall see, in their thoroughgoing efforts to revive the past and to immerse themselves in its culture, these scholars gave attention not only to texts but also to non-textual physical remnants of antiquity, even imitating ancient writers' social pastimes. Taken as a whole, then, humanism constituted a distinct cultural milieu that included the textual but that extended far beyond it. That milieu provided the interpretive framework for the recovery of antiquity as well as for humanists' interpretation of their own experience.

In sum, the humanists sought not just to appropriate and deploy the written monuments of the past but also to recover its spirit and culture. Howsoever conveniently certain ancient texts may have served them as commodities they could hawk or as gifts they could leverage in a prestige economy, they read and imitated less salable literary models as well and engaged in a remarkable variety of activities. To be sure, ancient texts stood at the center of that enterprise. Yet the recent emphasis on humanists' ways of reading texts, while salutary in its focus on perception, has tended to distract attention from the wide range of the recovery of antiquity to which they devoted themselves.

³⁹ Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Letters of Machiavelli*, Allan Gilbert, ed. and trans. (Chicago, 1961), 142. See also the excellent close-reading of this letter in Najemy, *Between Friends*, 215–40.

⁴⁰ On some of the more radical beliefs of Renaissance Neoplatonists, see D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London, 1958).

OF COURSE, THE RENAISSANCE HAD ITS *OWN* LINGUISTIC TURN, which was of major consequence for the growth of historical perspective: for humanists' awareness of how languages and texts changed over time was closely intertwined with their realization of the contingency of history and the role of humans in the construction of culture.⁴¹ Yet we must not lose sight of the fact that the linguistic turn in the Renaissance (like that in our own time or in any other) was culturally embedded.⁴² Perhaps because of their overwhelmingly textual training, intellectual historians tend to privilege their subjects' literary endeavors over other aspects of experience. In the Renaissance, however, many humanists reached well beyond the acts of reading and writing to pursue a more comprehensive re-creation of ancient culture. It was precisely the range of this experience, combined with the affective intensity of their efforts to elaborate and burnish their image of the past, that gave such cognitive force to their encounter with antiquity. Ironically, however, these efforts to recover the classical past also helped give rise to a sense of irreconcilable distance from that age. Moreover, by the early sixteenth century, humanists were turning their new sense of historical perspective upon their own time as well, reifying the recent past and treating it, too, as a completed era of cultural efflorescence. In so doing, they helped to establish and stabilize the Renaissance as an important site in cultural memory.⁴³

If antiquity, broadly construed, fascinated Renaissance humanists, classical Rome remained a focal point of their inquiry well into the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ That it did so is not surprising, given that its architectural ruins cast long shadows over many present-day structures, and these ruins helped to reify for humanists the grandeur and accomplishments of the ancient Romans. Thus for Petrarch, as for later humanists, the physical remnants of the past served as landscapes on which

⁴¹ Richard Waswo, *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 13, argues provocatively (if not always persuasively) that Renaissance humanists anticipated Ferdinand de Saussure's "divorcing meaning from reference and regarding it as a function of the manifold relations of words with each other."

⁴² John E. Toews, "Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience," *AHR* 92 (October 1987): 879–907, offers a brief synopsis of that development. William J. Bouwsma, "From History of Ideas to History of Meaning," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12 (1981), offers a more sympathetic assessment. On the pitfalls of interpreting words apart from their contexts in coherent expressions of belief, see Mark Bevir, "Mind and Method in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 36 (1997): 167–89; and Bevir, "The Errors of Linguistic Contextualism," *History and Theory* 31 (1992): 276–98. The underlying, ineradicable methodological problem is what Carlo Ginzburg has termed "the perpetual inadequacies of our analytical categories." Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, John and Anne C. Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1989), 155.

⁴³ On sites of memory, see Pierre Nora, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (New York, 1996). See, too, however, the remarks of Patrick Geary about Nora's false dichotomy between "collective memory" and "history," in Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 11. In the pages that follow, in the interest of concision, I shall focus on the revival specifically of classical Roman culture, first by Petrarch and then by early sixteenth-century Roman humanists. For studies of changing conceptions of the remote and immediate past among Florentine and Venetian humanists, see note 51 below.

⁴⁴ While classical Rome tended to hold pride of place for the humanists, they also sought to recover the cultures of ancient Greece, Etruria, and Egypt, and many of them focused on the writings of the Church Fathers (both Greek and Latin) in the first few centuries of Christian culture. See Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Renaissance* (Albany, N.Y., 1977); Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*; and Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*.

one could map its written monuments, thereby rendering both sources of knowledge more vivid.⁴⁵ For instance, in a letter recalling a visit he had made to Cologne, where he had strolled the streets for days looking at Roman ruins, Petrarch describes the cognitive mapping in which he had engaged: "It was a very pleasant occupation, not so much because of what I actually saw, as from the recollection of our ancestors, who left such illustrious memorials of Roman virtue so far from the fatherland."⁴⁶

Nowhere could one better sense the filiation of the ancient and the contemporary than in the city of Rome itself. In a famous letter to Giovanni Colonna di San Vito, Petrarch describes their walk through Rome, in which he mentally juxtaposed the physical ruins they encountered with the images of antiquity that he had formed through reading.⁴⁷ Thus the literary representations and tangible remnants of the past commingled in Petrarch's affective experience of antiquity, the combination of verbal cues with visual and tactile ones facilitating its being embedded in his memory. Most important, the dissonance between the images that he recollected from his reading about classical Rome and what he in fact saw helped to trigger a crucial change in Petrarch's thinking.⁴⁸ Previously, the ruins had been viewed as

⁴⁵ See Greene, *Light in Troy*, esp. 88–93. Greene uses linguistic metaphors copiously, as when he states that "Petrarch essentially *read* an order" into the wilderness of ruins that he saw in Rome (88). Similarly, in writing of Petrarch's focus on the ancient over the modern, Greene remarks (91) that Petrarch "saw the vestigial text of the Roman Palimpsest as still more precious than its rude overlay." Although Greene's metaphors illumine the interrelationship of reading, seeing, and touching, we must be careful not to fall prey to literary essentialism by giving strict priority to the verbal. In assessing a figure such as Petrarch, whose poetry and letters attest to an acute awareness of sensory experience and of its influence on emotions and thoughts, surely we ought not to present the relationship between reading and tactile/visual experience as so unidirectional. On the term "cognitive mapping" as a metaphor for the functioning of memory, see Steven Rose, *The Making of Memory: From Molecules to Mind* (New York, 1992), 137.

⁴⁶ I follow the translation from the fifth letter in Book 1 of Petrarch's *Rerum familiarium libri* in Greene, *Light in Troy*, 89.

⁴⁷ Petrarch's process of cognitive mapping bears an intriguing resemblance to the way that classical orators committed speeches to memory by taking walks (whether real or imagined) and using physical sites as memory pegs for structuring the points they planned to address. See Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966). The analogy would be misleading, however, in that for Petrarch the ruins he sees relate meaningfully to his recollections from reading, and so their role in his cognition far exceeds that of mere pegs. On this point, we may learn much from Stephen Michael Kosslyn, *Image and Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980). Based on his own experimental research and that of other cognitive psychologists, Kosslyn argues that "visual" images (whether constructed from reading or from seeing objects other than writing) play a far more active role in our memory and thought than has generally been assumed. Thus he writes (456): "In addition to representing information about objects in the world in a static form, images also allow one to transform information, to mimic dynamic aspects of our environment." For evidence on sixteenth and seventeenth-century theories of memory, and in particular on the active juxtaposition and deployment of remembered images in creative ways, see Lina Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria: Modelli letterari e iconografici nell'età della stampa* (Turin, 1995).

⁴⁸ Here I follow Greene's argument closely, but with one notable exception. For Greene (*Light in Troy*, 88), the geographical inaccuracies in Petrarch's account suggest that the "surface accidents of the city" served as "merely evocative pretexts" for his reflections. Again privileging the literary, Greene suggests that "Petrarch might be said to have divined the subterranean plan of a living city in the way a scholar might puzzle out conjecturally the precious and nearly obliterated text of a palimpsest whereon a debased modern text had been superimposed." In my view, the precedence that Greene gives to the textual over the physical is somewhat misleading for Petrarch, as well as for later humanists such as Jacopo Sadoletto (on whom see below). On the importance of the tactile and the visual to Petrarch, see Paula Findlen's essay in this *Forum*. A further potential problem with Greene's assessment is its privileging of words over images in the description of Petrarch's recollections from his reading. Still, Greene's juxtaposition of the literary and the tactile/visual is extremely suggestive of ways that those elements of the classical revival constituted parts of a whole.

marvels (*mirabilia*), objects that inspired wonder rather than giving rise to any clear sense of their historical significance.⁴⁹ For Petrarch, on the other hand, they clashed with their material surroundings of more recent construction, and he came to conceive of them as offering a cultural alternative to the present. In so doing, in the words of Thomas Greene, Petrarch “discovered” history: “he was the first to notice that classical antiquity was very different from his own medieval world, and the first to consider antiquity more admirable. Even if anticipations of these attitudes may be found, he was the first to publicize them so effectively as to influence profoundly his immediate posterity.”⁵⁰ Thus Petrarch’s new sense of historical perspective arose in part because he set the written monuments from ancient Rome alongside the visible and tangible ones, then juxtaposed them both with the inferior (at least in Petrarch’s perception) cultural products of his own age.

The image of classical Rome remained influential in the fifteenth century, despite a turn toward local narratives of the past that were infused with patriotic fervor and purpose. “Civic” humanists such as Leonardo Bruni dignified Florence by portraying it as the true political and cultural heir of the ancient Roman Republic, a claim gaining added force from his predecessor Salutati’s discovery that veterans from the army of the Roman general Sulla had settled in the area decades before the transition to empire.⁵¹ But the legacy of the classical world had its greatest resonance for humanists who worked in the city of Rome, where physical remnants of the foremost monuments of classical Rome such as the Pantheon and the Colosseum testified silently to the greatness of the past. Thus Flavio Biondo, who entered papal service during the pontificate of Eugenius IV, wrote the *Roma instaurata* (1443–46) and the *Roma triumphans* (1452–59), in which he mapped the sites of important events in classical and early Christian Rome and juxtaposed the two periods to suggest prefiguration.⁵²

The humanist “academy” that Pomponio Leto established later in the fifteenth century similarly aimed to recover the tactile past along with the literary one, and it sought to revive ancient ceremonies such as the Palilia, the celebration of the founding of Rome.⁵³ On visits to the catacombs, members of this academy inscribed on the walls the Latin names that they had assumed, and Leto himself wrote verses about ancient monuments. Indeed, as Philip Jacks observes of Leto and his

⁴⁹ Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London, 1969), 2, as modified by Greene, *Light in Troy*, 90. For a more sympathetic take on medieval perspectives, see Bynum, “Wonder.”

⁵⁰ Greene, *Light in Troy*, 90. I draw the expression “cultural alternative” from Greene, 90–91.

⁵¹ Baron, *Crisis*, 61–64. See also the observations of Ronald Witt, “The Crisis after Forty Years,” *AHR* 101 (February 1996): 110–18. For an argument that similar developments occurred somewhat later in Venice, see Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense*. See also the important recent contribution of Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven, Conn., 1996).

⁵² Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 181–84.

⁵³ Humanists also played important roles in official ceremonies of various sorts, whether through delivering orations or by designing iconographical programs. For example, Roman humanists were among those delivering sermons before the popes, orations to cardinals entering conclaves, and funeral orations, and they took part in pageantry such as Alexander VI’s celebration of the Jubilee Year (1500), the triumphal entry of Julius II into Rome (1507), and the papal coronation rites for Leo X (1513). These occasions provided opportunities for humanists and artists further to draw attention to the revival of Rome’s cultural and intellectual life, as well as to their own importance as agents of cultural change. On sacred oratory *coram papa*, see O’Malley, *Praise and Blame*. On funeral oratory, see McManamon, *Funeral Oratory*. On pageantry and public ceremony, see Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 46–59, 236–46.

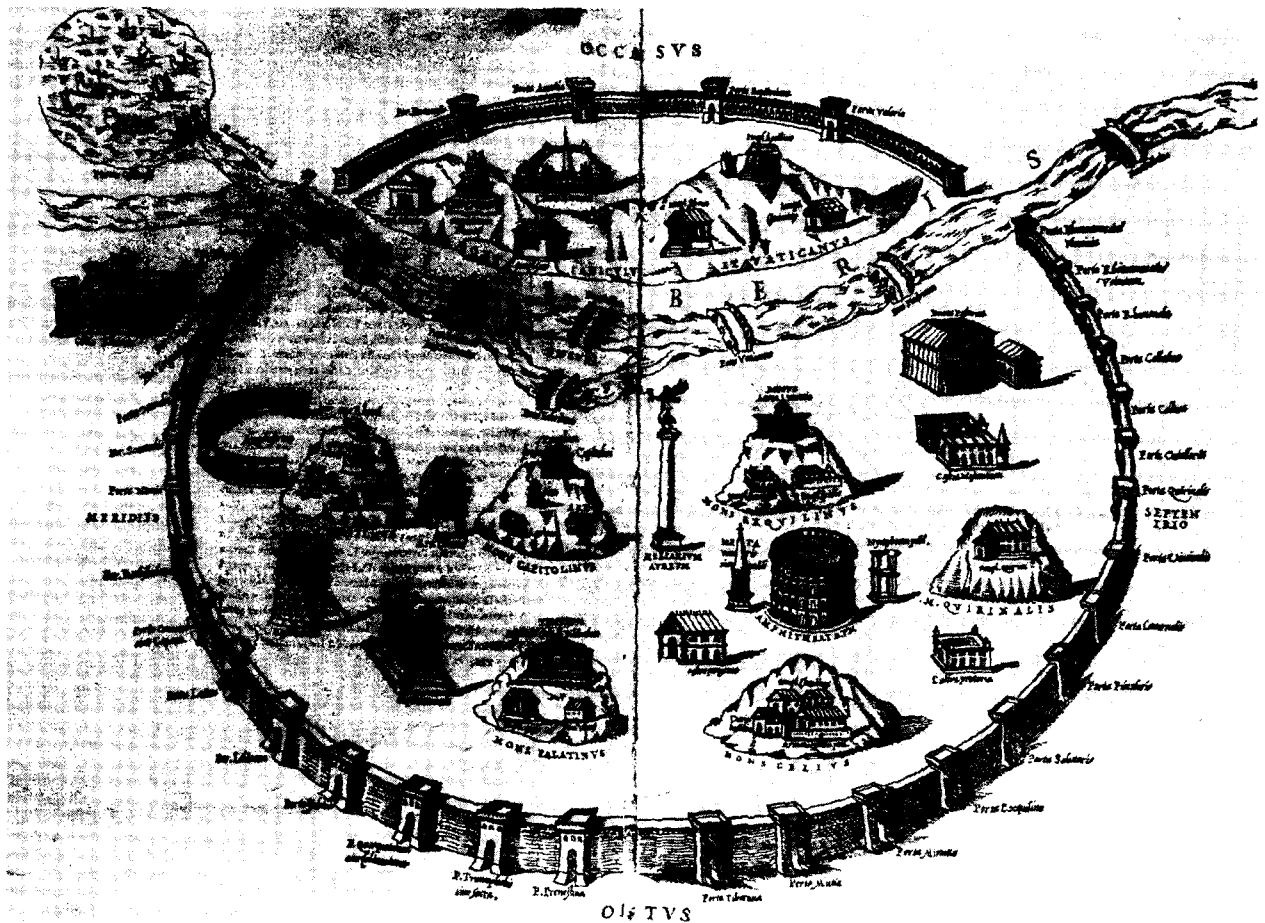


FIGURE 1: Rome at the time of Pliny the Elder (23/24–79 AD). Marco Fabio Calvo, *Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus Simulachrum* (Rome, 1527).

associates, “Not just classical texts and inscriptions but every aspect of daily life in antiquity intoxicated these academicians—whether how the ancient Romans embalmed their dead or how they applauded at the theatre.”⁵⁴

Leto’s academy provided the model for the historically more consequential sodalities (convivial literary associations) of Angelo Colocci and Johan Küritz in the early sixteenth century.⁵⁵ Participants in these later gatherings included literati such as Baldesar Castiglione and Pietro Bembo, as well as the antiquarian Marco Fabio Calvo, who sought to recover the topography of ancient Rome (Figure 1). In the courts of the powerful who served as their patrons, these humanists also exchanged ideas with artists such as Raphael and Andrea Sansovino, who shared their interest

⁵⁴ Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (New York, 1993), 143. See, however, the cautions in review of Jacks’s book by Paul Gwynne, *Roma nel Rinascimento: Bibliografia e note* (1994): 182–85.

⁵⁵ On Paul II’s suppression of Leto’s academy, see A. J. Dunston, “Pope Paul II and the Humanists,” *Journal of Religious History* 7 (1972–73): 287–306.

in reviving the culture of ancient Rome and in exploring its physical remnants. That exploration could in turn have major repercussions, as when on a visit to the long-buried Domus Aurea (Golden House) of the Emperor Nero, Raphael saw paintings that provided the model for the grotesques with which he decorated the Vatican apartments of Cardinal Bibbiena.⁵⁶ Moreover, Renaissance humanists viewed ancient literature and art as intimately interrelated parts of a single aesthetic that they sought to recover.⁵⁷ We see this, for example, in their response to the unearthing in 1506 of the ancient sculpture of Laocoön (Figure 2), the priest of Troy who had been consumed by serpents as punishment for having advised the Trojans not to accept the Greeks' wooden gift-horse.⁵⁸ Found in the excavations of the baths of the Emperor Trajan, which were then thought to be those of Titus, the statue was soon moved to a place of honor in the sculpture garden in the Vatican Belvedere. Since Virgil had detailed the mythological episode in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*, Renaissance interpreters could once again juxtapose the artistic and the literary remains of the past. Furthermore, while the *Laocoön* served as a model for sixteenth-century sculptors such as Michelangelo, it also inspired the humanist Jacopo Sadoletto to write a poem celebrating the find. According to Sadoletto, the statue signaled the dawning of a new age, in that it had returned from the shadows to witness a Rome that was living again.⁵⁹

The Roman humanist sodalities of Colocci and Küritz sought not just to appropriate fragments of antiquity but to revive its culture and somehow to participate in it.⁶⁰ Thus, if these humanists were professional rhetoricians, that role constituted just one element of their identity. Much of their re-creation of antiquity centered on their recreations, in which they imitated classical conviviality. Pierio Valeriano, who took part in the gatherings, commented as follows on the word *sodalis* in a poem by Catullus:

⁵⁶ Leopold D. Ettlinger and Helen S. Ettlinger, *Raphael* (Oxford, 1987), 200–06. On the exploration of the Domus Aurea in the Renaissance, see Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome: A Companion Book for Students and Travellers* (London, 1897), 360–65; and Nicole Dacos, *Le découvert de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance* (London, 1969).

⁵⁷ Ingrid D. Rowland, "Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 81–104, at 82: "That intertwining of art and learning for which we so admire the Renaissance stems in great measure from the fact that its art, speaking, and writing subscribe to a single aesthetic, this itself rooted in Greco-Roman antiquity. The analytical vocabulary for art and rhetoric is one entity: not that the classical strain in Western culture is logocentric, for by a reciprocal action words themselves function as visual entities."

⁵⁸ Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 274–76.

⁵⁹ Gian Piero Maragoni, *Sadoletto e il Laocoonte: Di un modo di descrivere l'arte* (Parma, 1986), reproduces the poem in a *postfazione* by Marzio Pieri (47–48).

⁶⁰ Phyllis Pray Bober, "The Coryciana and the Nymph Corycia," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977): 223–39; D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, 107–12; Domenico Gnoli, "Orti letterari nella Roma di Leon X," in *La Roma di Leon X*, Aldo Gnoli, ed. (Milan, 1938), 136–63; Federico Ubaldini, *Vita di Mons. Angelo Colocci*, Vittorio Fanelli, ed. (Vatican City, 1969). Ubaldini, *Vita*, "Appendix iv," 114–15, provides a listing of members of Küritz's sodality. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, 107–08, provides a brief summary of Colocci's career and interests. See also Ingrid D. Rowland, "Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis." The humanist sodality constituted what Erving Goffman has called a "focused gathering"—that is (in the words of Lawrence Levine), "a set of people who relate to one another through the medium of a common activity." Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 56. Levine applies the concept to the American theater at the beginning of the nineteenth century.



FIGURE 2: *Laocoön*. The Trojan priest, Laocoön, and his two sons at their death. Attributed by Pliny to Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, three sculptors from Rhodes, *circa* second century BC–first century AD. Now in the Vatican Museums.

No form of association produces a greater bond of friendship than dining together, than being nourished and fed together—whence the terms “close friends” (*sodales*) and “fellowship” (*sodalitium*) for a gathering of those friends who often dine together. You know this sort of fellowship at Rome.⁶¹

Colocci, who had studied with Giovanni Pontano in Naples, came in the late 1490s to Rome, where he bought several curial offices.⁶² Although he wrote little, he collected classical archaeological remains and manuscripts. At his villa, located on property that had once been part of Sallust’s gardens, he hosted gatherings attended by figures including the historian Paolo Giovio, the papal secretary Jacopo Sadoletto, and the prominent Augustinian theologian Giles of Viterbo. Küritz, originally from Luxembourg, also arrived in Rome in the 1490s, and he too hosted gatherings in his villa, located between the Campidoglio and Trajan’s forum.⁶³ Beginning in 1512, Küritz financed the decoration of an altar to St. Anne, his patron saint, in the church of Sant’ Agostino in Rome, including a fresco of the prophet Isaiah, by Raphael, and a sculpture of St. Anne with the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child, by Andrea Sansovino.⁶⁴ Each year on the Feast of St. Anne (July 26), members of the sodality gathered at this altar and affixed to it verses celebrating the occasion. The festivities extended to Küritz’s garden, where the participants read poems aloud and posted them on trees.⁶⁵ On occasion, too, the humanists’ compositions for these gatherings served to reinforce the “official” rhetoric of the Renaissance papacy, as for example when they heralded a golden age that the papacy would soon initiate.⁶⁶

To be sure, the writings that the sodalities produced were not always so pious or edifying: they included hackneyed praises of one another’s eloquence and character, as well as accusations of shortcomings in those areas. For example, a masked man delivered to Pietro Corsi verses that caricatured him as a *rusticus* (country bumpkin) who authored clumsy and tedious poetry.⁶⁷ And when Küritz canceled the St. Anne’s Day festivities in 1525, Giovanni Battista Sanga traduced him as a Lutheran, a drunkard, a philanderer, and a syphilitic. As an outrageous flourish, Sanga even suggested that Küritz had jettisoned the veneration of St. Anne in favor

⁶¹ From Valeriano’s lecture on Catullus 12, delivered at the University of Rome, preserved in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Vat. Lat. 5215, fol. 176r–v, as quoted and translated by Gaisser, *Catullus and His Renaissance Readers*, 136, 350–51.

⁶² D’Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, 107–08, provides a brief summary of Colocci’s career and interests. See also Rowland, “Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis.”

⁶³ On Küritz (or “Goritz”), see Théophile Simar, *Christophe de Longueuil, humaniste (1488–1522)* (Louvain, 1911), 194–203; Bober, “The *Coryciana*”; D’Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, 108–09; and Julia Haig Gaisser, “The Rise and Fall of Goritz’s Feasts,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 48 (1995): 41–57.

⁶⁴ Virginia Anne Bonito, “The Saint Anne Altar in Sant’ Agostino: A New Discovery,” *Burlington* 122 (1980): 805–12; and Bonito, “The Saint Anne Altar in Sant’ Agostino: Restoration and Interpretation,” *Burlington* 124 (1982): 268–76.

⁶⁵ Bober, “The *Coryciana*,” 228.

⁶⁶ One poem attached to the St. Anne altar, for example, invoked the saints above it to “look favorably and let Rome again govern the reins of things and let it be once again the accustomed theatre of the world.” Bonito, “The Saint Anne Altar in Sant’ Agostino: Restoration and Interpretation,” 276. Bonito argues that the Hebrew inscription on the scroll that Isaiah holds in Raphael’s fresco for this altar also anticipates a return of the Golden Age. She attributes its composition to Giles of Viterbo. Bober, “The *Coryciana*,” 238, writes that garden nymphs “and their sacred fountains fulfilled in Christianized context the promise of apotheosis first held out by Plato to an intellectual elite.”

⁶⁷ The poetry delivered to Corsi by the masked man is copied into BAV Vat. Lat. ms. 3436 and is reproduced in G. F. Lancellotti, *Poesie italiane e latine di mons. A. Colocci* (Jesi, 1772), 166–70.

of honoring a slut (*meretricula*) named Anna, who served as a patron saint of sorts for his sexual exploits.⁶⁸ Roman humanists frequently disparaged one another with accusations of practicing sodomy and bestiality. Thus anonymous verses accused Paolo Giovio of openly keeping a *cynaedus*, or passive male sexual partner, for his enjoyment, and, in an even more scurrilous poem, the humanist secretary Francesco Berni appears to have implied that Pietro Alcionio had taken to sodomizing his mule.⁶⁹ But if we are inclined to doubt the veracity of most of these slurs, they—like the poetic forms in which they were expressed—were part of the common classical heritage that the humanists sought to revive.⁷⁰ Even the vitriolic verbal sparring was embedded in a discourse built on ancient models, and it, too, formed part of a shared culture in which skill at classical Latin was highly prized.⁷¹ We may find ourselves agreeing, then, with Bouwsma's wry observation that "humanism was a single movement in much the sense that a battlefield is a definable piece of ground"—at least, we may, if we consider that field as a discursive one.⁷²

HUMANISTS WERE NOT ABOVE LAMPOONING the revival of antiquity itself, as happened in the case of an ill-preserved classical Greco-Roman statue that they named "Pasquino" (Figure 3). Mistakenly believed in the Renaissance to represent Hercules, the statue surfaced in 1501 during the remodeling of the palace of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa near the Piazza Navona, and the cardinal had it placed on a pedestal just outside the building.⁷³ A feast was held every April 25th, initially under Carafa's patronage, in Pasquino's honor, and humanists partook in the celebration by composing poems in both Latin and the vernacular and posting them on or near the statue. Despite its status as an ancient image of a respected classical hero, however, the statue soon became a vehicle for social criticisms made at its own expense. By way of satirical poems attributed to him that were posted under cover of darkness, Pasquino fearlessly spoke out against various humanists and

⁶⁸ Anne Reynolds, *Renaissance Humanism at the Court of Clement VII: Francesco Berni's "Dialogue against Poets" in Context* (New York, 1997), 91–92, reproduces the poem from BAV Vat. Lat. 2836, fols. 122–23, and provides an English translation.

⁶⁹ The poem "In Jovium," to date unedited (perhaps mercifully so), is found in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Vat. Lat. 5225, t. IV, fol. 903v. On Berni's poem attacking Alcionio and its range of implications, see Kenneth Gouwens, "Ciceronianism and Collective Identity: Defining the Boundaries of the Roman Academy, 1525," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23 (1992–93): 173–95, at 185.

⁷⁰ Paula Findlen, "Humanism, Politics and Pornography in Renaissance Italy," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800* (New York, 1993), 49–108, 345–58. As Findlen observes (79), "In attempting to create a culture modeled on antiquity, humanists had to come to terms with all of its values and practices, however antithetical those might be to the goals of a Christian society."

⁷¹ Bouwsma, "Two Faces of Humanism," 3.

⁷² Reynolds, *Renaissance Humanism*, provides detailed examinations of several rivalries that transcended the bounds of civility (for example, Aretino vs. Berni). By 1525, Giles of Viterbo, at least, had come to find the verbal jousting at Küritz's parties too hostile to be enjoyable (see Gaisser, "Goritz's Feasts"). But see the important insights of Walter Ong, S.J., "Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite," in *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y. [1971]), 113–41, which portrays education in Renaissance Latin as conducive to homosocial bonding. See also Ong, *Fighting for Life: Contest, Sexuality, and Consciousness* (Ithaca, 1981), esp. chap. 4.

⁷³ Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 50, writes that the statue is "now believed to depict Menelaus with the body of Patroclus, or Ajax with the body of Achilles."



FIGURE 3: *Pasquino*, engraving by Antonio Lafréry (Rome, 1550), showing the various poems and comments posted anonymously.

prominent political figures.⁷⁴ Even the popes were subject to attack: Julius II for his rapacity, Leo X for timidity and gluttony, Adrian VI for stinginess and for being an “enemy of the Muses,” and Clement VII for his heavy taxation, political vacillation, and general administrative incompetence.⁷⁵ Pasquino also carried on ventriloquized dialogues with another statue, known as “Marforio,” in a way that paralleled and at times parodied the repartee of humanists at their symposia. Nor was the parody limited to the verbal, for soon Pasquino appeared dressed in various costumes that enhanced his commentary on current events and personalities. For example, for his feast in 1512, Pasquino appeared in the guise of Mars, a stroke that some interpreted as a not-so-subtle reference to Pope Julius II’s military adventurism.⁷⁶

In sum, the statue named Pasquino provided a comic counterpoint to the *Laocoön*. Both served as tangible foci for a Renaissance culture that, while modeled on the classical past, also extrapolated from it to address present-day historical concerns. Reveling in both the magnificent and the petty aspects of antiquity, the humanists built on their education and adapted ancient models that enriched their commentary on political, social, and religious issues. Moreover, the study of antiquity, reinforced and elaborated in the social context of the sodalities, enabled them to expand the scope of their aesthetic appreciation of the tactile, artistic, and literary remnants of the past, even as it equipped them with a range of technical and conceptual tools for self-expression and, along with it, for introspection.⁷⁷

WHILE LINKING SOCIABILITY AND INTROSPECTION may seem odd or contrived to us, it did not strike Renaissance humanists that way. From Petrarch on, they favored the dialogue form and the personal letter, genres that were conducive to examining the ethics of human interaction and the ways that eloquent speech could move the will of the hearer, persuading him or her to moral improvement and to ethical behavior. Thus, in the words of historian Charles Trinkaus, Petrarch took on the role of a “moral therapist” for whom “[l]anguage itself could be used in such a way as to become affectively therapeutic.”⁷⁸ He sought knowledge of himself and the world in

⁷⁴ Valerio Marucci, Antonio Marzo, and Angelo Romano, eds., *Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1988). See also Anne Reynolds, “The Classical Continuum in Roman Humanism: The Festival of Pasquino, the *Robigalia*, and Satire,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 49 (1987): 289–307; Reynolds, “Cardinal Oliviero Carafa and the Early Cinquecento Tradition of the Feast of Pasquino,” in *Roma Humanistica: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 34A (1985): 178–209; and Reynolds, *Renaissance Humanism*.

⁷⁵ See, for example, Marucci, et al., *Pasquinate romane*, no. 375, which lambastes Clement VII.

⁷⁶ Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 50. On the feast of Pasquino in 1526, see Reynolds, *Renaissance Humanism*, 8 and following.

⁷⁷ Recent research has highlighted the extent to which the creativity for which the Renaissance is justly famed arose out of collaborative efforts, which in turn helped to propel exceptionally talented individuals such as Lorenzo de’ Medici and Raphael to greater accomplishments. See esp. Melissa Meriam Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico: Image and Anxiety, Politics and Finance* (Florence, 1994); and Rowland, “Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders.” On the individualism and introspection that were also hallmarks of Renaissance culture, the words of Kristeller are instructive: “The humanists . . . think and write in terms of their own individual person and experience, not in terms of an incorporeal mind or of a pure reason common to all human beings, as do most ancient, medieval, and early modern philosophers.” Paul Oskar Kristeller, “The Cultural Heritage of Humanism: An Overview,” in Rabil, *Renaissance Humanism*, 3: 515–28, at 522–23.

⁷⁸ Charles Trinkaus, “Italian Humanism and Scholastic Theology,” in Rabil, *Renaissance Humanism*,

a dialogic context, in which conversations (whether real or imagined) facilitated his own personal growth and, potentially, that of many others.

That introspection and the interpersonal should thus complement each other certainly does not square with current theories of social constructionism, in which individual identity is supposed to be formed almost entirely from without by economic and social factors or determinants. It dovetails remarkably well, however, with the theories of Jerome Bruner and other psychologists who posit a reciprocal relationship between a developing self and its cultural environment.⁷⁹ Viewed in light of this evidence, the symbiosis of humanist moral inquiry and the social world of the sodalities becomes manifest. Moreover, for Bruner, evidence from the past, when approached dialogically, is also a vital site for edification. He writes that “there is something special about ‘talking’ to authors, now dead but still alive in their ancient texts—so long as the objective of the encounter is not worship but discourse and interpretation, ‘going meta’ on thoughts about the past.”⁸⁰ Despite a penchant for frivolity, the humanists of early sixteenth-century Rome continued the mission that Petrarch had outlined and had aimed to exemplify: the moral interrogation and improvement of the self and of society, built on an affective encounter with figures from the past, refined through dialogue with contemporaries, and applied in their own values and actions.⁸¹

Ironically, however, the more humanists learned of antiquity and tried to participate in its culture, the more aware they became of the gulf separating them from it. While this sense of irreconcilable otherness occasioned laments on their part, it was integral to what would prove to be the greatest legacy of the humanists to subsequent generations: their sense of historical perspective. We may best appreciate Renaissance humanism, then, in terms of the kind of interaction with the past that it fostered, an encounter that gradually gave rise to a new sense of historical appropriateness and of cultural development over time. This sense of history has long been viewed as a major contribution of the Renaissance, and it has

3: 327–48, at 330. See also Trinkaus, *The Poet as Philosopher: Petrarch and the Formation of Renaissance Consciousness* (New Haven, Conn., 1979), an exceptionally fine yet neglected study.

⁷⁹ In addition to Bruner, *Culture of Education*, see, for example, T. Berry Brazelton and Bertrand G. Cramer, *The Earliest Relationship: Parents, Infants, and the Drama of Early Attachment* (Reading, Mass., 1990); Stanley I. Greenspan, *Developmentally Based Psychotherapy* (Madison, Conn., 1997); Diane Gillespie, *The Mind's We: Contextualism in Cognitive Psychology* (Carbondale, Ill., 1992); and J. Kevin Nugent, Barry M. Lester, and T. Berry Brazelton, eds., *The Cultural Context of Infancy*, 2 vols. (Norwood, N.J., 1989–91). Even in the notoriously hidebound field of psychoanalytic theory (for which social constructionists admittedly tend to have little sympathy), the old image of the therapeutic encounter as catharsis has to some extent given way to dialogic models, as evidenced in the influential journal *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* and in the writings of Robert Langs, who speaks of a “bi-personal field.” See Langs, *The Evolution of the Emotion-Processing Mind: With an Introduction to Mental Darwinism* (Madison, Conn., 1996). In light of current research, Eugenio Garin’s contention that (in the words of Robert Black) “objective self-knowledge is developed only through knowledge of others,” that “to know himself, an individual must be able to take someone else’s perspective,” may have quite a lot to tell us about Renaissance humanism after all. Black, “Italian Renaissance Education,” 318.

⁸⁰ Bruner, *Culture of Education*, 62. He carefully avoids endorsing the excesses of relativism currently fashionable in the academy, while at the same time avoiding a retreat into naïve realism (59): “It is a foolish ‘postmodernism’ that accepts that all knowledge can be justified simply by finding or forming an ‘interpretive community’ that agrees. Nor need we be so old guard as to insist that knowledge is only knowledge when it is ‘true’ in a way that precludes all competing claims.”

⁸¹ On culture as a “collaborative narrative construal,” see Bruner, *Culture of Education*, 96.

been detailed convincingly by leading scholars such as Hans Baron and Thomas Greene. I would differ from them, however, in emphasizing the critical importance of the first few decades of the sixteenth century for the formulation of a lasting conception of the Renaissance itself as a completed historical epoch. Petrarch did indeed “open the way” (as Bruni famously put it). It was he who first conceived of a period of “dark ages” that separated the present from antiquity, and he viewed himself as a herald of change that was just beginning and that might prepare the way to a better future. By the early sixteenth century, however, Italian humanists were starting to describe the recent past as a “golden age” that had decisively come to an end. However accurate or erroneous that conclusion, it was of great historic moment, for by encapsulating “The Renaissance” conceptually and articulating a sense of distance from the *recent* past, they reified it, both for themselves and for subsequent generations, much as Petrarch had initiated the humanists’ reification of antiquity.

If their sense of disjunction arose in part from historical perspective gained from their studies, the oft-invoked “Crisis of Italy” provided an immediate stimulus for it. Beginning with the French King Charles VIII’s invasion of the peninsula in 1494, the Italians found themselves engaged in a protracted and ultimately unsuccessful struggle for autonomy from foreign control. Over the following decades, as Italian intellectuals grappled with the implications of the struggle between the French and the Spanish for domination of Italy, they inclined more and more to view the period before the 1490s as a golden era in which they no longer participated.⁸² They gradually realized the limits of their ability to create the world around them, and increasingly they saw *Fortuna* as dictating the course of events.⁸³ Especially after Spanish and German imperial troops sacked Rome in 1527, devastating the city and dispersing its community of writers and artists, the sense of nostalgia for all that had been lost became overpowering.

Looking at one example in detail will help to elucidate the change in perspective and its implications.⁸⁴ In 1529, Jacopo Sadoletto, who had left Rome shortly before the 1527 attack, wrote a letter to Angelo Colocci that evidences how much had changed, both in recent years and, by implication, since the generation of Petrarch. Writing from his diocese in France, Sadoletto strove to maintain his bond of love with Colocci despite their physical separation. Wistfully, he recalled the meetings of the sodalities before the sack of Rome:

The reasons for [our] love are many: the old friendship between us; also, the fellowship of the same studies, at the time when together we used to give assistance to the Greek scholar, [Scipio] Fortiguerra. From that time, indeed, I remember that neither my exceptional good will toward you, nor your affection for me, was ever missing. At that time, moreover, many

⁸² Eric W. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1981), 161–211, surveys the changing views of the French invasion of 1494 in the writings of contemporary historians in Milan, Naples, Venice, Florence, and elsewhere in Italy. In Florence, for example, only in 1512, after the Spanish sack of Prato and the return of the Medici to power, did the events of the early 1490s come to be interpreted as a watershed.

⁸³ Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini* (Princeton, N.J., 1965), esp. 258–70.

⁸⁴ On the cultural impact of the sack of Rome, see esp. Vincenzo De Caprio, *La tradizione e il trauma* (Rome, 1991); André Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, Beth Archer, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1983); and Gouwens, *Remembering the Renaissance*.

things were often common to us—games, community life, walking—equal and almost the same in [choice of] friends, a sense of enjoyment out of the same circumstances.⁸⁵

But this invocation of Ciceronian *amicitia*, based on shared experience and choices, subtly undermines the protestations of connectedness, in that it is founded not on present experiences but almost exclusively on the recollection of past ones.

Like Petrarch, Sadoletto recalls walking the streets of Rome. In so doing, however, he memorializes not only the “hallowed shades of so many very distinguished and very brave men” who had inhabited the city in the distant past but also the inhabitants of Renaissance Rome in the immediately preceding quarter-century: “In almost every step, when we were making our way through the districts and streets of the city, we were setting foot in some monument of theirs [the men of antiquity] and on some piece of history. Both the admiration of antiquity and the present majesty of the citizenry were bringing it about [that] I should love so much.”⁸⁶ Still in all, if the memory of antiquity had been combined with acknowledgment of the city’s newly restored greatness, now the latter has slipped away, in part through natural attrition and in part as a result of recent political disasters such as the sack of Rome. When Sadoletto commemorates the Roman sodalities, he does so with a sense of remoteness as temporal as it is spatial: he assures Colocci that he holds in his “innermost feelings” the memory not only of those who “are well and live on” but also “of those who, by destiny, have died, whose multitude is far greater.”⁸⁷ He seeks in his own writings, he says, to assure that their reputation endures into subsequent generations, and he remembers them fondly:

For me, recalling the leisure of a past time, and going over bygone events in my mind, when we many had been accustomed to gather together, and when our period of life was far more suited to every joy and cheerfulness of spirit, just think how many of those gatherings and banquets, which we were accustomed to hold among ourselves frequently, come to mind: when, either in your villa gardens, or in mine on the Quirinal, or in the Circus Maximus, or next to the Temple of Hercules on the shore of the Tiber, and also at other times in other spots in the city, there used to be held assemblies of the most learned men, every single one of whom both his very own special virtue and the common proclamation of all commended. There, after intimate dinners seasoned not so much by great delicacies as by the salt of wit, either poems used to be recited, or orations were delivered, with the greatest pleasure of all of us who were listening, both since the merit in those of the greatest ingenuity was obvious, and since those things which were being presented were, moreover, full of festivity and charm.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Jacopo Sadoletto, *Epistolae quotquot extant proprio nomine scriptae nunc primum duplo auctiores in lucem editae*, 5 vols., Vincenzo Costanzi, ed. (Rome, 1760–67), 1: 309–18, at 314–15: “Sunt quidem & multae praeterea amoris causae; vetusta necessitudo inter nos: societas etiam eorundem studiorum, tum cum dabamus Graeco doctori Carteromacho simul operam. Quo quidem ex tempore recordor nec meam tibi insignem benevolentiam, nec tuum mihi studium unquam defuisse: tum autem multa saepe nobis communia, lusus, convictus, deambulatio: par prope atque idem in amicis delectus, ex eisdem rebus delectatio.”

⁸⁶ Sadoletto, *Epistolae*, 1: 317: “Nulli unquam sua patria, solumque illud in quo quisque natus, & alitus, gratam incunabulorum memoriam secum perpetuo fert, tam charum fuit, tamque amabile, quam mihi urbs Roma, & sancti illi penates tot clarissimorum fortissimorumque hominum, quorum pene in passus singulos, cum per vicos & plateas urbis vadebamus, aliquod in monumentum, aliquamque in historiam pedem ponebamus. Cur autem tantum amarem, & vetustatis admiratio faciebat, & praesens civitatis majestas.”

⁸⁷ Sadoletto, *Epistolae*, 1: 315.

⁸⁸ Sadoletto, *Epistolae*, 1: 310–11: “Ac mihi recordanti spatium praeteriti temporis, & vetera animo

But all that is a thing of the past. Now, precisely because of the intensity of his love for Rome, he must stay away: "I cannot convince myself that I might wish to see this city, beloved and dear to me . . . , disfigured by ruins, emptied of crowds, made destitute of many distinguished and illustrious men, . . . [and] tossed about even now, as well, by storms, exposed to tempests."⁸⁹ Lacking immediate experience of the city, even willfully averting his gaze from mental images of its present condition, he clings to the memory of the Rome that he had experienced, encapsulating it as a coherent unit that had ended in 1527. By telling its idealized story in the letter to Colocci, he has memorialized it not just for himself but also for those of us who have followed. When at last he returned to Rome in 1536, as a member of a commission that Pope Paul III had assembled to help guide the reform of the church, Sadoletto did so in a way that was detached from his own past, as well as from that of Rome. Memory had become history, and the Renaissance, at least in Sadoletto's mind, had come to an end.

Nor was he alone in viewing matters that way, for, over the course of the following decades, other Roman humanists produced a spate of catalogues of the members of their sodalities.⁹⁰ Sensing that the culture in which they had participated was slipping from their grasp, they reified it in text, much as collectors of antiquities were beginning to reify material objects that had been produced over the past two centuries.⁹¹ While the classical revival and humanistic studies would continue, making important contributions to later scholarly innovations in textual criticism and in scientific inquiry, the Renaissance as a distinct event in cultural history had thus come to an end—a terminus that, in fact, was both recognized and commemorated by the humanists living at the time.

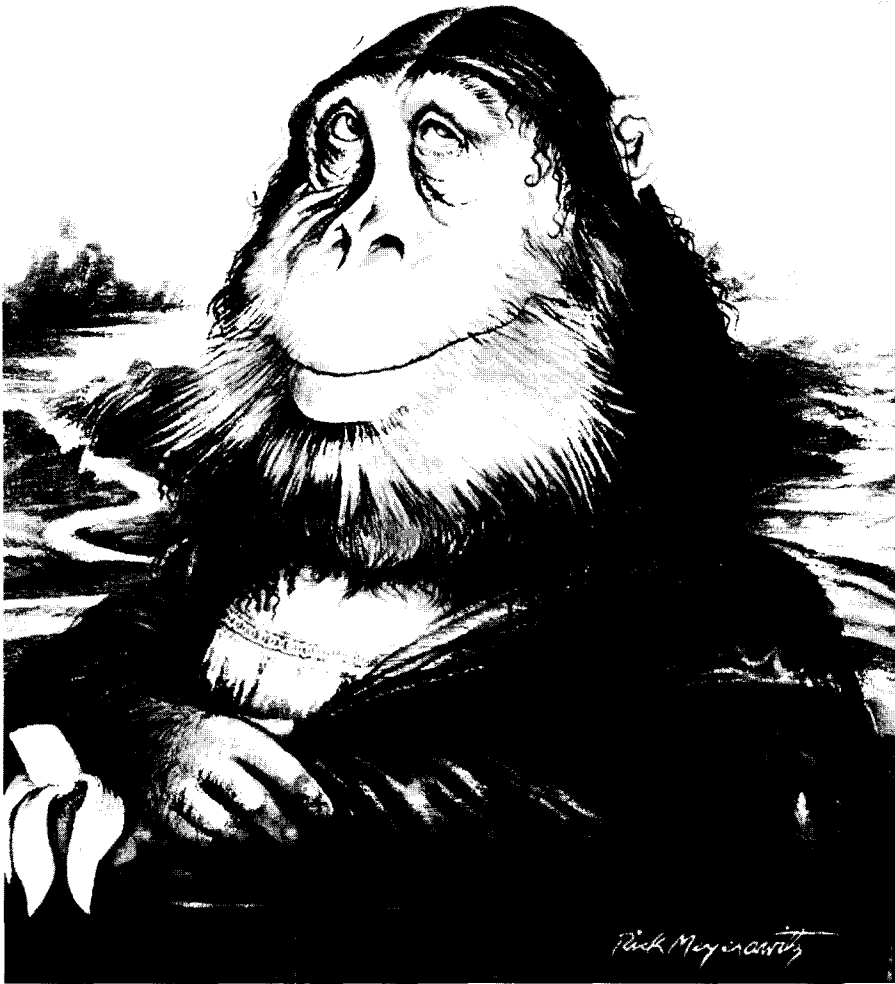
THE ARGUMENT ABOVE OUTLINES A COMPLEX STORY that has already been told from a variety of perspectives, yet it also suggests new conclusions. In the first place, I would argue that humanism is best conceived not as the narrowly defined *studia humanitatis* of Kristeller but as the cultural context (or, discursive field) within which exceptionally visible figures such as Petrarch and Raphael operated. Our task, as historians, is to make that landscape discernible and comprehensible, and

repetenti, cum & plures convenire soliti eramus una, & erat aetas nostra ad omnem alacritatem animique hilaritatem longe aptior: quoties venire in mentem putas eorum coetuum convivorumque, quae inter nos cr[e]bro habere solebamus: cum aut in hortis t[u]is suburbanis, aut in meis Quirinalibus, aut in Circo maximo, aut in Tyberis ripa ad Herculis, alias autem aliis in urbis locis conventus habebantur doctissimorum hominum: quorum unumquemque & propria ipsius virtus, & communis cunctorum praedicatio commendabat. Ubi post familiares epulas, non tam cupedia multa conditas, quam multis salibus, aut poemata recitabantur, aut orationes pronuntiabantur, cum maxima omnium nostrum qui audiebamur voluptate: quod & summorum ingeniorum in illis laus apparebat, & erant illa tamen quae proferebantur plena festivitatis ac venustatis."

⁸⁹ Sadoletto, *Epistolae*, 1: 317: "Hanc igitur Urbem mihi dilectam & charam usque eo, ut nihil in amore fieri possit ardentius, deformatam ruinis, exinanitam frequentia, plurimis claris viris illustribusque orbatam, quorum in suavitate & benevolentia, mei (quos pro republica capiebam) labores requiescebant, ut videre velim, animum inducere non possum: jactatam praeterea etiam nunc procellis, objectam tempestatibus."

⁹⁰ Among the more prominent examples, we may note Pierio Valeriano, *De litteratorum infelicitate*, Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum illustrium*, and Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *De poetis nostrorum temporum*.

⁹¹ See the argument of Paula Findlen, "Possessing the Past," in this issue.



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FIGURE 4: *Mona Gorilla*, by Rick Meyerowitz, is reprinted here courtesy of *National Lampoon*.

to show how Renaissance humanism and art, which scholars have at times artificially separated from each other, were actually profoundly interrelated parts of the revival of antiquity. Secondly, we must take into account the fact that for many humanists, the study of the classics was not just a mechanical approach to texts but was instead an activity laden with affect and even potentially transformative. Thus humanism was in important respects a “state of mind.” To say this does not diminish its historical significance, for as the historian Lewis Spitz observed over a quarter-century ago, “What people believe to be true is often historically a more powerful force than the actual facts.”⁹² It does, however, historicize the periodic conception of “The Renaissance” as a sixteenth-century creation, rather than just

⁹² Lewis W. Spitz, *The Renaissance and Reformation Movements*, Vol. 1: *The Renaissance* (St. Louis, Mo., 1971), 25. Spitz’s observation does not, of course, depend on our ability to determine with certainty just what the “actual facts” are or in any way preclude ideas having an “actual” impact.

as a nineteenth-century construction foisted on us by such scholars as Burckhardt and Symonds. Thirdly, the response to the question of why those of us who study and teach the Renaissance might want to include figures like Angelo Colocci and Jacopo Sadoletto alongside more prominent individuals like Raphael and Michelangelo ought by now to be clear: through a more inclusive definition of “humanism,” we can see how the revival of arts and of letters took place within a shared discursive field and a common social environment. More important, we can appreciate how the artistic and literary modeling on antiquity and the dialogue with some of its most creative individuals promoted both a deepening of introspection and an enhanced sense of historical perspective. Nor is the benefit of such dialogues across time limited to the Renaissance: for we, like Petrarch and Sadoletto, can interact with and learn from individuals and cultures in the past through the remnants that they have left us. Just as for Renaissance humanists, so, too, for historians today a sensitive engagement with the experiences and legacies of our predecessors may possibly stimulate self-awareness, ethical scrutiny of self and society, and even cultural renewal.

But let us end on a lighter note: surely we ought not to despise the Renaissance kitsch that proliferates in today’s marketplace. After all, who are we to scorn the “Dress-Me-Up” David magnets, given that Roman humanists similarly created a “Dress-Me-Up” Pasquino? Need there be something intrinsically wrong with “serious” scholars placing Pasquino on a pedestal?⁹³ Indeed, I would argue that we ought to find cultural creations of the late twentieth century such as *National Lampoon*’s ridiculous image of “Mona Gorilla” (Figure 4) reassuring rather than threatening. Far from debasing the legacy of the Renaissance, the popular conception of it flourishing at the end of the millennium includes a capacity for parody that, following the example of Renaissance humanists, we too ought to celebrate.

⁹³ For a recent fine example of scholarship that combines scholarly rigor with playfulness, see Corbis’s new (1996) CD-ROM on Leonardo da Vinci. This remarkable resource includes bit-mapped copies of the Codex Leicester (complete with translation and mirror-imaging capability) and several paintings, as well as an introduction to the study of Leonardo. The closing credits juxtapose the names of contributors, including prominent Leonardo scholars such as Claire Farago and Martin Kemp, with a series of twentieth-century artistic parodies, including Andy Warhol’s serigraph of the Mona Lisa (1963), Terry Pastor’s “Magritte Lisa” (1974) and, just before a parting shot of the original *Mona Lisa* by Leonardo, an image of the unforgettable Muppet masterpiece from the “Kermitage” Collection, “Mona Pigga” (1986).

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Renaissance studies in America, echoing William J. Bouwsma's famous remarks on the wilting of the Renaissance in the late 1970s.⁴ Yet it does much more than that. The Renaissance holds a special place in the historical and popular imagination for reasons that may not be as far apart as they often seem. In a world in which the majority of European and American museums that do not call themselves "museums of modern art" have built their collections around at least a handful of Renaissance works of art, the Renaissance continues to symbolize the very definition and, to a lesser degree, origin of culture.

As Lisa Jardine amply demonstrates in her recent survey *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (1996), the European elite of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries left behind a rich cultural legacy that, even today, defines the meaning of the Renaissance.⁵ We may no longer collect and celebrate Renaissance objects with the same passion of late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century collectors such as Sir Harold Acton, Bernard Berenson, Isabella Stewart Gardner, and Aby Warburg, but this is primarily because most original Renaissance artifacts no longer circulate in a market that encourages the indulgence of the Renaissance as a private vice for wealthy connoisseurs.⁶ Instead, our contact with the Renaissance occurs primarily in the galleries of local museums, through PBS television specials and special exhibits, and in our pilgrimages to those sites of culture that allow us to experience the most canonical Renaissance objects in their authentic form.

During the very decades when historians have become less intellectually attached to a meaningful use of the Renaissance as an explanatory category, it has enjoyed growing popularity in the public domain. Increased travel and the growth of a public museum culture in many countries have allowed many people to enjoy Renaissance artifacts in ways they did not in earlier centuries. If anything, the sense that ours is a visual age at the end of the twentieth century has only made Renaissance artifacts more appealing. Libraries such as the Pierpont Morgan, Newberry, and Folger Shakespeare Library have built a series of exhibits around Renaissance books and manuscripts as beautiful public objects. The highly successful Vatican Library

177–81. However, Geary is less interested in the artifactual nature of the medieval past when it concerns non-written objects.

⁴ Edward Muir, "The Italian Renaissance in America," *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1117; William J. Bouwsma, "The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History," *AHR* 84 (February 1979): 1–15. As Bouwsma and Muir underscore in different ways, the "Renaissance" as an intellectual category rests on shaky foundations indeed; on the whole, professional historians in the 1990s subscribe neither to Jacob Burckhardt's compelling image of this period as a world of individualists remaking politics and discovering the world as an act of supreme ego, nor to Hans Baron's notion that the Renaissance entailed a close interaction of politics and humanism in defense of republican liberty. See also Ronald Witt, *et al.*, "Introduction, Hans Baron's Renaissance Humanism," *AHR* 101 (February 1996): 107–44.

⁵ Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London, 1996). A number of reviewers have questioned how peculiar this material culture really was to the Renaissance as well as how novel Jardine's thesis truly is, since it draws heavily on the work of such scholars as Iris Origo, Michael Baxandall, and Richard Goldthwaite. See Alan Ryder, "The Cult of Magnificence," *New York Times* (January 5, 1997); and David Chambers' review in the *Times Literary Supplement* (October 11, 1996): 21.

⁶ On this subject, see Ernest Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Ernst Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*, 2d edn. (Chicago, 1986); and Louise Hall Tharp, *Mrs. Jack: A Biography of Isabella Stewart Gardner* (Boston, 1965).

exhibit at the Library of Congress in 1993 closely linked the Renaissance with the rise of great cultural institutions such as the library.⁷ Similarly, the documentary consciousness of the Renaissance that created such memorable television series as Kenneth Clark's *Civilisation* (1970), which made the Renaissance the pinnacle of its narrative of the West, and the lengthy *Leonardo da Vinci* special in the 1960s seems to have found new life in the world of cable television, where stations such as Arts and Entertainment and the History Channel have embraced the Renaissance, among several other historical subjects.⁸ All of these different venues make the Renaissance an important and durable part of public history.

One of the important ways by which the past becomes meaningful is through the identification of a core set of objects that embody the image of an age. The success of Renaissance artifacts as public documents of culture lies not only in their careful reconstruction in exhibits, documentaries, and histories but also in their enormous success as historical kitsch. In recent years, Renaissance museum objects have vaulted out of their gilded frames, like birds from cages, and fully entered the domain of popular culture. One need not travel all the way to Florence to see Michelangelo's *David* when it can be readily found in "The Museum Company" of any respectable mall in the United States, as a statue, t-shirt, or set of refrigerator magnets, often not too far away from the *Mona Lisa* mousepad and coffee mug. Michelangelo's name may now be more recognizable because it belongs to a Ninja turtle rather than to a Renaissance artist. Sistine Chapel umbrellas crowd Botticelli serving trays, Raphael cherubs jostle rosy-cheeked Venuses in the competition for best Renaissance calendar art. With the addition of a Leonardo theme to the Microsoft Plus package of software, thousands of computer users can imagine the Renaissance as an iconic point of departure for the technological and visual revolutions of the computer age.

What is most striking about the Renaissance, in the popular imagination, is its legacy as a reproducible past. Our consumption of this particular past is an expression of our own identification with its material richness.⁹ Constantly refashioning and distributing a handful of Renaissance artifacts, we have made them an everyday part of our own culture. Our reasons for embracing these objects may have little to do with their original meaning at the moment of their creation and in their initial display in Renaissance palaces and churches. Yet, in some fundamental way, we have understood a key feature of this material legacy as it was presented by its earliest connoisseurs: it is a legacy to be admired, publicized, copied, and even invented, a dynamic corpus of objects that creates and re-creates our image of its society.

By what process did these objects become special? How did they engender our

⁷ See Anthony Grafton, ed., *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture* (Washington, D.C., 1993).

⁸ Theodore K. Rabb's supervision of his *Renaissance Lives* series is a fine example of the sort of new public history of the Renaissance that public television can offer.

⁹ This sentiment is similarly shared by Lisa Jardine in *Worldly Goods*, although she also argues for potential strong connections between the global nature of Renaissance artifacts and late twentieth-century multiculturalism. I would suggest that the objects of the Renaissance with which we most identify are not necessarily those that reveal the mercantile culture of this period and its consumption of luxuries—at least not yet. Rather, we continue to cherish those works, literary and artistic, that still embody the concept of genius built into the classic definition of the Renaissance.

own image of the Renaissance? That birth occurred not in the pages of Jacob Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860) but in the writings and practices of Renaissance elites who, as the Tuscan artist and art critic Giorgio Vasari most famously illustrates, ascribed special meaning to the literary and artistic products of their own time and the immediate past. While historians and art historians have long identified Vasari's use of the term *rinascita* (rebirth) in his *Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Architects, Painters, and Sculptors from Cimabue to Our Times* (1550) as the beginnings of the conceptual Renaissance, historians have not fully explored and understood the broader culture that produced this work.¹⁰ Spanning the period between Petrarch in the fourteenth century and Vasari in the sixteenth is a fascinating story of canon formation. How did its crystallization in the mid-sixteenth century coincide with other efforts to identify creators of Renaissance values and culture? What tools and assumptions did scholars bring to bear in completing this project? Finally, why undertake it at all?

As this last question suggests, the late sixteenth and seventeenth-century identification of those figures who became the principal actors of modern accounts of the Renaissance contributed significantly to the emergence of the Renaissance in modern scholarship. We are surely heirs of little-studied figures such as the seventeenth-century Venetian painter Antonio Vassilacchi, whose collection of drawings by Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and other Renaissance artists drew princes, ambassadors, and artists "to see such a beautiful collection."¹¹ In order to better understand what it means to us, we need to consider what it meant to them.

ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES of the Renaissance was its collection, creation, and celebration of objects. While medieval Europeans also privileged a variety of objects—ostrich eggs, jeweled goblets, relics, and the like¹²—they did not give those things that increasingly defined the Renaissance investment in culture—antiquities, ancient manuscripts, paintings, and sculptures—the same degree of prominence. Such objects became meaningful in a succession that defined not only their initial hierarchy of value but also their place in shaping genealogical narratives about what it meant to possess the past.¹³

When the Venetian senator Giacomo Contarini described his home in 1595 as filled with "exquisite things," he defined a common sensibility among Italian Renaissance elites who expressed great pride in their ability to embellish their

¹⁰ An important exception is Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), which also offers readers an excellent Vasari bibliography. For Italian scholarship on the same subject, a good starting point is Paola Barocchi, "Storiografia e collezionismo dal Vasari al Lanzi," in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Part 1, *Materiali e problemi*, Vol. 2, *L'artista e il pubblico* (Turin, 1979), 5–82.

¹¹ C. Ridolfi, *Delle meraviglie dell'arte* (Venice, 1648), in Cristina De Benedictis, *Per la storia del collezionismo italiano: Fonti e documenti* (Florence, 1991), 163.

¹² Katharine Park and Lorraine J. Daston, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (New York, 1998).

¹³ On the genealogical aspects of the Renaissance, see Paula Findlen, "The Museum: Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy," *Journal of the History of Collections* 1 (1989): 59–78; Randolph Starn, "Who's Afraid of the Renaissance?" in *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies*, John Van Engen, ed. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1994), 137–38; and Roberto Bizzocchi, *Genealogie incredibili: Scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna* (Bologna, 1995).

homes with special objects.¹⁴ The valorization of a handful of books, manuscripts, paintings, and sculptures that signified the “Renaissance” occurred in a climate that placed general emphasis on the possession of goods. “The Renaissance . . . was a celebration of the urge to own, the curiosity to possess the treasures of other cultures, and pride in a new craftsmanship which can make the most humdrum commodities desirable,” observes Jardine.¹⁵ At the end of the Middle Ages, increased trade, the flourishing of artisanal and patrician culture in cities, and the growing association of status with wealth and possessions all contributed to a heightened sense that objects mattered.¹⁶ When Sabba da Castiglione recounted the tale of Diogenes, who, finding himself in the house of a gentleman, spat in his face because it was the “least ornate and least beautiful place” in his home, he described the aspirations of many Italian patricians to inhabit spaces filled with things that literally made them magnificent.¹⁷

New intellectual and cultural agendas also reinforced the emphasis on the variety and quality of artifacts. The historical and aesthetic consciousness and antiquarian impulses we associate with humanism served to focus scholars’ interest on tangible products of the past, viewed in the mirror of the present.¹⁸ Despite the protests of one participant in Angelo Decembrio’s *De politia litteraria*, a mid-fifteenth-century portrayal of life at the Estense court in Ferrara, that he “had no familiarity . . . with pictures and statues for he considered that they had nothing to do with reading or instruction,” most patrons and scholars increasingly associated the humanist revival of learning with a new material world. More typical was the response of Decembrio’s fictionalized Leonello d’Este, who described his “great pleasure in looking at the heads of Caesars” as equal to his reading of the ancients.¹⁹ Whether amid the Roman ruins, in the audience hall of the Great Council in Venice, or in the bedrooms of Palazzo Medici in Florence, Renaissance patricians reveled in the materiality of their world.

Materialism has long been a latent theme of Italian Renaissance scholarship. Yet it has not yet been given the sort of serious methodological attention that it deserves in offering an alternative and potentially complex account of this period.²⁰

¹⁴ Paul Lawrence Rose, “Jacomo Contarini (1536–1595), a Venetian Patron and Collector of Mathematical Books and Instruments,” *Physis* 18 (1976): 120.

¹⁵ Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, 33–34.

¹⁶ The classic account of these developments can be found in Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, Siân Reynolds, trans., 3 vols. (New York, 1981–84).

¹⁷ Sabba da Castiglione, *Ricordi* (1563 edn.), cc. 118v–119r, in Gigliola Fragnito, *In museo e in villa: Saggi sul Rinascimento perduto* (Venice, 1988), 203 n13.

¹⁸ See Arnaldo Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 285–315; Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (New York, 1969); Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, 2d edn. (London, 1988); and Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), are fundamental points of departure. For more on the intellectual world that produced this material culture, see Kenneth Gouwens, “Perceiving the Past: Renaissance Humanism after the ‘Cognitive Turn,’” in this *AHR Forum*.

¹⁹ Michael Baxandall, “A Dialogue on Art from the Court of Leonello d’Este: Angelo Decembrio’s *De Politia Litteraria* Pars LXVIII,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963): 324.

²⁰ Anthony Molho’s observation that explorations of material culture are simply the latest vehicle by which to claim the origins of modernity for the Renaissance limits a significantly more complicated issue, as some of the scholarship he cites surely has done, to the “birth of consumer culture.” Instead, I would suggest that there is a wide range of interactions with objects during this period, many of which

Since the 1970s, as many historians have moved away from largely humanist and political narratives of the Renaissance in favor of writing social history, a handful of art historians, economic historians, and cultural historians have shaped a history of the Renaissance that identifies it as a period in which a new self-consciousness about things as well as words arose. This approach has created a rich interdisciplinary framework in which to revisit such subjects as the emergence of humanist culture, genealogies of knowledge, and the special status of the arts during the Renaissance, placing these activities in a broader social, political, and economic framework.

Alfred von Martin laid the groundwork for this sort of scholarship in his Marxist *Sociology of the Renaissance* (1932) by identifying the entrepreneur as the quintessential figure of Italian Renaissance society, but it took two more decades for consumption to become an identifiable historical problem. In the 1950s, the medieval historian Roberto Lopez argued that the financial difficulties of late fourteenth-century Italy, in the wake of plague, famine, and banking crises, precipitated greater investment in culture.²¹ In Lopez's suggestive interpretation, the Renaissance became one long shopping spree between the end of the Middle Ages and the dawn of the Reformation, initiated by one crisis and, with Burckhardtian finality, done in by another in Girolamo Savonarola's and Martin Luther's bonfire of vanities.²² What one purchased did not matter. Rather, it was the effect of consumption that became the focal point of this model of Renaissance society.

In his controversial essay, Lopez offered Renaissance historians a testable hypothesis more than a firm conclusion. Was culture a driving force, in a material and economic sense, in Renaissance society? Surprisingly, few scholars took up his call to investigate whether distinctive patterns of consumption could be found; answering this question, through careful perusal of account books, testaments, and inventories has admittedly been a difficult task with elusive results. The primary exception has been the work of economic historian Richard Goldthwaite. In such books as *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence* (1969), *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, (1980) and *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300–1600* (1993), Goldthwaite examined closely the spending habits of nobles and patricians, attempting to explain the noteworthy increase in the building of urban palaces and the growing presence of private art in elite households during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²³ While firmly discarding Lopez's conclusion that "hard times"

have nothing to do with modernity at all. See Molho, "American Historians and the Italian Renaissance: An Overview," *Schifanoia* 8 (1989): 15.

²¹ Roberto Lopez, "Hard Times and Investment in Culture," in *Social and Economic Foundations of the Italian Renaissance*, Anthony Molho, ed. (New York, 1969), 95–116.

²² While this thesis has largely been rejected by historians, it is resuscitated in Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, 36–37. See Richard A. Goldthwaite's discussion of its history in *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300–1600* (Baltimore, Md., 1993), 3, 14, 66–67.

²³ See especially Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore, Md., 1980); "The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy," in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons, eds. (Oxford, 1987), 153–76; and *Wealth and the Demand for Art*. For a more Braudellian take on early modern consumption patterns, see the work of the sociologist Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York, 1983); essays in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), also tend toward explanations of consumption as a broadly early

led elites to conserve diminishing and precarious assets through an upsurge in artistic and architectural patronage, Goldthwaite nonetheless saw cultural investment as an important part of Renaissance spending patterns, a product of the continued wealth of Italian elites and its circulation on the peninsula. He also argued that Italians enjoyed a more dynamic relationship to the world of trade at an earlier stage than did their counterparts in other regions of Europe, due to the greater density of economic and social relations that produced a regular flow of goods and services into their households.²⁴ Such attitudes did not end with the Reformation but accelerated in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Goldthwaite's image of Renaissance society represents a full-scale evolution and refinement of the model first sketched by Lopez. Yet, for him, consumption is also a means to identity, a malleable activity that offers tangible evidence of how Italians wished to live in addition to telling us which objects filled their homes. It plays a fundamental role in what Norbert Elias called the "civilizing process," which Goldthwaite rightfully removes from the artificially bounded world of the Renaissance court and places instead at the center of urban and elite society. "The Italians worked out and defined values, attitudes, and pleasures in their possession of goods," he writes, "so that these things became the active instruments for the creation of culture, not just the embodiment of culture."²⁵ In a move that runs counter to most scholarship on Renaissance art and culture, Goldthwaite argues that, instead of specific tastes and desires, a more general desire for things and the financial capital to acquire them defined the Renaissance consumer. To a lesser degree, this viewpoint is also echoed by Jardine in her popular synthesis, although she also highlights interest in goods such as books, antiquities, art, and Ottoman fabrics as identifiable patterns within the materialist impulses of the age.²⁶ Rather than reifying taste, both historians propose a more dynamic model by which artifacts embody meaning.

At the same time, art historians and cultural historians have also begun to develop more sophisticated approaches toward those special objects that define the canonical "high culture" of the Renaissance. Such work has explored the complex attitudes toward art on the part of Renaissance elites, revealing a range of opinions about the uses and meaning of art from the utilitarian to the ornamental to the

modern and cross-cultural phenomenon that emphasizes the importance of such regions as England and the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rather than Renaissance Italy. Jardine's *Worldly Goods* represents an interesting attempt to reconcile these two approaches.

²⁴ For an overview of the economic situation of Italy, see Judith Brown, "Prosperity or Hard Times in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 761–80.

²⁵ Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art*, 5. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, Edmund Jephcott, trans., 2 vols. (New York, 1978); and Elias, *The Court Society*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (New York, 1983). See also Werner Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, W. R. Dittmar, trans. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967).

²⁶ My thanks to Gillian Weiss for clarifying this distinction in an unpublished review essay of these two books. Goldthwaite also focuses on consumption patterns around distinctive artifacts such as art and architecture, but his most recent book deliberately presents "art" as a large sprawling category with no clear sense of how patrons distinguished between one form of artistic production and another. In this respect, his work echoes closely the findings of Pierre Bourdieu in such works as *Distinction* (1984).

richly symbolic.²⁷ Even in this more traditional domain of Renaissance culture, quintessential “Renaissance” artifacts are shown to have highly unstable meanings. When the humanist Francesco Petrarch wrote of his prize possession, a painting by Giotto, in 1370, he described the spectrum of taste in his own day as a deliberate progression in the stages of wisdom: “The ignorant do not understand the beauty of this panel but the masters of art are stunned by it.”²⁸ According such connoisseurs the same title (*magister*) that one gave to university graduates, Petrarch gave knowledge of art a formal status that bordered on equivalency with mastery of knowledge in general. Yet Petrarch acknowledged that one need not be a “master” to possess Giotto; in the absence of that deep understanding, one would simply respond to it differently, enjoying a more superficial possession.

Exactly when the Renaissance thirst for goods started or precisely what it entailed has been notoriously difficult to determine. Medievalists have rightfully criticized Renaissance historians for not fully acknowledging the late medieval origins of Renaissance consumption habits. As readers of Iris Origo’s classic description of the life of the Pratese merchant Francesco Datini know, the fourteenth century was a period in which traders and bankers expressed great anxiety and great pleasure in their wealth. Datini may well be a late and especially articulate example of the sort of mentality that one could find for the preceding two centuries in different forms.²⁹ Yet he is also a typical example of the sort of “Renaissance” consumer, with access to global markets and commodities, whom Jardine highlights in her *Worldly Goods*. Datini, for example, seems to have displayed some of the temperament famously described by Michael Baxandall among fifteenth-century patrons of art and chastised by Petrarch, as when he wrote about a painting in 1373: “I do not care, so long as the figures are handsome and large, the best and finest you can buy, and cost no more than 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ florins.”³⁰ Art was not a distinctive or especially important category of acquisition for Datini, nor were the handful of books contained in chests in his home; they were part of a spectrum of goods that entered and filled his household.

Datini’s occasional investment in cultural objects surely did not make him the sort of artistic and literary patron whom Lopez had in mind. The deliberate cultivation of cultural goods emerged gradually and inconsistently between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. For many princes and patricians, culture was a

²⁷ Recent work on art and culture is so voluminous that I am restricting myself to a handful of citations: Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*; Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, rev. edn. (Princeton, N.J., 1987); Loren Partridge and Randolph Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness: Art and Culture in Raphael’s Julius II* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980); Starn and Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, 1992); Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, Conn., 1988); Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian, and the Franciscans* (New Haven, 1986); and Anabel Thomas, *The Painter’s Practice in Renaissance Tuscany* (Cambridge, 1995). The essays in Kent and Simons, *Patronage, Art and Society*, offer a good point of departure for anyone interested in exploring this area of Italian Renaissance scholarship.

²⁸ Theodor E. Mommsen, ed. and trans., *Petrarch’s Testament* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1957), 79–81.

²⁹ Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Daily Life in a Medieval Italian City*, rev. edn. (Harmondsworth, 1963). More recently, Steven Epstein has offered an account of a less familiar mercantile culture that may turn out to be an interesting point of comparison for Tuscany and the Veneto; see Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

³⁰ Origo, *Merchant of Prato*, 241. See Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, 1972).



FIGURE 1: Lorenzo Lotto, *Cleric in His Study* (circa 1500s). Courtesy of the British Library.

tangible thing rather than a concept; its rich and evident materiality was more important than its more ephemeral qualities. Nonetheless, we can observe a growing interest in artistic, literary, and antiquarian artifacts in the course of the fourteenth century. In the 1350s, for instance, Petrarch offered a scathing indictment of culture mongers who hoarded manuscripts to ornament noble palaces. “There are those who decorate their rooms with furniture devised to decorate their minds,” he wrote in *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, “and they use books as they use Corinthian vases or painted panels and statues and the like” (Figure 1).³¹ Such an image offers a tantalizing glimpse of an early Renaissance elite who associated learning with cultural ornamentation, interchangeably decorating their palaces with copies of Plato and Dante, antique fragments, and pictures by Giotto and his contemporaries. This was a modest foretaste of the behavior that led Renaissance popes and princes to proclaim their magnificence through the public status of key

³¹ Francesco Petrarch, *Petrarch: Four Dialogues for Scholars*, Conrad H. Rawski, ed. and trans. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1967), 31: “Sunt qui hac parte supellactis exornant thalamos, quae animis exornandis inventa est, neque aliter his utantur quam Corinthiis vasis aut tabulis pictis ac statuīs ceterisque.” This text was begun in the 1350s and completed in 1366. On the culture of antiquarianism in this early period, see especially Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven, Conn., 1996).

possessions in the following centuries, impoverishing entire states in their avid pursuit of war, dynastic alliances, and culture.

The model consumer who craved culture above all other things could be found more readily in Petrarch's reflections on his own taste for intellectual goods. Despite his constant exhortations to eschew earthly pleasures, Petrarch was not exempt from material desires of the sort that he chastised among his patrons: "covetous" (*auidum*) was how he described himself to Giovanni Boccaccio in 1362, foreshadowing the duchess of Mantua Isabella d'Este's portrayal of herself as "craving" (*sapete quanto siamo appetitose*) culture in 1499.³² Although Petrarch often excused his own desire for books and, to a lesser degree, art as a sacred rather than a secular passion—"I flatter myself that the desire for noble things is not dishonorable," he wrote to the prior of San Marco, Giovanni dell'Incisa, around 1364—he could not contain his lust for things.³³ The material world that his Augustinian inclinations taught him to reject nonetheless enveloped him, at times overwhelming him in its embrace to the point of confession and repentance for the sin of avarice. Like his contemporary Datini, he vacillated between unease and exultation in the material world he inhabited. "If I behave with a certain greed," he informed dell'Incisa in a subsequent letter exalting their friendship, "the value of the thing possessed excuses the tenacity of the possessor."³⁴

Craving and consuming culture shaped elaborate procedures surrounding the humanist encounter with antiquity and its modern offshoots. In Petrarch's extensive reflections on the pleasures of written matter, possessing intellectual objects became a metaphor for the acquisition of knowledge. Their material possession was but a prelude to full intellectual ownership, which came through mastery of content. "[L]ock them in your mind and not in your bookcase," he advised readers.³⁵ Books were twice possessed, owned in fact and known in thought, just as his painting by Giotto had to be appreciated as a work of art in order to be fully owned. The apologetic tone of Petrarch's letter to dell'Incisa presented love of books as a material passion that found redemption in the immateriality of the knowledge that books contained. "I am unable to satisfy my thirst for books," he confessed:

And I perhaps own more of them than I ought; but just as in certain other things, so does it happen with books; success in earning money is a stimulus to greed. There is indeed something peculiar about books. Gold, silver, precious stones, beautiful clothing, marbled homes, cultivated fields, painted canvases, decorated horses and other similar things, possess silent and superficial pleasure. Books please the core of one's mind; they speak with us, advise us and unite us with a certain living and penetrating intimacy.³⁶

³² Petrarch, *Rerum senilium* I, 5, in Mommsen, *Petrarch's Testament*, 44; C. Malcolm Brown, "'Lo insaciabile desiderio nostro de cose antiche': New Documents on Isabella d'Este's Collection of Antiquities," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, Cecil H. Clough, ed. (Manchester, 1976), 324.

³³ Petrarch, *Rerum familiarium libri I–VIII*, Aldo S. Bernardo, trans. (Albany, N.Y., 1975), 157 (*Fam.* III, 18): "michi enim interblandior honestarum rerum non inhonestam esse cupidinem" (*Opere*, 372). Petrarch often reflected on what he called "habendi libidine" (the desire to possess) in his many writings (*Opere*, 374).

³⁴ Petrarch, *Opere*, 535 (*Fam.* VII, 11): "in qua siquid avidius egero, excuset utcunque possesse rei precium duritiem possessoris."

³⁵ Petrarch, *Four Dialogues*, 43. Latin original: "neque bibliothecae, sed memoriae committendi cerebroque, non armario concludendo sunt."

³⁶ Petrarch, *Rerum familiarium libri I–VIII*, 157 (*Fam.* III, 18): "libris satiari nequeo. Et habeo plures

Possession, for instance, was one of the important results of Petrarch's celebrated dialogue with antiquity. Writing to Jacopo Fiorentino about the completion of a copy of Cicero for his library, Petrarch rejoiced that he had finally been "allowed to possess him."³⁷

The close intertwining between new concepts of possession and new concepts of culture created and defined the Renaissance. Increasingly, cultural artifacts were viewed as a distinctive form of patrimony, one to be separated out from other household goods listed and appraised in testaments and inventories. Petrarch, who spent the last decade or more of his life preparing for his death, offers an excellent case in point. In his *Testamentum* (1370), expressing his own self-consciousness about his lack of wealth, he observed that all men, rich and poor, "are equally concerned with their possessions, unequal though they may be."³⁸ Yet possessions, like their owners, were not all equal. Petrarch clearly saw his prized Giotto and library as belonging to a separate category of goods that he would not bequeath to his family but hoped to pass on to posterity.

The Giotto found its way into the hands of Petrarch's patron, Francesco da Carrara; his books suffered a more uncertain fate, though not for lack of effort on his part. In 1362, he offered them to the city of Venice in the hope that they would create a civic library to rival the ones of antiquity. Negotiations faltered, yet, as Theodor Mommsen observes, the library curiously did not resurface as a specific item in Petrarch's notarized testament. Petrarch's possession of antiquity, that all-consuming passion that made him tremble with joy and fear, was a special patrimony that belonged to the world. Months after Petrarch's death in 1374, we find Giovanni Boccaccio anxiously inquiring what had become of his books.³⁹

During the ensuing two centuries, the status of cultural goods finally achieved some measure of the financial value that Lopez erroneously attributed to them in the fourteenth century. Petrarch's anxious statements about the worth of culture were transformed into more confident pronouncements about absolute value. While such attitudes crystallized in the seventeenth century, we can find traces of them in earlier documents. The 1525 household inventory of Leonardo's assistant Gian Giacomo Caprotti appraised a "canvas called the Leda," quite possibly Leonardo's painting *Leda and the Swan* or a copy, as worth as much as Caprotti's house.⁴⁰ Such statements mark the perceptible transformation in attitudes toward culture among the Italian elite who, surely to Petrarch's dismay, saw culture as a

forte quam oportet; sed sicut in ceteris rebus, sic et in libris accidit: querendi successus avaritie calcar est. Quinimo, singulare quiddam in libris est: aurum, argentum, gemme, purpurea vestis, marmorea domus, cultus ager, pictae tabulae, phaleratus sonipes, ceteraque id genus, mutam habent et superficialium voluptatem; libri medullitus delectant, colloquuntur, consulunt et viva quadam nobis atque arguta familiaritate iunguntur" (*Opere*, 372). I have slightly modified Bernardo's translation.

³⁷ Petrarch, *Rerum familiarium libri XVII–XXIV*, Bernardo, trans., 63 (*Fam.* XVIII, 12): "ad Ciceronem tuum redeo, quo cum carere nollem et potiri per scriptorum ignavium non liceret, deficientibus externis ad domestica vertor" (*Opere*, 985–86). I have translated this section less literally, since Petrarch discusses his frustration at *not* being able to possess Cicero because of his copyists and finally possesses Cicero by copying the manuscript himself.

³⁸ Mommsen, *Petrarch's Testament*, 69.

³⁹ Mommsen, *Petrarch's Testament*, 45–49. In his 1374 will, Petrarch bequeathed his library to Father Martino da Signa and, upon his death, to the monastery of Santo Spirito in Florence (p. 44).

⁴⁰ Janice Shell and Grazioso Sironi, "The 'Gioconda' in Milan," in Maria Teresa Fiorio and Pietro Marani, eds., *I leonardeschi a Milano: Fortuna e collezionismo* (Milan, 1991), 149. Both were worth 200

worthy investment to leave to one's heirs, not solely as an intellectual legacy but also as a form of wealth.

In 1548, the Venetian patrician Gabriel Vendramin wrote his own account of how his goods should be disposed. Known throughout Italy for his artistic and antiquarian interests, Vendramin inhabited a palace that represented the fulfillment of Petrarch's predictions about the importance of culture as a distinctive inheritance. Filled with noteworthy objects such as Giorgione's *Tempest*, Vendramin's collection was a precious patrimony that he wished to keep intact, according to the practice from Roman law of *fidecommesso*, which obliged heirs to fulfill such bequests until it was abolished by the Italian government in 1871.⁴¹ The majority of his paintings, drawings, sculptures, and coins—"all of great worth"—occupied the entryway and interior of a small room (*chamerin*) in his palace. As Vendramin wrote in his description of this collection, such objects were readily distinguishable from other household goods. While other goods depreciated, a true cultural patrimony appreciated. "[A]ll of the things that are found in this small room, which are worth many hundreds of ducats, *as distinct from everything that has been entered in our account books concerning the furnishings*, would bring in much more than they cost," he concluded.⁴²

Unlike Datini, who bought his paintings by the foot and the scudo, and recorded such purchases in his account books next to the chickens and yards of damask cloth, Vendramin represented a new sensibility that separated culture from other forms of material wealth to give it a special status among possessions. It was the most valued part of his patrimony and potentially the most valuable portion as well. In 1510, Paolo Cortesi observed in his handbook for Roman cardinals that Federigo Sanseverino's collection had allegedly "brought 30,000 [ducats] at auction." Law, custom, and status all contributed to a growing sense that culture was an investment to take seriously. In 1582, as Medici artists and architects worked feverishly to transform the top gallery of the Uffizi into a space to house the Grand Ducal collection, visitors commented on Francesco I's pleasure in "those things that he has."⁴³

Between the age of Petrarch and the Medici creation of the Uffizi galleries,

scudi. The same inventory also appraised a "canvas called the Joconda," which the authors argue may have been the *Mona Lisa*, at 100 scudi.

⁴¹ The role of inheritance law in the development of concepts of cultural patrimony and its implementation in Italy is virtually unexplored. The practice of *fidecommesso*, while not developed specifically to deal with cultural bequests, clearly had important applications in this area of inheritance, since it offers collectors a means of keeping their collections intact beyond their own lifetime. De Benedictis, *Per la storia del collezionismo*, 75–76. For the legal context, see Carlo Calisse, *A History of Italian Law*, Layton B. Register, trans. (Boston, 1928).

⁴² In David Chambers and Brian Pullan, eds., *Venice: A Documentary History 1450–1630* (Oxford, 1992), 428, emphasis mine. Vendramin's collection is also discussed in De Benedictis, *Per la storia del collezionismo*, 74–75; Lanfranco Franzoni, "Antiquari e collezionisti nel Cinquecento," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, Vol. 3, *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento* (Vicenza, 1981), 212; A. Ravà, "Il camerino delle antigaglie di Gabriele Vendramin," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, ser. 3, 39 (1920): 151–81; and L. Beschi, "Collezioni di antichità a Venezia ai tempi di Tiziano," *Aquileia nostra* 47 (1976): 2–43.

⁴³ Kathleen Weil-Garris and John F. D'Amico, ed. and trans., *The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's De Cardinalatu* (Rome, 1980), 85; and Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, eds., *Collezionismo mediceo: Cosimo I, Francesco I e il Cardinale Ferdinando* (Modena, 1993), 212 (Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino, January 1582).

Renaissance cultural objects ceased to be primarily a humanist's passion and became a valued patrimony for many Italian elite. When Lorenzo de' Medici had his initials carved into his antiquities in the late fifteenth century, he combined a ruler's right to possess with a humanist love of the past. By the mid-sixteenth century, Italian patricians sought greater and more diverse quantities of artifacts for their homes and identified special rooms in their palaces to house culture.⁴⁴ In order to appreciate the full evolution of this development during the late Renaissance, we need to examine the assumptions behind the idea that objects represented culture itself. How did such attitudes crystallize around a handful of influential artifacts?

FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY ONWARD, Italian humanists saw the past as an embodied presence. Material knowledge, in the form of ancient literary artifacts, coins, statue fragments, and Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Etruscan ruins, shaped the idea of culture in ways that conditioned attitudes toward more modern objects.⁴⁵ Rome became the primary site of such cultural pilgrimages, beginning with Petrarch's visit in 1337, which he characterized as "our travels through the remains of a broken city" (Figure 2). More adventurous travelers such as Ciriaco d'Ancona, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, and Sabba da Castiglione ventured farther afield in search of an authentic Hellenistic past, treating fifteenth and sixteenth-century Greece like a museum much in the way that nineteenth and twentieth-century Americans and Northern Europeans viewed Italy.⁴⁶ Cities without a living past, as Patricia Fortini Brown has recently argued in her study of Venice, proclaimed their antiquity through a variety of found and imported artifacts that connected them to Rome and Athens.⁴⁷ The collective desire to assemble the past provided a more public role for antiquarians and historians who shaped their professional identities in their interpretation of their cities or, in the case of Flavio Biondo, all of Italy in his *Italia illustrata*.⁴⁸

By the mid-sixteenth century, satirists such as Anton Francesco Doni poked fun

⁴⁴ This subject is discussed extensively in Wolfgang Liebenwein, *Studiolo: Storia e tipologia di uno spazio culturale*, Claudia Cieri Via, ed. (Modena, 1988); see also Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 97–150; and Findlen, *A Fragmentary Past: Museums and the Renaissance* (Stanford, Calif., forthcoming). My thanks to Melissa Bullard for the Lorenzo anecdote.

⁴⁵ The concept of "material knowledge" is invoked in Jacob Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, S. G. C. Middlemore, trans., 6th edn. (Garden City, N.J., 1960), 112.

⁴⁶ Petrarch, *Rerum familiarium libri I–VIII*, 294 (*Fam.* VI, 2): "Et euntibus per menia fracte urbis et illic sedentibus, ruinarum fragmenta sub oculis erant" (*Opere*, 484). On the activities of Ciriaco d'Ancona, ca. 1390–1420, see Settis, *Memoria dell'antico*; Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, 81–91; Grafton, *Rome Reborn*, 89; and Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 139–40. For a general description of this culture, see Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge, 1993); and Alain Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past*, Ian Kinnes and Gillian Varndell, trans. (New York, 1997), 121–78. Burckhardt's chapter "The Ruins of Rome" is still worth reading in this context; *Civilization*, 108–14.

⁴⁷ Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*; see also George Holmes, *Florence, Rome and the Origins of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1986).

⁴⁸ See also his *De Roma illustrata libri tres* (1444–46). A similar process can be found in the use of Egyptian artifacts, real and imagined, to shape the image of Rome; see Giovanni Cipriani, *Gli obelischi egizi: Politica e cultura nella Roma barocca* (Florence, 1993).

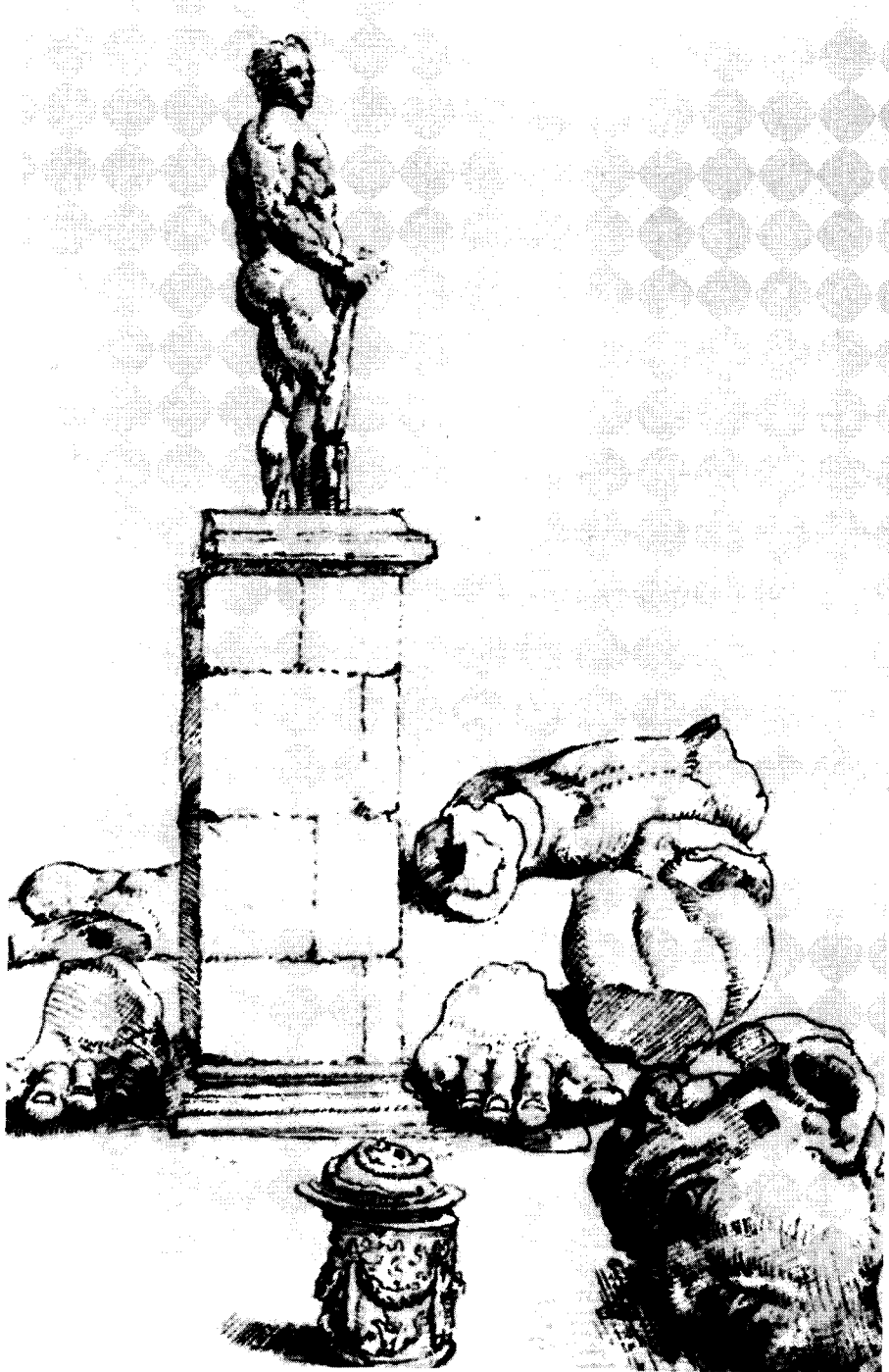


FIGURE 2: Marten van Heemskerck, *Hercules and Fragments of the Statue of Constantine* (1530s). Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, I, fol. 53v.

at the antiquarians, “so tenderly in love with those pieces of stone” who presented each new find as “the most amazing thing in the world.”⁴⁹ The techniques developed and perfected on antiquities were applied to Renaissance literary and artistic remains, as they, too, became historical rather than contemporary objects. “Unfortunately, the same thing happens with Dante as with an ancient painting,” wrote the curial humanist Paolo Cortesi, describing the process by which more recent works receded from current memory into the realm of history: “the colors having vanished, yet the outline pleases us.”⁵⁰ In crossing the threshold between past and present, Renaissance artifacts became the new antiquities. As the value of true antiquities soared and the number available to new collectors diminished, they increasingly filled the void. Vasari described one art lover who treasured Jacopo Sansovino’s bronze copy of the *Laocoön* as “no less valuable than if it were an antique,” no longer imagining the creation of antiquity as a purely historical achievement.⁵¹

By appropriating many of the characteristic values of antiquities, modern objects created and consumed by Renaissance elite became the expanded foundations for establishing a cultural patrimony. Their shared qualities created a continuum between past and present that represented a crucial step in the collective formation of a historical image of culture. “[H]ere there are many things modern and ancient,” wrote the humanist Vincenzo Borghini to Vasari in 1564, encouraging him to include more descriptions of the objects in Grand Duke Francesco I’s collection in the second edition of his *Lives*.⁵² It was precisely this mixture of antiquity and modernity that characterized Italian ideas about culture by the sixteenth century. “Your Highness knows how I delight just a little in marble figures and similar ancient and modern things, when they are by good masters,” wrote Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini to Francesco I in 1580.⁵³ Having developed their assumptions about cultural capital around ancient objects, Renaissance collectors expanded this concept to encompass their own world.

The idea of preserving culture became an obsessive concern for Italian Renaissance patrons, scholars, and artists. Such attitudes emerged in the fourteenth century and have, ever since, defined our ideas about the necessity of creating libraries, archives, and museums in which to contain old and valued objects. “How many things perish!” exclaimed Petrarch as he surveyed the chasm between the outline of antiquity he possessed and the paucity of literary remains to fill out that

⁴⁹ Anton Francesco Doni, *I marmi* (1552), in *Memoria dell’antico nell’arte italiana*, Vol. 1, *L’uso dei classici*, Salvatore Settis, ed. (Turin, 1984), 343.

⁵⁰ Paolo Cortesi, *De hominibus doctis dialogus* (ca. 1490), in *The Three Crowns of Florence: Humanist Assessments of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio*, David Thompson and Alan F. Nagel, eds. (New York, 1972), xii: “Sed in Dante, tanquam in veteri pictura, detractis coloribus, non nisi delineamenta delectant” (Cortesi, *De hominibus doctis dialogus*, Maria Teresa Graziosi, ed. [Rome, 1973], 16). The invocation of Dante in this context certainly points to the chronological ambiguities of the Renaissance, since Dante became a “Renaissance” author by virtue of his status, with Petrarch and Boccaccio, as a writer of canonical Tuscan.

⁵¹ Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori*, Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi, eds. (Florence, 1966), 6: 178.

⁵² In Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Ragioneri, eds., *Gli Uffizi: Quattro secoli di una galleria* (Florence, 1983), 1: 49.

⁵³ Barocchi and Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo*, 170 (Rome, July 15, 1580).

portrait.⁵⁴ Neither his collection of coins nor his books nor his Giotto ever fully rid him of this sensation. The creation of public repositories of knowledge helped to allay the fears of many humanists that there might be no end to the loss of culture. A succession of bequests followed Petrarch's failed donation of his library to the city of Venice—from Cardinal Bessarion's 1468 gift of his famous Greek library and Cardinal Domenico Grimani's 1523 gift of his antique statue collection, both to Venice, to Sixtus IV's establishment of the Capitoline Museum (1474) and Vatican Library (1475) and Julius II's creation of the Belvedere in 1503, all in Rome. Bessarion's statement that he "could think of no more noble or splendid possession, no treasure more useful or valuable" than his library typified the growing sense among learned patricians that the accumulation of knowledge and art had social value.⁵⁵

Yet the preservation of the past demanded constant vigilance by the guardians of culture. Boccaccio's gift of his books to the monastery of Santo Spirito in Florence lay unused in piles in the monastery library until the Florentine antiquarian and bibliophile Niccolò Niccoli insisted that they fulfill Boccaccio's request to place them in their own cabinet. Unwilling to trust his own famous collection of exclusively ancient authors to the whims of his heirs, in 1437 Niccoli drafted a will appointing sixteen trustees, including Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici and famous humanists such as Leonardo Bruni and Poggio Bracciolini. By 1444, his books formed the nucleus of the public library at San Marco.⁵⁶ Such gifts conferred a newly official and civic status on the private pursuit of antiquity. Like the images of Augustus saving Virgil's *Aeneid* from the flames and Alexander the Great depositing Homer's *Iliad* in a coffer that decorated the Stanza della Segnatura at the Vatican (Figure 3), they confirmed the special status of books as repositories of cultural memory.⁵⁷

Other artifacts competed openly with books as emblems of the close ties between wisdom and power. For this reason, Baldassare Castiglione recommended in his *Book of the Courtier* (1528) that Renaissance elite learn about painting because it provided the basis for cultural discernment: "it helps in judging the excellence of statues both ancient and modern, vases, buildings, medallions, cameos intaglios, and the like."⁵⁸ When the Venetian senators selected twenty of Grimani's statues to display behind the rooms of the Great Council and locked Sansovino's bronze *Laocoön* in the cabinet of the Council of Ten, they acted on the assumption that

⁵⁴ Petrarch, *Rerum familiarium libri XVII–XXIV*, 344 (*Fam.* XXIV, 12). The full passage reads: "Heu michi ter et amplius, quam multa pereunt, imo quoam nichil manet omnium que sub sole versabili ceca textit industria!" (*Opere*, 987).

⁵⁵ Quote from Chambers and Pullan, *Venice*, 357. On Renaissance libraries and collections, see Grafton, *Rome Reborn*, xi–xiii, 34–35, 98; Marilyn Perry, "Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978): 215–44; Claudio Franzoni, "'Rimembranze d'infinita cose': Le collezioni rinascimentali di antichità," in Settis, *Memoria dell'antico*, 1: 299–360; Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, Ind., 1985), 283–86; and Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900* (New Haven, Conn., 1981), 7–8.

⁵⁶ Berthold L. Ullman and Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco* (Padua, 1972), 6–15.

⁵⁷ Stinger, *Renaissance in Rome*, 282.

⁵⁸ Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Charles S. Singleton, trans. (New York, 1959), 82 (Book 1, chap. 52).



FIGURE 3: Polidoro da Caravaggio, "Alexander the Great Places Homer's *Iliad* in Safe Keeping," Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican Palace, printed with the permission of Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

cultural gifts were political treasures, lying somewhere between the splendors of public ceremonial and the intimacies of state secrets.⁵⁹ Not unlike the Medici display of their books, gems, and antiquities to important dignitaries and the Vatican's willingness to open its great library and sculpture garden to visitors, the presence of antique statues and reproductions in the seat of Venetian government closely connected good governance with the preservation and possession of culture.⁶⁰

Guardianship of culture by definition raised questions about its value. Before investing in such objects, proprietors needed to establish their worth. "Who was ever a good guardian of despised things?" lamented Petrarch in 1350.⁶¹ As the history of many Renaissance bequests demonstrates, the status of culture was never certain, even among patricians who claimed that it was what they valued most. Culture, much like the meaning and location of the past, was an ill-defined subject; while many agreed that it was worth preserving, few knew what its use might be when removed from private homes. Bessarion's books languished for over half a century before the Venetian senate decreed the building of a public library to house them. By 1519, the treasures of San Marco were so imperiled that Leo X issued a

⁵⁹ Perry, "Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy," 215, 221.

⁶⁰ On tours of Medici collections before the Grand Duchy, see Melissa Meriam Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico: Image and Anxiety, Politics and Finance* (Florence, 1994), esp. 31–32; and D. S. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and His Wordly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)* (London, 1992), 56, 72.

⁶¹ Petrarch, *Rerum familiarium libri XVII–XXIV*, 326 (*Fam.* XXIV, 6): "quis usquam invise rei custos bonus fuit?" (*Opere*, 1260).

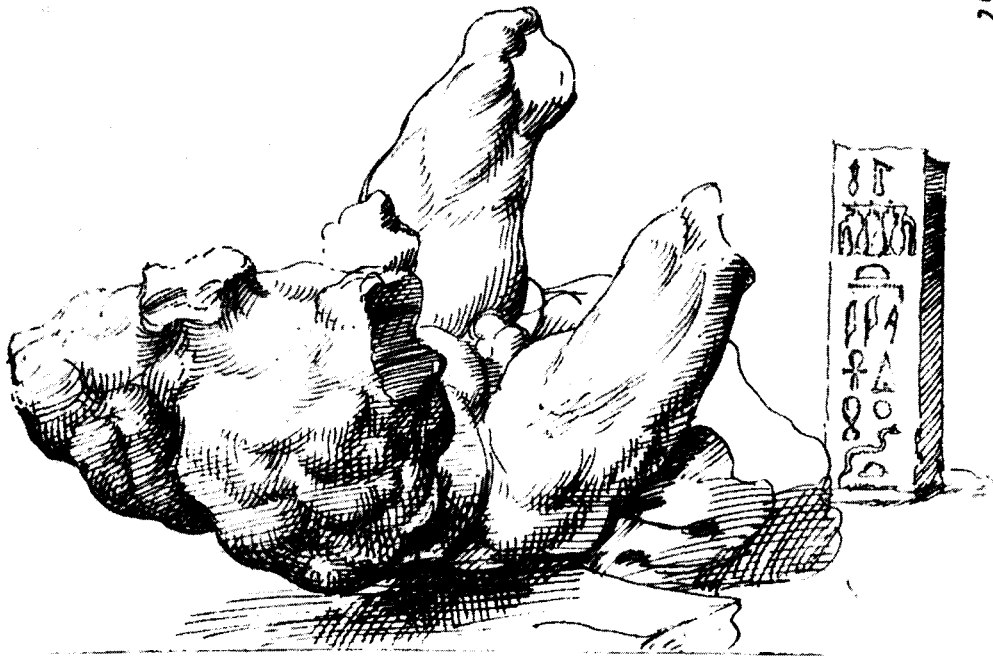


FIGURE 4: Marten van Heemskerck, torso of the *Apollo Belvedere* (1530s). Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, I, fol. 63r.

bull threatening to excommunicate any scholars caught “dismembering” its ancient books.⁶² Grimani’s sculptures only became accessible to a wider public with the creation of the *Statuario pubblico* in 1596. Ironically, around this same time, the famous statuary in the Vatican Belvedere had become less accessible to visitors. Under Catholic Reformation popes such as Pius V, the presence of pagan statues within the walls of the Vatican became an embarrassment surpassed only by the nudes of Michelangelo’s *Last Judgment*.⁶³ Many were removed, while those remaining were enclosed to further control access to the icons of a pre-Christian past.

Whether for reasons of financial distress, political upheaval, religious reform, or casual indifference, the artifacts that defined the origins of culture for Renaissance scholars survived precariously. Despite the great excitement engendered by discoveries such as the alleged remains of Cicero’s daughter Tulliola, and the Apollo Belvedere, which Giuliano della Rovere kept in his garden until he became pope (Figure 4), many of the curial elite who saw themselves as most concerned with the preservation of culture housed its literary, numismatic, and statuary remains in palaces built by dismembering ancient Rome. When the Greek scholar Manuel

⁶² Ullman and Stadter, *Public Library*, 45.

⁶³ Perry, “Cardinal Domenico Grimani,” 215, 226–30; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 14–15. In this essay, I have deliberately, and somewhat artificially, excluded a discussion of how Christian artifacts shaped Renaissance attitudes toward the past. As this episode suggests, the two often intertwined, as the activities of figures such as Cesare Baronio and Federico Borromeo amply illustrate.

Chrysoloras wrote that he had seen many statues “used as stairs, curbstones, or as mangers in stables,” he described a common attitude toward ancient objects that informed Sixtus IV’s 1471 bull authorizing Vatican Library architects to take stone from any part of Rome to complete the library.⁶⁴ City officials protested this spoliation but to no avail. The papal interest in culture glorified the present with little concern about archaeological integrity.

Renaissance antiquarians vacillated between wonder at the copiousness of Roman remains and despair at their diminishing quantity and quality. “We have recently come from Rome, where there are numerous antiquities [*copia de antichità*],” reported Isabella d’Este to Giovanni Gonzaga in 1515. The Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi listed more than one hundred homes containing ancient artifacts in Rome.⁶⁵ Yet other accounts made clear that possessing the past was no simple matter; antiquity, so recently rediscovered, seemed to be more in danger of extinction now that it had value than when it had been neglected. By the 1480s, dealers and their clients noted the competitive nature of the Roman antiquities market. The merchant Giovanni Ciampolini, who enjoyed Lorenzo de’ Medici as a client, rose to fame when tales of his nocturnal thefts of ancient sculptures—snatched from a convent garden in order to thwart the desires of Giuliano della Rovere—circulated between Rome and Florence.⁶⁶

Isabella d’Este, one of the great antiquarian collectors at the dawn of the sixteenth century, often found her “insatiable desire for antique things” constrained by the escalating antiquities market. While her bold political maneuvers liberated a number of important sculptures from the treasuries of Urbino and Milan and the ruins of Rome, she also found herself outbid by wealthier patrons and their agents. In 1505, her court sculptor Gian Cristoforo Romano advised her from Rome, “Here many people take interest in these matters so that it has become very difficult to get the best things, unless you are the first to see them and ready to pay well, as they soon fetch large prices.” While expressing amazement at the increased presence of antiquities in the city in the first decade of the sixteenth century, Romano also lamented its desecration by foreign patrons, calling Rome “stripped of all its treasures.”⁶⁷ Seventy years later, a Medici agent in Rome wrote to a friend that not even the pope himself could put together a good collection of ancient imperial coins because “Rome is so despoiled of all its goods that he would not even find mediocre

⁶⁴ Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome* (New York, 1903), 190, 228; Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*, 98–100. I have modified the Lanciani translation slightly. For a more comprehensive treatment of this subject, see Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, 5 vols. (Rome, 1989).

⁶⁵ Brown, “Lo insaziabile desiderio,” 338; Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Delle statue romane antiche, che per tutta Roma, in diverse luoghi e case si veggono* (Rome, 1556). Aldrovandi’s work was written six years prior to publication.

⁶⁶ Laurie Fusco and Gino Corti, “Giovanni Ciampolini (d. 1505), a Renaissance Dealer in Rome and His Collection of Antiquities,” *Xenia* 21 (1991): 7–46. See also Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, for a more detailed discussion of the role of Roman agents in Lorenzo’s cultural acquisitions.

⁶⁷ In Julia Cartwright, *Isabella d’Este Marchioness of Mantua 1474–1539: A Study of the Renaissance*, 2 vols. (London, 1903), 2: 7–8 (December 1, 1505). For an overview of Isabella’s activities, see Brown, “Lo insaziabile desiderio”; J. M. Fletcher, “Isabella d’Este, Patron and Collector,” in *Splendours of the Gonzaga: Catalogue*, David Chambers and Jane Martineau, eds. (London, 1981), 51–63; Rose Marie San Juan, “The Court Lady’s Dilemma: Isabella d’Este and Art Collecting in the Renaissance,” *Oxford Art Journal* 14 (1991): 67–78; and Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, 410–16.

things even if he spent a great deal of time.” Instead, he offered “twelve moderns” in compensation.⁶⁸

As antiquities disappeared from the open market and became the personal property of a handful of elite families, who rarely alienated such goods unless they wished to make a public donation, patrons of necessity took a greater interest in modern artifacts. Like the modern art collectors who turned to contemporary objects once the “Old Masters” were exhausted, Renaissance patrons expanded their definition of culture in order to continue the project of accumulating it. By the end of the fifteenth century, “surrogate” antiquities—reproductions of the most public treasures of the past—found a market. Isabella d’Este listed a copy of the Apollo Belvedere and two copies of the *Laocoön* among the objects in her famous collection in Mantua. Within a few decades, many Italian artists were employed casting and copying antiquities. As the culture of reproduction expanded, less noble collectors also gained access to the same canonical objects. The sixteenth-century Florentine Niccolò Gaddi possessed a “small stucco statue of the *Laocoön*” in his home, one of many patricians who completed his collections with copies of famous statues.⁶⁹ Even a humanist secretary of fairly modest means such as Antonio Giganti could possess antiquity through the medium of print; his study in Bologna contained a “print of Circus Maximus,” a small token of the past from which the narrative of culture flowed.⁷⁰

Reproducing antiquity and feigning antiquity were never very far apart. Just as humanist scholars delighted in the creation and discovery of textual forgeries, artists participated in the fabrication of the past. In the early sixteenth century, for instance, Michelangelo’s *Bacchus* was proudly displayed among the antiquities in the courtyard of the Galli palace in Rome (Figure 5).⁷¹ More famous yet was Isabella d’Este’s acquisition of Michelangelo’s *Cupid*, which she initially considered to be antique. After persuading Cesare Borgia to take it from the ducal palace at Urbino in July 1502, Isabella begrudgingly admitted, “for a modern thing the Cupid has no equal.”⁷² Placed next to the Praxitelean Cupid she had acquired through her Roman agents, this “modern thing” wordlessly posed a powerful challenge to the common preference for antiquities. Unlike Francis I’s mistress, the Duchess d’Etampes, who, according to Benvenuto Cellini, dismissed the work of Renaissance artists such as himself as “modern trash,” Isabella celebrated the continuities between past and present in her possession of culture.⁷³

While the duchess of Mantua continued to prefer antiquities, in acknowledgment of their greater prestige in the early sixteenth century, she gradually accorded

⁶⁸ Barocchi and Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo*, 81 (Diomede Leoni to Pietro Usimbardi, Rome, July 23, 1574).

⁶⁹ Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 1–2; Mary Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London, 1996), 291; Cristina Acidini Luchinat, “Niccolò Gaddi collezionista e dilettante del Cinquecento,” *Paragone* 359–61 (1980): 156. The idea of “surrogate” antiquity is raised briefly in De Benedictis, *Per la storia del collezionismo*, 70.

⁷⁰ Fragnito, *In museo e in villa*, 196.

⁷¹ Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, N.J., 1990); and Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 1: 140. Fake antiques are also discussed in L. Franzoni, “Antiquari,” 239–44.

⁷² Cartwright, *Isabella d’Este*, 1: 231–33 (quote on 232); Fletcher, “Isabella d’Este,” 55.

⁷³ Benvenuto Cellini, *Autobiography*, George Bull, trans. (Harmondsworth, 1956), 298.



FIGURE 5: Marten van Heemskerck, *Michelangelo's Bacchus in Casa Galli* (1530s). Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, I, fol. 72r.

modern objects an important place in her famous collection. When her friend Sabba da Castiglione, who twice acquired Greek statues from Rhodes for Isabella, wrote that modern artifacts were acceptable substitutes for antiquities, given their scarcity and cost, he described and possibly helped to foster an important transformation of the cultural values of Italian Renaissance elite. In his popular *Remembrances* (1546), a frequently reprinted guide to patrician living, he not only provided readers with a list of preferred Renaissance artists but also reassured them that pursuing these new cultural forms would in no way diminish their honor and status. "I favor and praise all these ornaments too," wrote da Castiglione, "because they are a sign of judgment, culture, education and distinction."⁷⁴ Certainly, he was describing attitudes already put into practice by the likes of Lorenzo de' Medici, who allegedly declared that he valued the paintings of Fra Filippo Lippi over any of the Greek statues and coins he possessed in his considerable collection. Similarly, in 1475, the Florentine patrician Giovanni Rucellai expressed satisfaction that he had "sculptures and paintings . . . from the hands of the best masters that have existed here for awhile, not only in Florence but in Italy."⁷⁵ Thus the passion for Renaissance objects celebrated in Vasari's *Lives* by the 1550s was part of a specifically cultivated appreciation for modern things, either as an extension of antiquity or as a

⁷⁴ Sabba da Castiglione, *Ricordi* (Venice, 1546), Ricordo 109, in *Italian Art 1500–1600*, Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966), 24. I have also consulted a later edition that lists the Italian artists—including Filippo Lippi, Leonardo, Mantegna, Raphael, and Bellini—da Castiglione preferred: *Ricordi* (Venice, 1560), 57r–58v.

⁷⁵ Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, 30–31; De Benedictis, *Per la storia del collezionismo*, 152.

replacement for it. Both images emphasized Renaissance culture as a distinctive legacy to preserve.

Whether openly solicited by collectors or begrudgingly given space among the antiquities, more recent objects completed and eventually dominated the possessions of the Italian Renaissance elite. Literary artifacts gained an earlier and surer footing than artistic products, undoubtedly because the most valued ones belonged to an age—the fourteenth century—already viewed as historical by the sixteenth century. During the same period that Isabella d'Este continued to negotiate for artifacts such as a sculpture fragment alleged to be a bust of Plato, she also accelerated her requests for those literary works that defined new canons of taste. "We wish to have the works of all the best authors to adorn our study," she wrote to a Venetian agent in July 1501. Among her most precious books, ancient and modern, was a 1501 edition of Petrarch's *Cose volgari*: "Petrarch in octavo on vellum printed by Aldus [Manutius]," recorded the 1542 inventory of Isabella's *Grotta*.⁷⁶ In singling out Petrarch, Isabella typified the broadened appreciation for the Tuscan triumvirate—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio—as the central figures in the emerging literary canon of the Renaissance. Books, manuscripts, and portraits of the three writers found an important place in Italian Renaissance households. In the 1677 catalogue of Ferdinando Cospi's museum in Bologna, Dante not only appeared as the central object in the image of the museum but also figured among the objects in the form of a chessboard allegedly "used by Dante Alighieri," a whimsical relic of this literary figure in the heart of a Baroque collection (Figure 6).⁷⁷

Memorializing such authors demanded a degree of vigilance similar to the energy expended on preserving antiquities. Modern manuscripts shared all the problems of their ancient counterparts: fragmented and fragile, they did not survive well over the centuries. Prior to the development of the printing press, the Florentine humanist chancellor Coluccio Salutati mourned the sorry state of culture when he wrote about Petrarch and Boccaccio: "hardly a codex is now found faithfully written and not departing greatly from the original. They are in fact not copies but imitations of copies." Similarly, Leonardo Bruni lamented the loss of memory of Dante in the fifteenth century when giving a tour of Florence to Dante's great-grandson, who no longer knew his heritage. The great works of the fourteenth century, it seemed, were on the verge of obsolescence to such a degree that, in the 1440s, Giannozzo Manetti chastized his fellow Florentines for regarding "them as trifles or nothing at all."⁷⁸

While successive printings of the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio during the sixteenth century placed thousands of copies of their writings in circulation, to such an extent that there was hardly a learned household in Italy that did not own

⁷⁶ Cartwright, *Isabella d'Este*, 2: 21; Fletcher, "Isabella d'Este," 156. Isabella's copy of Petrarch can be found today in the British Library, London, C. 20 b. 29.

⁷⁷ Lorenzo Legati, *Museo Cospiano* (Bologna, 1677). Also discussed in Jay Tribby, "Body/Building: Living the Museum Life in Early Modern Europe," *Rhetorica* 10 (1992): 155.

⁷⁸ Thompson and Nagel, *Three Crowns of Florence*, 15 (Coluccio Salutati to Niccolò da Tuderano, Chancellor of Ravenna, Florence, October 2, [1399?]); 73 (Leonardo Bruni, *Life of Dante*); 91 (Giannozzo Manetti, *Three Illustrious Florentine Poets*). See also Angelo Solerti, *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio scritte fino al secolo decimosesto* (Milan, 1904).

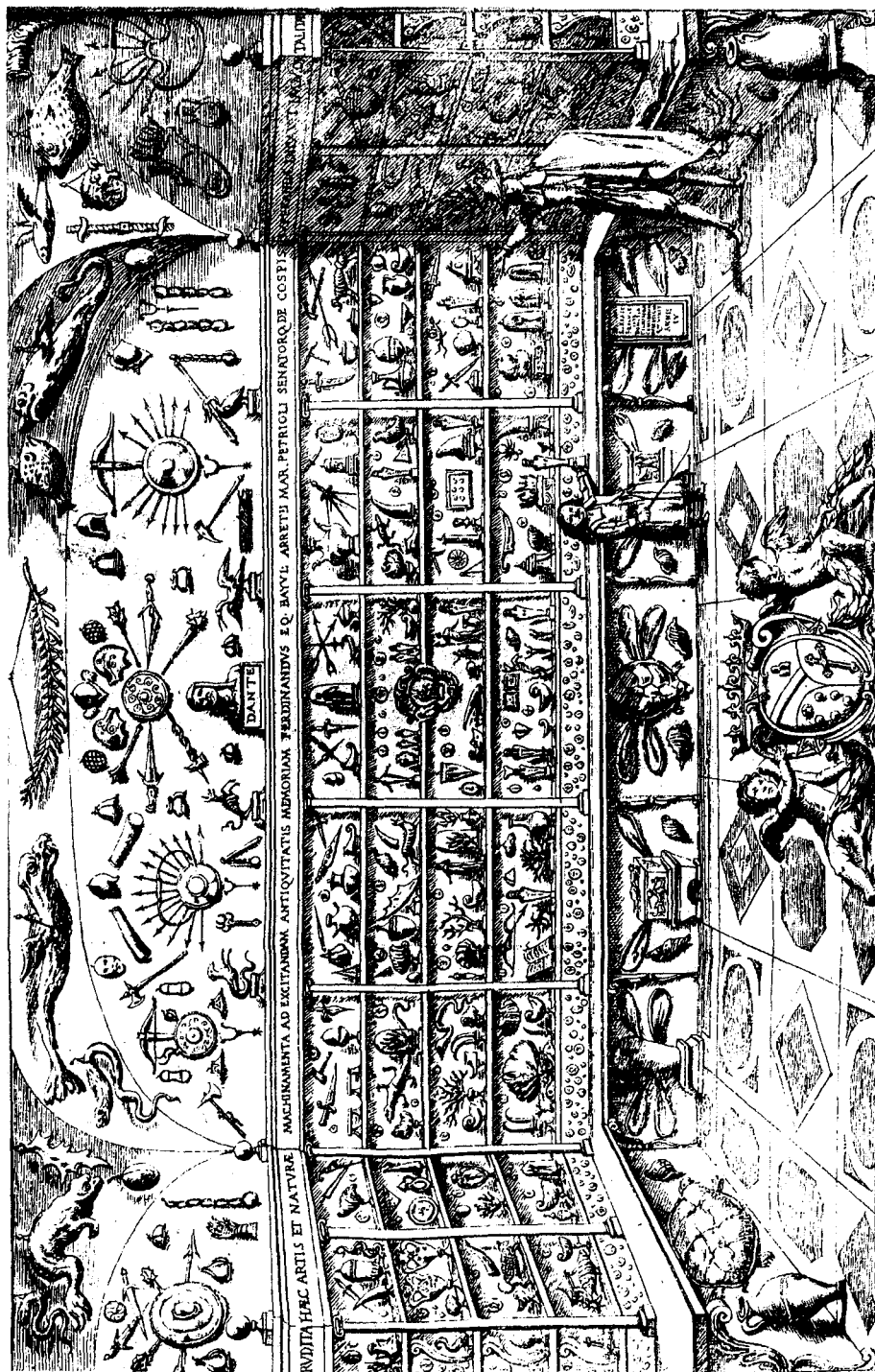


FIGURE 6: Dante shown in Ferdinando Cospi's museum. In Lorenzo Legati, *Museo Cospiano annesso a quello del famoso Ulisse Aldrovandi e donato alla sua patria dall'illustrissimo Signor Ferdinando Cospi* (Bologna, 1677).

some of their works, it did not solve the problem of finding and preserving authentic exemplars of their work. "I busy myself with these few remains of yours," wrote Petrarch to Livy in 1351, but he might well have been describing the actions of his late Renaissance successors on his own writings and those of his friends. For this reason, the 1512 inventory of Lorenzo de' Medici's household goods took pains not only to list elaborately illuminated copies of Dante and Petrarch in Lorenzo's possession but also to single out one version of Petrarch's sonnets because it was "written by the hand of Boccaccio."⁷⁹ Such a description gave Boccaccio a status similar to artists such as Giotto, whose works were also listed, quite unusually for this period, by name. A few decades later, Vasari took pains to describe his pilgrimage to a Camaldolese monastery to see a crucifix "with Giotto's name written upon it, in his own hand."⁸⁰

The search for an authentic past, first enacted on antiquity, became a central feature of the rediscovery of the recent literary past. One of the reasons the duchess of Mantua valued her 1501 edition of Petrarch's *Cose volgari* was because it had been printed from a manuscript "which Petrarch wrote with his own hand" in the possession of the humanist and antiquary Pietro Bembo. Its printer, Aldus Manutius, made this aspect of his edition its singular virtue in an afterword that described his Petrarch as unique because it had emanated from the source. Claims to authenticity produced a sensation among scholars not unlike Petrarch's joyful encounter with the ancients; late Renaissance humanists took pilgrimages to Petrarch's tomb at Arquà, interviewed alleged ancestors of Petrarch's famous muse Laura, and devised entire tours of Italy and southern France in the hope of recapturing the historical experience of Petrarch's life.⁸¹ No encounter, however, could be more direct than one involving Petrarch's literary remains. Isabella's correspondent Lorenzo da Pavia described the thrill of touching the Petrarchan relic in Bembo's possession: "I have also held [it] in my hand," he wrote in July 1501. "It belongs to a Paduan, and is so precious that they have printed the book letter by letter, after the original, with the greatest possible care."⁸²

With the death of Bembo in 1547, his famous manuscript collection passed to his son Torquato. In 1581, news traveled up the peninsula that Torquato had arrived in Rome, in the tradition of the great antiquities dealers, looking for a patron to purchase the "wonderful relics of his father." Both the pope and the grand duke of Tuscany actively competed for Bembo's collection, along with various cardinals who

⁷⁹ Petrarch, *Rerum familiarum XVII–XXIV*, 332 (*Fam.* XXIV, 8): "In his tam parvis tuis reliquiis exerceor" (*Opere*, 1265). Marco Spallanzani and Giovanni Gaeta Bertelà, eds., *Libro d'inventario dei beni di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Florence, 1992), 49; 11, 33 (paintings by Uccello and Giotto). This same phrase also appears in the inventory of the prior of the Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence, who had been involved in the 1582 corrected edition of Boccaccio's *Decameron*; Barocchi and Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo*, 175 (Baccio Baldini to Francesco I, Florence, August 27, 1580). On the presence of books by these three authors, see the careful study of household inventories by Christian Bec, *Les livres des Florentins, 1413–1608* (Florence, 1984).

⁸⁰ Vasari, *Lives*, 30. Peter Thornton observes that artists were rarely identified by name in inventories prior to 1600 and only in rare instances in collectors' inventories, as an indication of the unusual status of the creator; see Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400–1600* (London, 1991), 265.

⁸¹ Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, 157; William Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 49–51; Fragnito, *In museo e in villa*, 36–37.

⁸² Cartwright, *Isabella d'Este*, 2: 22. The climate in which the 1501 Aldine Petrarch was produced is described in greater detail by Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch*, esp. 84–86.

fancied themselves guardians of the canon. As Francesco I's Roman agent informed him, the collection was of special interest to the grand duke because it contained writings that might be viewed as a specifically Florentine patrimony. Among them were "all the Tuscan works of Petrarch, written in his own hand on vellum, with additions to the verses and marginalia." By the spring of 1581, the Vatican librarian Fulvio Orsini had already placed a bid for these manuscripts but the Roman agent continued to hope that Orsini, "to give great joy to the Tuscan prince," would reconsider allowing Petrarch to fall into Tuscan rather than Roman hands.⁸³

For princes such as Francesco I, possessing Renaissance literary fragments became part of the process of designing monumental archives of culture. He strove to create a literary repository that celebrated Tuscany's greatness to match the endless accumulation of art that decorated all Medici palaces prior to the opening of the Uffizi galleries in 1584.⁸⁴ Yet, despite the Medici desire to bring all the literary and human remains of great Florentine authors and artists to Florence, they competed not only with other rulers for those same cultural goods but also with private collectors whose immersion in that same cultural environment was no less intense than their own. In those same years that Francesco I failed to obtain Bembo's Petrarch manuscripts for San Lorenzo, curial humanists who belonged to the intellectual circle surrounding Bembo in Rome and Venice dispersed Petrarchan fragments among themselves as talismans of a golden age that they revered and sought to emulate. Many of these fragments disappeared, but traces can be found in unlikely locations such as the 1586 inventory of Antonio Giganti in Bologna.

Secretary to the Bolognese cleric Ludovico Beccadelli, who was a close friend of Bembo's, Giganti filled his rooms in the Beccadelli palace with artifacts culled from an intellectual life in which he only marginally participated. Beneath the portraits of Bembo, Michelangelo, Pico della Mirandola, Petrarch and his Laura, in a tiny German box designed especially to hold cultural treasures, Giganti placed a "letter in Petrarch's hand to Signora Tomasina da Correggio consoling her on the death of her husband, Latin." Placed below an equally tantalizing fragment—"Antique papyrus with rather corrupted Latin characters, some words are legible . . . but eaten away by mice in many places"—this tiny piece of Petrarch was indeed a talisman of the Renaissance that encapsulated the fragile materiality of the past.⁸⁵

By the time Giganti saved this scrap of the Renaissance, collectors had fully absorbed the Petrarchan notion of the fragment as a model for what usually remained of culture as it receded from memory into history. Petrarch had described ancient literary remains as "fragmentary," "mangled," "mutilated," and "dismembered." In the fifteenth century, humanist collectors such as Poggio Bracciolini searched for the "many remains of the great men of the past."⁸⁶ The results of this

⁸³ Barocchi and Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo*, 191 (Giovanni Battista Elicona to Francesco I, Rome, April 2, 1581).

⁸⁴ By the next century in Florence, the concept of the cultural archive became quite literal, as seen in the cabinets used by the Accademia della Crusca to house their papers; see Tribby, "Florence, Cultural Capital," *passim*.

⁸⁵ Fragnito, *In museo e in villa*, 193 (also discussed on 23).

⁸⁶ Petrarch, *Rerum familiarium XVII–XXIV*, 321, 329 (*Fam.* XXIV, 4, 7). Petrarch uses such phrases as "truncati fedatique" and "discerptus et lacer" (*Opere*, 1254, 1262). Phyllis Walter Gordon, ed. and

quest found their visual counterpart in Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of Andrea Odone* (1527), which hung above this Venetian antiquary's bed until his death in 1532. Odone's household inventory sketched the normative image of the collector as someone "who contemplates fragments."⁸⁷ Culture became only more desirable because it was such an elusive acquisition: such phrases as "very fragmented and then secured together" described the nature of culture itself as well as the physical condition of specific objects.⁸⁸ Situated in the past more than the present, the late Renaissance vision of culture was deeply historicized. It was a concept whose definition mirrored the properties of the past out of which it had been created.

During the mid-sixteenth century, Italian scholars developed an unprecedented concern for the fate of their own cultural artifacts. Acting collectively on the sort of initiatives Petrarch had sketched out, they began to preserve those very creations around which the term "Renaissance" was coined. Paintings increasingly found their way into galleries such as that of Grand Duke Francesco I, who prided himself on having examples of "all the very famous modern painters" in the Uffizi. At the same time, private and princely collectors began to create *libri dei disegni*, visual archives of sketches that were, by definition, fragments of an artist's work.⁸⁹ Others contented themselves with singular examples of the artistic Renaissance. In his 1584 dialogue on art, Raffaello Borghini described one Florentine who owned "a large cartoon by the hand of Michelangelo" that he placed among his monstrous fish, shells, crystal vases, and ebony and ivory lutes.⁹⁰

As interest in preserving Renaissance artifacts grew, scholars such as Vasari began to research the circumstances of their creation using the techniques developed by antiquarians and historians, most notably his close friend Paolo Giovio. By the 1540s, the historical record of the Renaissance was already frustratingly incomplete. Vasari described his *Lives* as written from "the accounts of many old men and from various records and notes left by heirs as a prey to dust and food for woodworms."⁹¹ Even Vasari's diligent efforts to track down the documents pertaining to the Renaissance proved frustrating. Rare indeed were discoveries such as Francesco Molzi's Leonardo archive in his house in Milan, in which he "treasures these papers and conserves them along with a portrait of Leonardo to honor his happy memory." Hoping to avert a similar dissipation of materials upon the death of Michelangelo, Vasari worked closely with Roman and Florentine officials and Michelangelo's nephew to anticipate the need to catalog the artist's

trans., *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggio Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (New York, 1974), 205 (Poggio to Francis Piccolpassus, late summer or early fall, 1417).

⁸⁷ Chambers and Pullan, *Venice*, 425.

⁸⁸ Barocchi and Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo*, 248 (Ercole Basso to Francesco I, Bologna, November 15, 1583). This referred to a Priapic statue owned by Cesare Gonzaga. See also Basso's description of a Faustina medal as "rare and very worn away," 249.

⁸⁹ Barocchi and Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo*, 241–42 (Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino, Florence, April 16, 1583). Vasari's *libri dei disegni* was the most famous of these sketchbooks, prior to the appearance of Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Museo Cartaceo* and Leopoldo de' Medici's drawing collection in the seventeenth century.

⁹⁰ Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, in Barocchi and Ragionieri, *Gli Uffizi*, 1: 26.

⁹¹ Vasari, *Lives*, pref., in Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*. This section of my essay is indebted to Rubin's excellent study.

papers before his death in 1564.⁹² In this venture, he succeeded in creating a legacy that would immortalize the Renaissance.

Incomplete documentation thwarted scholarly efforts to re-create the lives of Renaissance artists and writers, bringing them much closer to Renaissance reconstructions of the lives and work of famous ancients than anyone had ever anticipated. The pathos of the physical destruction of culture fueled the need actively to seek out Renaissance artifacts before they were lost for all time. As much as Vasari filled his *Lives* with accounts of important discoveries, identifying the current location of key paintings, sculptures, and artistic documentation in the first edition of 1550 and updating his research again in 1568, he also conveyed the great sense of loss that led him to redouble his efforts to preserve the Renaissance. Tales of mutilated and stolen paintings peppered his narrative of the revival of the arts, reminding readers that culture did not always find a proper audience. Describing a small Madonna and child done by Leonardo, he noted its “very bad condition.” Vasari’s longest lament for the loss of the Renaissance revolved around the work of Michelangelo, the individual whom he saw as bringing art to its highest stage of perfection. Describing the destruction of the *Battle of Cascina*, Vasari captured the new sensibilities of late Renaissance collectors who preferred to fragment the work of the greatest artist of their century in order to satisfy their craving for culture. “[I]t was . . . torn apart and divided into many pieces,” he reported, “so that it was scattered around in a number of places, as is substantiated by some pieces that can still be seen in Mantua in the home of Uberto Strozzi, a Mantuan gentleman who conserves them with great reverence.”⁹³

The fact that the brutal destruction of the cartoon yielded reverence for its fragments did not escape Vasari’s critical eye. Yet Vasari himself participated willingly in the cult of Renaissance remains. Possessing something from the hand of Michelangelo brought him as close to divinity as he ever hoped to be, underscoring the fascinating fusion of classical and religious imagery in the cult of the Renaissance. “Today, I keep this drawing near me as a relic,” he wrote in the 1568 edition of his *Lives*, after Michelangelo’s death.⁹⁴ The sanctification of Renaissance artifacts in Vasari’s influential work gave them an added charge that many pagan antiquities did not quite have. The power of relics lay also in their fragmentation.⁹⁵ Cultural fragments, Vasari suggested, might also be wonder-working objects through their ability to restore the mind and the soul in their contemplation. In the end, hadn’t Petrarch already known this?

The incomplete inheritance left behind by Renaissance artists found its foremost expression in the cult of Leonardo. His writings, drawings, and paintings became some of the most desirable objects to own, their value heightened by the paucity of examples on the open market. Patrons clamored for work of this master during his own lifetime. “[W]e desire exceedingly to have some work by the hand of Leonardo Vinci,” wrote Isabella d’Este in 1504. Yet few succeeded in their quest. Almost

⁹² Vasari, *Lives*, 292 (Leonardo), 420, 470–72 (Michelangelo); Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 218.

⁹³ Vasari, *Lives*, 297, 431.

⁹⁴ Vasari, *Lives*, 417. A Raphael painting was also described as treated “like a relic,” 309.

⁹⁵ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), offers an interesting set of reflections on the idea of fragments as a distinctive cultural category.

thirty years after Leonardo's death in 1519, Sabba da Castiglione informed his readers that, other than the *Last Supper*, "one finds few other works by his hand."⁹⁶ By the 1560s, Leonardo's celebrated *Battle of Anghiari* had gone the way of its counterpart by Michelangelo, surviving only in copies and copies of fragments. Few art connoisseurs, including Vasari, had seen the *Mona Lisa* in France, making it an object as desirable and imaginary as Rome was for many antiquaries. For this reason, collectors such as the Milanese cleric Manfredo Settala highlighted the importance of Leonardo sketches, paintings, and copies among the eighty-six paintings in his gallery. For instance, item 85 was recorded as: "Small painting but of great value; hand of Leonardo da Vinci."⁹⁷

Even avid and systematic collectors of Renaissance art such Federico Borromeo in Milan, Cassiano dal Pozzo in Rome, and Leopoldo de' Medici in Florence obtained few works by Leonardo through their networks of agents in the major Italian cities. Between 1653 and 1669, Leopoldo obtained over one hundred works by Raphael and almost as many by Titian, and even persuaded other collectors to part with twenty-six works attributed to Michelangelo. Yet he found Leonardo's works the most difficult to acquire among all the Renaissance artists, only finding four during this period. So rare were works by Leonardo that Leopoldo's Venetian agent Paolo del Sera expressed great uncertainty about knowing how to evaluate the authenticity and worth of alleged Leonardo drawings. Upon being offered a sketch of the head of a young man priced at a few hundred scudi in 1668, del Sera confessed, "I do not know whether this is expensive or a good value because I have never bought anything by this author." A year later, when presented with another Leonardo sketch for sale, del Sera hesitated to attribute it definitively to Leonardo "because I have no knowledge of the style of this great man."⁹⁸

Those who lived in proximity to Leonardo's greatest surviving work in Italy, *The Last Supper*, in Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan, lived not with the absence of Leonardo but with the gradual erosion of this precious record of the Renaissance. The well-known problems of the poor choice of painting materials on the damp walls of the monastery refectory made the *Last Supper* a vivid example of the disintegration of culture within decades after its completion. Beginning in the 1560s, art critics began to lament its imminent destruction. Vasari was so taken by the image of a "lost Renaissance" that he and others surely exaggerated the state of decay to serve their sense of the mortality of all creation. The Milanese painter Gian Paolo Lomazzo eloquently voiced his sense of the tragic end of culture in his *Idea of the Temple of Painting* (1590), writing of the destruction of all of Leonardo's

⁹⁶ Cartwright, *Isabella d'Este*, 1: 323 (see also 318, 326); da Castiglione, *Ricordi*, 1560 edn., 57r.

⁹⁷ A. Richard Turner, *Inventing Leonardo* (New York, 1993), 45–47; Paolo Terzagio, *Museo o galleria adunata dal sapere, e dallo studio del sig. Canonico Manfredo Settala nobile milanese*, Pietro Francesco Scarabelli, trans. (Tortona, 1666), 264.

⁹⁸ Paola Barocchi, ed., *Il Cardinal Leopoldo*, Archivio del Collezionismo Mediceo (Milan and Naples, 1987), vol. 1, tome 2, 496–97 (table of Leopoldo's acquisitions); vol. 1, tome 1, 212–13 (Venice, February 9, 1668), 215 (Venice, 1669). Del Sera also acquired three small Leonardo drawings in August 1669, when he was "certain that they were by the hand of the great Leonardo da Vinci" (214). He also expressed the same reluctance to make definitive judgments about alleged works by Michelangelo. On Borromeo's and Dal Pozzo's activities, see Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth Century Milan* (Cambridge, 1993); and Donatella L. Sparti, *Le collezioni dal Pozzo: Storia di una famiglia e del suo museo nella Roma secentesca* (Modena, 1992).

frescos: "We should greatly lament that such excellent works are lost, with only the drawings remaining." Fifty years later, Francesco Scanelli imagined the *Last Supper* as equivalent to the mysterious and equally impenetrable Egyptian hieroglyphs when he wrote, "The good relics of the work rendered almost wholly useless, there is nothing to look at now but the fame of the past."⁹⁹

In contrast to artists who became famous because their works circulated as prints, Leonardo's fame intensified because of his virtual absence in Italy. While Antonio Giganti owned "a colored engraving of Raphael's *Parnassus*" and Angelo Bozza boasted "a hand colored Judgement of Michelangelo" in his Venetian palace, no inventories of this period record the presence of Leonardo prints.¹⁰⁰ This acute absence was deeply felt by Milanese collectors such as the archbishop of Milan, Federico Borromeo. In his *Museum of the Ambrosian Library* (1625), a description of the great gallery he founded in 1618 as a Milanese rival to projects such as the Belvedere and Uffizi, Borromeo described his decision to copy great Renaissance works of art as a necessary act of preservation. The disintegration of *The Last Supper* precipitated this desire. Borromeo encouraged artists to copy this great work and hung their efforts in his museum. While acknowledging that copies were not normally valued by collectors, he predicted that posterity would view them differently. "Therefore this *Last Supper* is among the most precious things in our Museum and will increase in value daily because the work of Leonardo, that was always esteemed as a treasure, is ruined and by now entirely lost."¹⁰¹ While Borromeo was wrong about the inevitability of this loss, he was right about the importance of preserving the past through other means. Such reproductions were the nascent formulation of the public image of the Renaissance that ultimately turned Leonardo's works into a variety of popular commodities, surpassing even Borromeo's expectations that the past would continue to be meaningful if its objects survived.

As the Renaissance receded into historical memory, with the inevitable concerns about the imperilment of its artifacts that always seemed to accompany such transitions, it became important to reproduce the Renaissance so that the world would never be in danger of forgetting it. Not every collector, of course, thought coherently in terms of a period, and many expressed their own idiosyncratic taste in their choice of which objects defined this high moment in culture. Nonetheless, many collectors were self-professed readers of Vasari, especially during the mid-seventeenth century, when his *Lives* went into several new editions. They absorbed his ideas about the significance of the period stretching from Giotto to Michelangelo as a creative moment in culture and shared his prejudices for the artistic production of the sixteenth century and the literary works of the fourteenth

⁹⁹ Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*, Robert Klein, ed. (Florence, 1974), 125; Turner, *Inventing Leonardo*, 70. For discussions of this process, see the essays in Fiorio and Marani, *I leonardeschi a Milano: Fortuna e collezionismo*. The idea of the "lost Renaissance" was first raised in Fragnito, *In museo e in villa*.

¹⁰⁰ Fragnito, *In museo e in villa*, 185; and Simone Savini Branca, *Il collezionismo veneziano nel '600* (Padua, 1964), 157 (1680 inventory of Angelo Bozza's possessions). Vasari also collected Raphael prints; Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 365.

¹⁰¹ *Il Museo del Cardinale Federico Borromeo*, Luigi Grasselli, trans., Luca Beltrami, ed. (Milan, 1909), 68.

century.¹⁰² Such proclivities led seventeenth-century collectors to proclaim that they sought works “from the hands of the old masters” and “the most excellent ancient painters.”¹⁰³ These images aptly captured the new sensibility of the Renaissance as a historic period that shaped the Italian elite’s sense of the past as strongly as the image of antiquity.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, great Renaissance artifacts were almost as scarce on the open market as antiquities. The buying and selling of Renaissance artifacts had become so heated that collectors sometimes hid them in their homes in order to increase their value by bringing them forth as lost treasures. In the tradition of popes who passed laws preventing the exportation of antiquities from Rome, in 1602 Grand Duke Ferdinando I created a list of eighteen Florentine masters whose exportation was forbidden without his permission so that Florence would “not be deprived of such ornament through their loss.”¹⁰⁴ A handful of patrons in major cities accumulated the vast majority of Renaissance artifacts, encouraging lesser collectors to donate and sell their best possessions to them. “I have several small paintings of Raphael and Titian,” wrote Francesco Maria della Rovere to Ferdinando II in 1630, “that, because they are such excellent works, would be well placed among the others that adorn Your Highness’s galleries.”¹⁰⁵ Such objects fulfilled the emerging principle among Baroque collectors that the worth of a collection was determined by the number of old masters it held. “[D]isplay only the best,” Paolo Falconieri advised another Medicean agent in 1681.¹⁰⁶ This category implicitly defined the imaginary boundaries of the Renaissance.

When the best was not available, seventeenth-century connoisseurs followed in the fine tradition of their predecessors, copying and inventing it. Venetian household inventories from the 1640s and 1650s, for instance, document a greater presence of paintings copying the works of such artists as Raphael and Veronese, while Roman inventories note the widening circulation of reproductions of Michelangelo’s decoration of the Sistine Chapel.¹⁰⁷ Yet the desire for authentic objects still competed with the growing acceptance of cultural reproduction as a meaningful activity. In 1664, Annibale Ranuzzi offered Leopoldo de’ Medici an alleged portrait by Michelangelo. As negotiations continued between Bologna and Florence, Ranuzzi eventually admitted that it was probably “done in the presence of Michelangelo” rather than by the master. But he argued that it was so exquisite as to be “more beautiful than if it were by Michelangelo, in a style that will not be difficult to baptize as by the hand of Michelangelo, especially if it were in Your Highness’s room in which it would be placed opposite some work of Titian and

¹⁰² Vasari had helped to canonize Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio by creating official portraits of them as part of the Medicean representation of Tuscan culture. On the influence of Vasari, see Edward L. Goldberg, *After Vasari: History, Art, and Patronage in Late Medici Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); and *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage* (Princeton, 1983).

¹⁰³ In Goldberg, *Patterns*, 58 (Paolo del Sera to Leopoldo de’ Medici, Venice, 1664); Savini Branca, *Il collezionismo*, 30 (1604 description of Giovanni Grimani’s collection). See also Barocchi, *Il Cardinale Leopoldo*, vol. 1, tome 1, 283 (“lo tengo di mano di qualcuno di cotesti antichi e famosi maestri”).

¹⁰⁴ Goldberg, *Patterns*, 4; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 55.

¹⁰⁵ Barocchi and Ragionieri, *Gli Uffizi*, 1: 66 (July 29, 1630).

¹⁰⁶ In Goldberg, *Patterns*, 203 (Paolo Falconieri to Apollonio Bassetti, April 19, 1681).

¹⁰⁷ Savini Branca, *Collezionismo*, 126–28, 134, 137; Sparti, *Le collezioni dal Pozzo*, 111.

others that are there.”¹⁰⁸ Culture did not simply exist but could also be made through the activities of collectors such as the Medici. They created the context in which to possess and invent Michelangelo.

That singular monument to the Renaissance, the Uffizi gallery, stood as a public model of what it meant to transform a private passion for beautiful objects into a public statement about the value of culture. Even in its first few years of existence, contemporaries understood that the Uffizi would be a supremely visible statement about the significance of two intertwined pasts, ancient and modern, which needed to be isolated from the world in order to exist for the ages. Francesco Bocchi numbered the Uffizi among the singular attractions in his *Beautiful Things of the City of Florence* (1591) because it had removed the important works of Renaissance sculptors from the uncontrolled public arena of the piazza, where such works were subject to “dust, winds and rain,” and placed them in the hermetic world of the museum where they could become cultural monuments for all time. “[H]ere they are preserved cleanly.”¹⁰⁹ Described by travelers and engraved by local artists, the Uffizi’s version of the Renaissance became a clean copy of the Renaissance in contrast to its ruined vision in a refectory in Milan. It was—and still is today—a perfectly reproducible past.

WHAT CAN THE PROCESS OF CREATING THE RENAISSANCE in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tell us about the meaning of the Renaissance at the end of our own century? Among other things, it suggests that we need not discard the Renaissance as an empty vessel, “the dead center of a much longer age.”¹¹⁰ The Renaissance was not simply a label for an artistic movement but also described a dynamic cultural process that has much to tell us about the making and remaking of the past. For these reasons, the Renaissance is not only an important testing ground for new approaches to history that have implications for many other areas of scholarship, it is also an epoch that actively challenges traditional conceptions of the nature of historical documentation. Historians have never been very comfortable working with visual materials and have preferred to leave such things to art historians. Until recently, we have also not been very reflective on the process by which historical documentation accumulates and the ends that it serves.¹¹¹

In studying this particular piece of the past, our general unwillingness to cross traditional disciplinary boundaries has unnecessarily limited our vision of what the Renaissance might be. We need to discard such preconceptions in order to resuscitate a field that has a public audience that *does* want to know something about the Renaissance and whose relationship to the Renaissance bears the traces of the process I have described in the above pages. Our reverence in front of Michelangelo’s *Pietà* in St. Peter’s and Leonardo’s *Mona Lisa* in the Louvre brings to life Vasari’s plan to create a theology of objects. Our irreverence, when we step

¹⁰⁸ Barocchi, *Il Cardinale Leopoldo*, vol. 2, tome 2, 622 (Bologna, July 12, 1664).

¹⁰⁹ Francesco Bocchi, *Bellezze della città di Firenze*, in Barocchi, “Storiografia e collezionismo,” 30.

¹¹⁰ Bouwsma, “Renaissance,” 354. Here Bouwsma is referring to and taking issue with the *Annaliste* conception of the *longue durée*.

¹¹¹ Randolph Starn is currently engaged in a larger project on this subject. For a brief and provocative introduction to his approach, see his “Who’s Afraid of the Renaissance?”

outside the hallowed halls of culture to the markets filled with postcards with enlarged snapshots of *David's* genitals, is our own.

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AHR Forum
Eclipse of the Renaissance

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

WHEN I PREPARED MY PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF 1978, I did not anticipate that it might still be of interest twenty years later, and I feel both surprised and honored by this symposium. I am deeply indebted to Professors Gouwens and Findlen for making it possible. In responding to their stimulating essays, I want to stress that I do not intend to deny the importance of the subject to which I have myself devoted half a century of study, much less do I feel any need to defend a position I took twenty years ago. I continue to agree with Gouwens and Findlen that the age of the Renaissance was, for many reasons, a time of extraordinary importance in the history of Western culture, among other things for the reasons they have emphasized.

But my perspectives have changed somewhat. I am increasingly doubtful that the Renaissance was the beginning of the “modern” world, and I find myself increasingly dubious about the Whig-linear-progressive view of history, to which this notion of the Renaissance was attached, as a process culminating in ourselves. The notion of the Renaissance as the origin of the modern world is often attributed, not altogether incorrectly, to Jacob Burckhardt; but I think we should also ponder the fact that, though like most of us he was probably ambivalent about this, Burckhardt loathed the modern world. And although the idea of progress survives in the rhetoric of politicians everywhere, my impression is that few historians now, if challenged, would admit to a firm conviction that the world is a better and better place or that the likelihood of its indefinite improvement is substantial. I am unsure about the connection between the developments described in the central articles of this *Forum* and this old meta-historical scheme, and perhaps it is not a fair question. Aside from these reflections, I might also add that I am confused by the notion that we have recently entered a “postmodern” age and about what the significance of this notion might be for historians. It is perhaps fortunate for us that the notion has been chiefly confined to other disciplines.

On the other hand, I am prepared to defend the traditional view of the Renaissance against those who would minimize its achievements on the grounds that they amounted to no more than cultural “superstructure” of little interest to serious historians. This view is based, it seems to me, on an inadequate understanding of the role of culture in human affairs, which among its other tasks notably shapes even economic and social structures.

It should be clear by this time, at any rate, that, whatever else the Renaissance

may have been, it is not useful to describe a *period* in European history; it was, rather, a set of developments during a time in which quite contrary tendencies were also at work, some of them destined to survive and grow stronger during later centuries. One of the more positive tendencies in Renaissance scholarship today has been its focus on particular developments within the more general tendencies we associate with the Renaissance. At the risk of sounding quaintly old-fashioned, I will describe these, however transient, as movements toward liberation. These included both the “cognitive turn” in Renaissance humanism central to Professor Gouwens’s article and Professor Findlen’s interest in the significance of wonder and curiosity for scientific investigation. Neither article, in my reading, draws conclusions about the place of these phenomena in some vast meta-historical scenario, although both tell us something important about ourselves—always, for me, the chief justification of historical study.

Meanwhile, two relatively recent developments seem to me to imply a decline in the significance traditionally assigned to the Renaissance. The first is the identification of another series of episodes, in the eighteenth century, as formative for the modern world, a claim that deliberately rivals those made earlier for the Renaissance. This new account of the sources of the modern world points to the agricultural and industrial revolutions, which provided the material substructure of the modern world, and the rationalism of the Enlightenment, though I have some reservations about the origins commonly assigned to it. The new prominence attributed to the eighteenth century has already contributed to a diminished assessment of the Renaissance; it is at least of symbolic importance that the *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* has disappeared and been reborn as the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*.

An even more important development for the perception of the Renaissance is the situation described by Caroline Walker Bynum, recently president of the American Historical Association, in an article entitled “The Last Eurocentric Generation.”* Bynum points out that the significance of European history has been radically transformed by the unification of the world, culturally as well as economically; a process increasingly clear, though long under way, within the lifetime of most of us today. Many of our broad generalizations about world history have in the past, I suspect—including those I was exposed to as a college freshman—been projections of Eurocentricity, including our assumptions about the world-historical importance of the Renaissance. I do not doubt, of course, the significance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for world unification, even though “the great discoveries” may raise questions about what is now included in what we mean by “the Renaissance.”

The new perspective on the past to which this development points has practical as well as historiographical significance. It is already altering the composition of history departments and course offerings. Once well-established fields of history are less and less well represented in our catalogues, and less in demand. This does not bode well for Renaissance studies or indeed more generally for the central place long accorded to Europe. Staffing in European history is already declining in many

* Under the heading “The President’s Desk,” in *Perspectives: American Historical Association Newsletter* 34 (February 1996): 3–4.

places to provide for new appointments in, for example, Southeast Asia or the various parts of Africa. This does not mean that Renaissance studies will disappear, but clearly they must now compete for scarce resources with a growing number of new areas of interest.

I suspect that what now lies ahead is a gradual reduction in the status of the Renaissance, along with other areas of European history, to something like that of ancient and even medieval history today: a function less of any sense of continuity with ourselves than of nostalgia and curiosity about the otherness of the past.

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ANTHONY GRAFTON

THE RENAISSANCE IS BACK—IF IT EVER WENT AWAY. Kenneth Gouwens and Paula Findlen give powerful evidence, in their lucid and lively essays, that the intellectual history of Renaissance Europe continues to attract powerful scholarly minds and to stimulate major projects in historical research. From the study of classical texts to the holding of classicizing picnics, both writers show, historians are applying new methods, excavating new sources, and using both to create new pictures of Renaissance society—pictures as varied, colorful, and full of life as the term “Renaissance” would lead one to expect.

Not all the pigments and methods these scholars have applied are as new as the uses to which they have put them, and that is all to the good. In the history of the Renaissance as elsewhere, Findlen and Gouwens agree, scholarly traditions now of considerable age, as well as the revisionist intellectual histories written in the 1980s and after, continue to offer vital information and stimulus. The classic studies of Paul Oskar Kristeller, the greatest of all students of the field, still provide the most powerful general definition we have of Renaissance humanism. Gouwens's effort to supply a new one begins from a spirited tussle with Kristeller, me, and others who have gone before—and draws on, as well as challenges, the older work. Findlen, similarly, deploys materials from a rich tradition of scholarship on collections and antiquarianism, one that long antedates the rise of her own approach to cultural history. In their willingness to treat earlier scholarship as a living tradition, as in their novel ideas, Gouwens and Findlen make clear why revisionism in the Renaissance—unlike some other fields—does not simply rise up into the air and dissipate. These revisionists are good philologists. Archive rats as dedicated to the pleasure of the hunt for documents as to the devising of new theses, they are also discriminating and well-informed readers of the older secondary literature. It is a pleasure to engage in discussion with them.

For all the differences between them, moreover, Gouwens and Findlen converge in a fascinating and attractive way. For both seek, above all, to move from the study of texts and terms to that of individuals living in three-dimensional, human contexts. Gouwens insists, with absolute justice, that Renaissance intellectuals did not only meet the classical world when having their noses ground into the *Catilinarians* at school. Humanists in High Renaissance Rome, he points out, pursued jobs and love affairs amid classical ruins, which they explored as eagerly as the bodies of their lovers. They posted poems in classical meters on the speaking

statues of Pasquino and Marforio. They sat up late at dinner parties, worrying about the exact length of the Roman foot. When they read classical texts, they not only parsed hard sentences and identified allusions but also shuddered with pleasure or writhed with horror. Ancient books deeply affected preeminently modern intellectuals, like Machiavelli and Guicciardini. Only by recovering this three-dimensional, richly lived experience, in all its philological and emotional shadings, can the historian do full justice to the humanists' contact with the classics.

Findlen draws on the wealth of her own earlier studies and on recent work by Richard Goldthwaite, Lisa Jardine, Patricia Fortini Brown, and others. She argues that scholars should seek the origins of the concept of the Renaissance itself in another set of three-dimensional human experiences: that of the Renaissance collectors who made their palaces and villas into artfully designed collections of ancient and modern objects. Collectors pioneered in developing the sharp sense of historical distance often seen as characteristic of the Renaissance. The Florentine scholar Niccolò Niccoli, for example, became an expert evaluator of ancient gems, filled his house with fragments of ancient art, and ate, like an ancient Roman, from dishes of crystal. His biographer, the stationer Vespasiano da Bisticci, remarked that it was a "gentilezza" (elegant experience) to watch Niccoli consume a meal. In this environment, life and collecting became a form of art. It also became second nature to organize works of art in historically meaningful ways. Eventually, the paintings and sculptures of the Renaissance became subject to the same kinds of study and evaluation as antiques. The belief in the artistic supremacy of the Renaissance grew up, in short, not—or not only—in writers' studies but in the hot pursuit of "objects of consumption." This insight, Findlen deftly argues, helps to explain exactly why the study of objects still plays so central a role in any effort to make the Renaissance accessible, in teaching or in public education.

Both authors share many virtues. Both work on periods and places, individuals and forms of evidence, that earlier American historians of the Renaissance have tended to ignore. My own teacher, the late Eric Cochrane, would have been delighted to read two programmatic essays that show so clearly that Italian cultural history did not end when the French invaded Italy. Both draw on the work of scholars outside the straight and narrow discipline of history—from the literary critics and Neo-Latinists whose work Gouwens uses to the art historians so important to Findlen. Both Gouwens and Findlen, finally, write with clarity, force, and wit—qualities always in too small supply.

I find myself in general agreement with their theses—not surprising, since I have argued in a very similar vein in recent years, both in work produced in collaboration with Lisa Jardine and others and in essays of my own on the history of reading, the origins of archaeology, and other humanistic activities. Contact with the ancients took public as well as private, ritual as well as textual, archaeological as well as hermeneutical forms. Objects and their arrangement reveal an enormous amount about the beliefs and desires of those who spent so much money and effort on acquiring them. I have no polemical fireworks to launch. But I do have a tiny caution to utter, less about the substance of these fine essays than about some aspects of the rhetoric in which they are cast. It emerges, as will be clear, from personal experience.

More than twenty years ago, Lisa Jardine and I began work on what became, in 1986, *From Humanism to the Humanities*. In those distant days, when leisure suits were worn without irony and disco was the object not of nostalgia but of passion, the culture wars had not yet begun. A single issue fascinated both of us—one more or less the reverse of the issue that most engages Findlen and Gouwens, and one quite unconnected with the problems of the age of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. In histories of humanist education, we read what amounted to vivid, three-dimensional evocations of the humanist school—re-creations of it as a theater of pleasure and passion, a place of direct contact between students of high sensibility and the ancients with whom they hoped to speak. In the primary documents, by contrast, we encountered the remains of something quite different—a system apparently based on, and often confined to, drill and indoctrination. We found the contradiction exciting—not because we thought the various forms of evidence we uncovered could tell “the whole story” of humanist education but because we thought that they must be used by anyone who wanted to create an account of the humanist school that did some justice to the lived experience of its pupils. We never claimed that classroom notes—or any other single source—offered a complete record of the transactions among teacher, text, and pupil. In fact, we cited a wide range of evidence, from the notes of students to the rituals of teachers, and even attended to the ways in which some teachers tried to make their students speak and act as Romans, in classical settings. We wanted to argue that a three-dimensional re-creation of humanist education had to include, and in part to rest on, these materials—as opposed to the educational manifestoes, the equivalent of modern college catalogues and web sites, in which teachers described what they offered. In advancing this argument, as we said, we followed the lead offered by historians of classical education in antiquity—above all, H.-I. Marrou. But we also had in mind our own experiences as teachers, which had led us to believe that any full account of modern university life must pay attention to the messages students actually receive—as opposed to those that teachers transmit. A recording of a lecture tells one less about the students’ experience than the teacher’s erudition and eloquence, unless one can read against it the notes that students actually took and the exams on which they tried to use what they learned.

Using a language that, read in retrospect, resounds quaintly with the struggles of the 1960s, we set out to argue that the school, for most of its inhabitants, did not resemble Machiavelli’s study or Colocci’s dinner parties. We also tried to suggest some of the reasons why a system of education that did not sparkle when examined closely still won the loyalty of so many patrons and parents. But by the time our book finally appeared, ignorant—and learned—armies were clashing by night over the canon. Both our conservative and our radical readers often interpreted our book in ways hardly consonant with our intentions—and connected it with intellectual movements that had not existed when we began work. Even though we succeeded in stimulating debate over what had previously been a staid realm of Renaissance studies, much of it hardly followed the paths we had expected, and not all of it was productive. This personal note, moreover, suggests a second point of wider methodological interest. In describing the humanist school as we did, Lisa Jardine and I meant to suggest that Renaissance experiences of antiquity differed

radically. The differences depended in part on whether the one doing the experiencing was male or female, child or adult, patrician or plebeian; in part on where, and in what circumstances, the reader went to work. Some intellectuals met the ancients as adults, colliding with them head on, asking personal questions and receiving detailed answers (our “charismatic teachers” certainly had such experiences)—especially in the long years they lived after school was out. But others met the ancients as texts, on paper; they never saw Cicero, in their minds’ eyes, standing at his podium to denounce the enemies of Rome, but they memorized many lists of adjectives and figures of speech, which they later obediently reproduced in endless passages of patchwork Latin prose. The Renaissance could be, and sometimes was, a passionately lived revival of the antique. But it could also be, and often was, a long subjection to a discipline, the ultimate purpose of which remained unclear.

Only close attention to the details of texts—from textbooks and class notes to humanist poems and orations to inventories of museums and histories of art—can enable the historian to determine how any given humanist read ancient books or ancient buildings. The three-dimensional re-creation of the Renaissance of antiquity cannot be confined to text-based intellectual history. But it must rest on that or risk returning to the sorts of unhistorical assumption that once dominated Renaissance intellectual history. The characters and qualities of experiences of the past varied as enormously as every other form of experience, from one generation to the next and from one of Italy’s many cultural microclimates to another. Scholars who do not bear such points in mind run the considerable risk of blowing back into kinetic life not only the bones of those who once danced—but also those who never did. Some schoolboys are *Tom Brown’s* Flashman, some consumers are *Our Mutual Friend’s* Veneerings. Precision and discrimination in reading the sources will enable scholars to tell them from the Petrarchs and Sadoletos, the Giovios and Medicis, whose passions and sensibilities Gouwens and Findlen have reconstructed with so much flair and erudition.

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AHR Forum
Renaissance Redux

RANDOLPH STARN

THE RENAISSANCE IS A PRIMAL SCENE OF EUROPEAN HISTORIOGRAPHY to which we seem bound to return out of fascination or denial. Twenty years after William J. Bouwsma solemnly announced the collapse of “the traditional dramatic organization of Western history,” the old phoenix is up to its usual tricks.

For this latest flight, Kenneth Gouwens and Paula Findlen fix unerringly on a fundamental premise: no enchantment, no Renaissance. They evoke a culture that communes with the ancient dead, invests life (and a great deal of money) in inanimate objects with the cachet of antiquity, values its present and future by the there-and-then. In good Renaissance fashion, they take on, and are taken on by, the attitudes of distant ancestors. Gouwens echoes Petrarch’s exuberant disdain for the scholastics in chiding historians for reducing Renaissance humanism to a set of technical skills; Findlen makes Renaissance sport of the prim and unwittingly philistine view that serious appreciation and avid acquisitiveness are incompatible. Not the least of charms here is the conjuring up of a Renaissance from radically disparate materials that belongs so firmly to the Grand Tradition. The “cognitive turn” of a heightened humanist consciousness and the heady materialism of a Renaissance culture market look like New Age variations on the perfectly conventional theme of an epochal paradigm shift to a self-importantly possessive civilization with an Italian pedigree.

What has changed over the past generation or so is the opposition. Denial these days is likely to come with a shrug. Medievalists have mostly given up crusading against the Renaissance, partly out of exhaustion and a sense of futility. Revisionists of various stripes seem to think that the persistence of traditional ideas and practices disposes of the Renaissance, unmindful that they are paying tribute to its staying power by mirroring its interpretive conventions. Historians of Early Modern Europe ostensibly avoid entangling commitments, either to the idea of the Renaissance or to the uninitiated who might imagine that any of several centuries up to 1914 was “early modern.” Even professed Renaissance historians have become openly agnostic or apologetic.

Suppose that the Renaissance really were struck from the periodic tables of historians. This would be an act of mercy toward backsliders, not to mention the scarred subject in question. We would be spared the embarrassing Oedipal ritual of Burckhardt-bashing in which the father of Renaissance studies is periodically held up to scorn by his ungrateful children. Our relations with colleagues abroad would

probably improve. Whatever “globalization” means today, it is not the old occidentalizing *Weltgeschichte*, with lockstep realizations of Reason pivoting on the Renaissance. Europeans have never quite understood, let alone approved of, their histories becoming American-style Western Civilization, and much of the rest of the world might prefer to be rid of an imperial narrative. The specialists who gather in Renaissance societies, associations, and conferences would be no more divided under another name than they already are. Of course, anyone wanting to keep the honorific title—literary historians and critics, for example, who do not much care about coherent periodization and have other distractions anyway—would be free to do so.

Historians might do so out of respect for tradition or habit, not to mention worries about academic downsizing. The alternatives are not at all foolproof. Crude forms of Whiggish history flourish in the Sargasso Sea of Early Modern Europe; the small ponds of specialized research teem with new but sometimes stunted historical specimens. History stretched across the structural long-term is chronically flat and immobile; postmodern histories, where everything in the past tends to look at once indiscriminately historical and available in the present, have no anachronisms, and this would put historians out of work. Nevertheless, a recent bibliographical survey in *Renaissance Quarterly* falls back limply on the “heuristic value” of the Renaissance after observing that “historical scholarship is extremely innovative in the absence of a shared commitment to the idea of the Renaissance.”¹ Is it time, finally, to just say no to the Renaissance?

Our two *Forum* essays can be read as an abolitionist tour de force with a Renaissance twist: both deploy the classic Renaissance strategy of returning to the sources in order to trump the present. Against the presumptuous familiarities of modern historians, they recall that sense of the distance and difference of a spellbinding past that made the idea of a Renaissance possible in the first place. Against academic trimming to academic size, they seek out the passions, the flights of imagination, the forms of sociability, the sense of play running through a culture that was vibrantly “interdisciplinary” *avant la lettre*. Historians, as they always do, arrived late on the scene as a kind of occupying force and, as they often do, have taken possession and subdivided the territory as if it actually belonged to them. The lay public has known better all along. The moral seems clear: The Renaissance is dead, long live the Renaissance!

Still, as Gouwens and Findlen suggest, the Renaissance may not get another lease on historiographical life without radical therapy. Their embrace of real-world enthusiasms for Renaissance culture is aimed at the intellectualizing, text-centered predilections already stowed away in the transatlantic passage of Renaissance scholarship from Germany to this country more than half a century ago. This generous gesture has good credentials, not only in the historical record but also in Jacob Burckhardt.² It is a reminder, too, of how recent the professionalization of

¹ John Martin, “Knowledge, Politics, and Memory in Early Modern Italy: Recent Italian Scholarship,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 49 (1996): 616.

² In the last *fin-de-siècle*, Friedrich Nietzsche quoted Jacob Burckhardt on “a wonderful new resounding of the primeval stirrings” in Renaissance Italy that, according to Nietzsche and our authors, the academic establishment drained from history. Friedrich Nietzsche, “On the Uses and Abuses of History,” in *Untimely Meditations*, R. J. Hollindale, trans. (Cambridge, 1983), 73.

the Renaissance in this country actually is. The story is familiar by now, complete with frank recognition for the role played by political and ideological interests during World War II and the Cold War that had little or nothing to do with scholarship. We might wonder, though, whether the demobilization has gone far enough. Renaissance historiography still flies the faded colors of nineteenth-century historicism when it treats more or less distinct activities as emanations of the totalizing spirit of an age, and it still seems to be fighting ghostly battles for the heart and soul of Western history when it insists on updating the Renaissance or, for that matter, repudiating its modernity.

There are perfectly viable alternatives besides reenchantment to these aging scenarios. The Renaissance has always been a shifty chronological marker. Typically, Gouwens's Roman humanists were already looking back nostalgically at the Renaissance in the 1530s before Findlen's Renaissance shopping spree was getting into full swing. Rather than a period with definitive beginnings and endings and consistent content in between, the Renaissance can be (and occasionally has been) seen as a movement of practices and ideas to which specific groups and identifiable persons variously responded in different times and places. It would be in this sense a network of diverse, sometimes converging, sometimes conflicting cultures, not a single, time-bound culture.

The Renaissance metaphor lends itself to a quick demonstration of what I have characterized elsewhere as a kind of genealogical history.³ The project of a "revival of antiquity" can be charted through distinct discursive fields across time. Multiple and simultaneous lines of descent would include Gouwens's humanism and Findlen's collecting, but many other strands could be tied in as far afield as social movements looking to a mythical Golden Age, quarrels between "ancient" and "modern" schools of thought, or technical revolutions in calligraphy and orthography. The absence of a narrative sequence by epochs does not necessarily leave us facing a dispiriting choice between plotless and made-up histories of "Olde Europe."

It is by now as canonical as anything in the old canon to suppose that the Grand Narratives of European history are passing, or have passed already. The new tasks are often said to be interdisciplinary and pluralistic. Far from burying the Renaissance, our *Forum* articles see a newly charmed historiographical life for it in performing just such tasks. I would not care to bet against that tough and crafty phoenix.

³ Most recently in *The New Erudition*, Randolph Starn, ed., *Representations* 56 (Fall 1996): 1–11.

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Review Essay
American Synecdoche:
Thomas Jefferson as Image, Icon, Character, and Self

JAN LEWIS and PETER S. ONUF

GREAT MEN STRIDE ACROSS THE PAGES of popular history, determining the fate of nations. In the modern era, the lives of revolutionary leaders have been inextricably linked with the histories of the states they founded. America's Thomas Jefferson was neither Russia's Lenin nor China's Mao, nor, he himself would have assured us, was he Europe's Napoleon Bonaparte, the founder and destroyer of countless states. Jefferson did not have the talents or inclination or opportunity to impose his will on his countrymen; modest and self-effacing, he had to share a crowded stage with the large cast of revolutionary heroes arrayed around George Washington, the father of his country. Yet perhaps it was the very modesty of Jefferson's personal ambitions, epitomized by the claim that his Declaration of Independence was intended "to be an expression of the American mind" (and not of his own imperious will) that has made him such a compelling and resonant figure in the American historical imagination.¹ As historian James Parton put it in 1874, and Jefferson biographers have repeated ever since, "If Jefferson was wrong, America is wrong. If America is right, Jefferson was right."² More recently, filmmaker Ken Burns has said that "one approaches Thomas Jefferson with the sense that he is, in a biographical sense, the Holy Grail of American history."³ Pauline Maier has suggested that it is not so much Jefferson as the Declaration of Independence that has been sacralized, "remade into a sacred text, a statement of basic, enduring truths often described with words borrowed from the vocabulary of religion."⁴ As with Lenin and Mao, whether the focus is on Jefferson himself or the document with which he is most closely associated, and whether one worships him or calls him

The authors thank Joyce Appleby, Edward Ayers, James Goodman, and James Grimmelman for helpful suggestions; they also note their personal involvement with the Ken Burns film (see text below) and two of the books discussed below. Onuf was the supervisor of Andrew Burstein's dissertation, subsequently published as *The Inner Jefferson*, which Lewis reviewed for the University Press of Virginia. Lewis read Annette Gordon-Reed's *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings* prior to publication; Onuf reviewed the manuscript for the University Press of Virginia.

¹ Thomas Jefferson to Henry Lee, May 8, 1825, in *Thomas Jefferson Writings*, Merrill Peterson, ed. (New York, 1984), 1501.

² See, for example, Merrill D. Peterson, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* (New York, 1960), 234; Joseph J. Ellis, *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1997), 3.

³ See Public Broadcasting Service web site for *Thomas Jefferson: A Film by Ken Burns*, available from World Wide Web at http://www.pbs.org/jefferson/making/KB_00.htm.

⁴ Pauline Maier, *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* (New York, 1997), xviii.

a false god, the intellectual moves are similar: Jefferson is identified with the nation. Studying him becomes a way to discuss American nationhood—and a substitute for studying the nation's history. Given our long history of equating Jefferson with the nation, is it possible still to historicize him, to situate and understand him within the context of his times? Or, to put the question another way, how can historians hold onto the historical Jefferson in the face of powerful cultural pressures to make him a proxy for all that is right or wrong with America?

Ken Burns's televised documentary, *Thomas Jefferson: A Film by Ken Burns*, raises serious questions about the role of historians in shaping the public's understanding of history and the ways in which historians participate in and respond to the images of history that are now reaching mass audiences.⁵ The opportunity for professional historians to play a role in such productions is certainly seductive. Both of us gladly complied with the invitation by Florentine Films (Burns's production company) to speak on camera about Jefferson. Both of us—like a number of our colleagues—ended up on the cutting-room floor. The insult to our vanity notwithstanding, it is not clear that *Thomas Jefferson: A Film by Ken Burns* would have been a better production with us as talking heads. We know better than to equate historians with history. The real question is: Is Burns's *Thomas Jefferson* good history?

That Jefferson scholars would find little new in Burns's recycling of familiar materials is not necessarily a problem. Burns's claim on our attention is not original research or interpretation but his capacity to frame the familiar in a new way and make it speak to our civic soul and aesthetic sensibility. With their ability to reach huge audiences, Burns and his fellow documentarians are becoming the custodians of our national historical consciousness. Hence it is troubling that the line separating Burns's "fact" and Oliver Stone's "fiction" is less distinct than one might suppose. In *Thomas Jefferson*, Burns dispenses with, by and large, not only professional historians but also the fetish of authenticity that has, for instance, conspicuously characterized the costume dramas of James Ivory and Ismail Merchant.⁶ The film uses the Shaker hymn "Simple Gifts" to convey folk simplicity, anachronistic photos of plantation slaves to suggest tobacco-planting field hands in Jefferson's Virginia, an 1833 painting, "Black Hawk and His Son, Whirling Thunder," to illustrate the Indian policies of Jefferson's presidency, and, without any sense of postmodernist playfulness or even modernist irony, a Jefferson impersonator and a children's book author to play the role of "historians."

Burns takes these liberties with the implicit promise of giving us the real Jefferson. From the opening shots of a mist-enshrouded Monticello at dawn and the expert witnesses' remarks about Jefferson's contradictions and sphinx-like nature, Burns conveys the impression that he is in pursuit of the truth. No fewer than eighteen shots zoom in on the eyes in a Jefferson portrait, as if Burns's camera could take us literally inside Jefferson's head, penetrating the inner man. Likewise, Jefferson's home, Monticello, represents the man himself, just as the objects in his

⁵ *Thomas Jefferson: A Film by Ken Burns*, produced by Ken Burns and Camilla Rockwell, directed by Ken Burns, written by Geoffrey Ward (Florentine Films, 1996), 3 hours.

⁶ Compare *Jefferson in Paris* (Merchant-Ivory Productions, Touchstone Pictures, 1995), 136 minutes.

home represent the furnishings of his mind. The camera pans across rooms empty except for objects, a visual image reinforced by repeated shots of Jefferson's empty chair. Yet these are objects without function: like Jefferson's ideas in Ken Burns's documentary, they have no purpose and no relationship to other objects or ideas. The only relationship that matters is the one between Burns himself and his subject, for Burns's conceit is that his all-seeing camera can reveal the truth behind a portrait or inside a book stand, as if meaning could be disclosed by the right camera angle. It is as if the objects of Jefferson's material world had the same meaning to him as they do to Burns's camera, as if Thomas Jefferson were, in fact, a film by Ken Burns, rather than a historical figure.

At the end of the film, Burns's talking heads are still speaking portentously about Jefferson's mysteries. But the filmmaker knows better. In the film's final shots, the camera recedes from a Jefferson portrait, pans across a portrait from the right, holds a close-up, pans across another portrait from the left, and finishes with another close-up. Burns no longer needs to take us behind Jefferson's eyes. Jefferson is now the same from whatever direction the camera looks. And, to underscore his point, Burns concludes with a beautiful, fiery sunset: the mists surrounding Monticello and its owner have been dispelled!

Burns's image of Jefferson stands in contrast to the most recent scholarship on Jefferson, which is skeptical and, indeed, often critical. By failing to engage these debates, Burns misses an opportunity to engage his audience as well. The only exceptions are the opening and closing sections with the cacophony of voices talking about Jefferson's complexities and the twenty minutes or so devoted to race, slavery, and the Sally Hemings issue. Here, the viewer's gaze is deflected from transparent objects and images to the conflicting testimonies of talking heads. But in Burns's film, all authorities are created equal, and they tend to cancel each other out in a way that inert images and objects are never allowed to do.

This is why Clay Jenkinson, a Jefferson impersonator who is identified on screen as a "historian," is so important a presence in Burns's film.⁷ By seeming to collapse the distinction between scholarly interpretation and Jefferson himself, Jenkinson allows Burns to appear to engage Jefferson directly, without the mediation of historians and their distracting agendas—while at the same time giving his film an academic gloss. As Burns has put it (in an interview posted to the film's web site), "We're not here to debate as much as we are to cohere." The hard work, then, is that of the filmmaker, who explains that "what I engage in is a very, very difficult . . . process of distilling information."⁸ Although Burns repeatedly raises the issue of race in his films—co-producer Camilla Rockwell says, "Any film by Ken is going to have race as a central focus"⁹—he treats it as an incoherence, an insoluble problem in an otherwise explicable past. Hence the function of Burns's banal camera work, his anachronistic sounds and images: he presents the public with what it already knows—familiar images of slavery and native Americans, authentic-

⁷ According to his web biography, Jenkinson has degrees in humanities and literature; he has taught at several colleges and universities, most recently the University of Nevada, Reno, available from World Wide Web at http://www.th-jefferson.org/html/jenkinson_biography.html.

⁸ Ken Burns, quoted at www.pbs.org/jefferson/making/interviews.htm; and pbs.org/jefferson/. See also pbs.org/jefferson/making/KB_01.htm.

⁹ Camilla Rockwell, quoted at www.pbs.org/jefferson/making/rockwell.htm.

sounding music, conventional cinematography—in the process, enclosing and neutralizing what is dangerous and disturbing in a reassuring visual package. It is as if Burns believes his aesthetic can solve the problem of race in this country, a conceit perhaps not unlike Jefferson's. Indeed, the subtext of the entire documentary is about the collapsing of distinctions—between scholarship and Jefferson himself, between authentic and anachronistic images, between artist and subject, and, finally, by way of the Jeffersonian synecdoche, between the artist and the nation.

UNLIKE BURNS, MOST CONTEMPORARY JEFFERSON SCHOLARS have not dissolved themselves into their subject, but they do generally assume, either explicitly or implicitly, that Jefferson is in some sense a proxy for the nation. Present-day historians have been trained to discount Parton's equation of Jefferson with the nation, and great white men have been in ill repute for some time, as have the celebratory excesses of national history in the exceptionalist mode. But what is remarkable about recent studies of Jefferson by popular and academic historians is the extent to which they continue to embrace the premise of a "pantheon" of American gods even as they take potshots (or, in the more extreme cases, launch warheads) at the Sage of Monticello. In marked contrast to Burns's *Jefferson*, recent works by Conor Cruise O'Brien, Joseph J. Ellis, and Pauline Maier all offer critical perspectives on their subject.¹⁰ O'Brien magnifies the Sage's significance, a much-diminished Jefferson comes into sharp, psychological focus in Ellis's *American Sphinx*, and the Virginian threatens to disappear altogether in Maier's wide-angled account of the drafting and reception of the Declaration of Independence. Yet, for all their differences, these books are variations—or interrogations—of Parton's theme. They ask us to consider the civic consequences of the Jeffersonian synecdoche.

Conor Cruise O'Brien's trashing of Jefferson in *The Long Affair* has been widely and appropriately assailed by reviewers, but the Irish writer deserves credit for laying his cards on the table.¹¹ O'Brien has no doubt that there is a pantheon: a cast of larger-than-life founding heroes who provide successive generations of Americans with a framework for historical self-understanding. Does Jefferson belong in this select company? O'Brien insists that this question can be answered (negatively) on objective grounds, contemptuously dismissing the pathetic efforts of "liberal Jeffersonians" to refurbish their idol's image. Here is the short version of *The Long Affair*: while representing the new nation in Paris in the years immediately preceding the French Revolution (1785–1789), Jefferson contracted the revolutionary contagion; this ideological absolutism made him a (rhetorical) terrorist who would (in theory) drench the earth in blood in vain pursuit of the perfect and pure; the Haitian Revolution had a chilling effect on his affair with France, but

¹⁰ Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The Long Affair: Thomas Jefferson and the French Revolution; 1785–1800* (Chicago, 1996); Joseph J. Ellis, *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1997); Maier, *American Scripture*.

¹¹ See, for example, Gordon Wood, "Liberty's Wild Man," *New York Review of Books* 44, no. 3 (February 20, 1997): 23–26.

Jefferson's inveterate hostility to the black republic revealed the deeper, darker core of his racism. O'Brien thus concludes that there is no "usable" Jefferson who can serve our present needs: instead, we are stuck with the one we have (or rather, that O'Brien has given us), a radical racist ideologue forever fixed in and condemned by "history." Historians, custodians of our civic culture, must therefore knock Jefferson off his pedestal. Jefferson is certainly "wrong," and if we fail to banish him from the national pantheon, America will certainly, tragically, go wrong as well. If Jefferson is America, America is . . . Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh.

O'Brien's pseudo-positivism (his book strings together long quotations from original sources, with a few "talking head" secondary sources thrown in) clearly signals his alienation from fashionable humanities scholarship: no relativism, no constructivism, no "invented traditions," thank you, just the facts. Leaving aside the dubious historicity of *The Long Affair* and its breathtaking leaps into the interpretative unknown, what is most striking about O'Brien's stance is the enormous cultural power he claims for himself and other right-minded authority figures. The Jefferson image may be beyond rehabilitation, but historians can—if they only would—read him out of our civic culture, exorcising a dangerous ideologue who licenses contemporary extremists to represent themselves as patriotic Americans. In O'Brien's fanciful scenario, historians not only enjoy a monopoly over "history," they must also decide what historical themes and which historical figures offer the most appropriate images of our civic culture.

Joseph Ellis and Pauline Maier are also self-conscious participants in the ongoing conversation about American civic culture and historical self-understanding. Ellis's *American Sphinx* and Maier's *American Scripture* are both worthy contributions to historical scholarship. Neither writer wants to banish Jefferson from the pantheon (quite), although both suggest that his historical importance is vastly overrated. O'Brien gives short shrift to Jefferson's "authorship" of the Declaration. As it is "increasingly perceived as a collective document, Jefferson may be increasingly cast in the prosaic and subordinate role of a draughtsman."¹² Maier agrees: the story of the drafting "is not of a solo performance or even, to extend the metaphor, a performance of chamber music with a handful of players."¹³ Ellis makes a similar point, showing how preoccupied Jefferson and his congressional colleagues were during these stressful months with other, more immediately compelling issues than justifying themselves to "a candid world," and emphasizing how much Jefferson would have preferred to be back home in Virginia, taking a leading role in the much more important work of drafting his state's first constitution.¹⁴

O'Brien's solution to the supposed crisis in what he provocatively calls "American civil religion (official version)" is to invest the authorless text "with the aura of the sacred."¹⁵ This is precisely what our historians would not do: their prescriptions are instead for more heavily populated pantheons, the proliferation, not the death of authors. In Maier's capacious conception, Jefferson is granted his due as a gifted

¹² O'Brien, *Long Affair*, 321.

¹³ Maier, *American Scripture*, xviii.

¹⁴ Thomas Jefferson, "Declaration of Independence," July 4, 1776, in *The Portable Jefferson*, Merrill D. Peterson, ed. (New York, 1975), 236.

¹⁵ O'Brien, *Long Affair*, 319.

turner of phrases but is surrounded—and brilliantly edited—by his congressional colleagues; more important, he is also surrounded by countless more-or-less ordinary Americans in localities up and down the seacoast who are busily churning out their own declarations. Maier's intention, signaled in the semi-ironic title of her book, is, contra O'Brien, to desacralize the *American Scripture*, and so make it a vital link—part inspiration, part provocation—between the revolutionary generation and ours: "The vitality of the Declaration of Independence rests upon the readiness of the people and their leaders to discuss its implications and to make the crooked ways straight, not in the mummified paper curiosities lying in state at the [National] Archives."¹⁶

Maier is no less interested than O'Brien in the state of our civic soul. Like O'Brien, she thinks that the cult of divinely inspired authorship, reading the Declaration reverently as Constitutional Originalists read their sacred text, is ultimately demoralizing. But where O'Brien sets up shop as iconoclastic reformer, preaching a new civic religion, Maier's civic impulses take a more indirect, sublimated form. In her account of the drafting of the declaration(s) as a formative event in the history of American civil society, Maier speaks to currently fashionable concerns, but she also evokes an old-fashioned image of American consensus, a creedal nationalism that lays heavy emphasis on pragmatism, procedure, and principles that were so deeply imbedded as to be almost unconscious and instinctive. Her assault on American filiopietism and scripturalism is anything but a demolition job in the postmodern mode; Maier instead offers an expansive and attractive conception of the revolutionary founding that is designed to revive and rehabilitate our civic self-consciousness, if not our civil religion. Maier's pantheon, if we may call it that, is nothing less than the nation itself, the arena within which successive generations have struggled to define their civic identities, not a place where "false gods" are worshiped but, rather, where we must "define and realize right and justice in our time."¹⁷

Ellis's ambitions are perhaps more modest than those of O'Brien and Maier: Americans will not revere an authorless text, nor in this cynical age are exhortations to good citizenship likely to grip the public imagination; yet, despite the best efforts of modern scholarship, ordinary folk (or, more accurately, those extraordinary folks who still buy books) still love their great men. Jefferson will not be downed, and even those writers who would blast him away—or contextualize him into insignificance—can only get a hearing from the so-called "general public" because they are writing about him. As Ellis tackled Jefferson's life, he encountered an "American icon," an "electromagnetic" figure who "symbolized the most cherished and most contested values in modern American culture."¹⁸ *American Sphinx* is a character study framed as an episodic biography. It burrows into Jefferson, discovering elaborate psychological mechanisms for protecting and projecting adolescent fantasies: the vision of a good society in the Declaration of Independence "came from deep inside Jefferson himself," eloquently expressing "personal cravings for a

¹⁶ Maier, *American Scripture*, 215.

¹⁷ Maier, *American Scripture*, 215.

¹⁸ Ellis, *American Sphinx*, x–xi.

world in which all behavior was voluntary and therefore all coercion unnecessary.”¹⁹ Ellis’s Jefferson has the narcissism of youth; he is an adolescent who could not grow up. Such an approach would seem radically at odds with Maier’s contextualism, but the net effect in both cases is deflationary: the history of ideas does not amount to much, and Jefferson’s were, in any case, half-baked. Recognizing the dangerous and delusionary character of these adolescent impulses in Jefferson, Ellis suggests, modern Americans will be better able to recognize and restrain their own idealistic excesses. As a chastened Jefferson recedes from preeminence, other voices from the founding, more sober and circumspect—more adult—will be easier to discern. If our ears are properly attuned, we may even hear the voices of Maier’s ordinary folk, declaring their own independence.

Ellis the realist would settle for a little more Adams and a little less Jefferson. The famous late-life correspondence between Jefferson and Adams, which Ellis has so eloquently rehearsed both in *Passionate Sage*, his superb history of Adams’s retirement years, and in *Sphinx*, offers an image of Ellis’s pantheon.²⁰ Jefferson never recanted his youthful idealism, remaining “a dedicated political warrior” to the (increasingly) bitter end of his life, but he treasured his “fourteen-year dialogue with Adams”: it proved “impossible to dismiss his irascible old colleague.”²¹ Jefferson and Adams “were the proverbial opposites that attracted”; “if the American Revolution had become a national hymn, they were its words and its music,” their revolution “an ongoing argument between idealistic and realistic impulses.”²²

Ellis’s brief against Jefferson is not all that different from O’Brien’s: their commentaries on the infamous “Adam and Eve” letter to his protégé William Short (“Were there but an Adam and Eve left in every country, and left free, it would be better than it is now”) evoke similar horrors. For Ellis, Jefferson’s complacent acceptance of mass slaughter points toward the “revolutionary realism . . . in the Lenin and Mao mold.” O’Brien gives us Pol Pot and right-wing militias as contemporary avatars.²³ But while O’Brien concludes that Jefferson must be read out of the American pantheon, Ellis would neutralize Jefferson by bringing other, more sensible, icons back to life; in order to check and balance his pernicious influence, Ellis would not kill Jefferson off, he would institutionalize him. Civic life, it would seem, still requires heroes.

MEMBERSHIP IN A PANTHEON suggests a larger-than-life, iconic quality. These are not quite ordinary mortal human beings we are dealing with here. The task of Jefferson biographers has traditionally been to give their subject a “life,” although some have concluded, with Albert J. Nock, that Jefferson’s private life is “inpenetrable.”²⁴ In any case, the genre of biography tends to defeat its practitioners’ humanizing

¹⁹ Ellis, *American Sphinx*, 59.

²⁰ Joseph J. Ellis, *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams* (New York, 1993).

²¹ Ellis, *American Sphinx*, 257, 250.

²² Ellis, *American Sphinx*, 251.

²³ Ellis, *American Sphinx*, 127; O’Brien, *Long Affair*, 150, 313–14.

²⁴ Quoted in Merrill D. Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation: A Biography* (New York, 1970), 29.

purpose, even when warts and all are conspicuously on display. Why bother spending so much time and effort on a subject who does not represent something much bigger, in this case, America? Even the warts tend to take on a portentous character when the humanizing gives way to demonizing in revisionist accounts. The great man remains great, after all, even if greatly culpable. So, too, high-minded efforts to knock Jefferson off his pedestal altogether focus our gaze on the pedestal, and remind us of the missing figure.

Treatments of Jefferson that make him a god, standing or fallen, or ask him to represent the entire nation, necessarily distort his human qualities. Jefferson's proper context is not the array of gods and demi-gods in the American pantheon but rather the social and intellectual milieu that shaped him—and within which he acted. Andrew Burstein's book *The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist* and Annette Gordon-Reed's *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy* each give us what might be called "possible Jeffersons."²⁵ Although both are sympathetic to Jefferson (if in different ways), these two books differ dramatically in approach, method, and style, not to mention their conclusions. Burstein's is a profoundly sympathetic attempt to read the "inner Jefferson" by closely examining what he read and what he wrote to those nearest and dearest to him. Burstein situates Jefferson in what Henry May once labeled "the sentimental Enlightenment," and his book helps illuminate both Jefferson and that intellectual context.²⁶ Gordon-Reed's study is not so much of Jefferson himself as the historians' controversy about whether he engaged in a long relationship with his slave Sally Hemings and fathered her children. Gordon-Reed, a law professor, is most interested in the ways in which historians handle evidence. In the process of sifting through everything historians know that has any bearing on the issue, and in insisting that we consider evidence from black sources as seriously as we take that from whites, she reminds us forcefully that Jefferson lived in a thickly populated plantation world inhabited by whites and blacks both. Despite their differences (Burstein argues against the Hemings affair), Burstein and Gordon-Reed both give us Jeffersons who live in rich, complex worlds—Burstein's, a mental and felt world of books and correspondents, reading and writing, and Gordon-Reed's, an embodied world of masters and slaves.²⁷ In the end, these are very different worlds, one of the head and heart, the other (implicitly) of the body. And though the reader would like to know more about the coexistence of these domains, the Jeffersons who inhabit them are plausible, even compelling; both Jeffersons correspond to the available evidence, both are successfully situated in complex and comprehensible worlds.

The proliferation of possible Jeffersons does *not* constitute the failure of the biographical enterprise. We would suggest rather the opposite. The search for a single, definitive, "real" Jefferson is a fool's errand, a hopeless search for the kind

²⁵ Andrew Burstein, *The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist* (Charlottesville, Va., 1995); Annette Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy* (Charlottesville, 1997).

²⁶ Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York, 1978). For a more recent, and very suggestive account, see Jay Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, and the Culture of Performance* (Stanford, Calif., 1993).

²⁷ See Burstein, *Inner Jefferson*, 228–31, for the argument against Sally Hemings as Jefferson's lover.

of “knowledge” that even (or especially?) eludes sophisticated moderns in their encounters with each other—and themselves. If, in this age of full disclosure and true confessions, people are increasingly reluctant to rush to judgment on questions of character, how can we expect historians and biographers to explain to us an intensely private man who has been dead more than a century and a half? Perhaps the public’s desire to know “the character” of a man such as Thomas Jefferson and, even more, to know if it is good or bad, is a form of compensation for the dim recognition that we are doomed to cluelessness in our own world, like Plato’s cave, a domain of shadows and hand-me-down light.²⁸

Ironically, it is the thin-skinned Jefferson himself, with his obsessive concerns with privacy and his reputation (or “character” in his world and to posterity), who tantalizes us with the prospect of discovering the “real” Jefferson. On his deathbed, he complained to his grandson that the enemies who had slandered him and besmirched his character “had never known *him*. They had created an imaginary being clothed with odious attributes, to whom they had given his name.”²⁹ Jefferson has seduced us with the promise of intimacy, the prospect of meeting the real Jefferson, the true “him.” Yet this notion that intimates might know—and only intimates could know—the real person is itself a time-bound notion, one coming into being precisely during Jefferson’s lifetime.³⁰ Likewise, as Burstein notes, the very concept of an “inner life,” which we take for granted today, was the creation of Jefferson’s time, and Jefferson himself was “part of the transition from neoclassical to romantic, from visible to inner life.”³¹ Jefferson’s inner self, the true “him,” was not so much, then, a core, coherent self that could be “known” to contemporaries or to successive generations of scholars (or filmmakers), transparent to their empathetic, unmediated gaze. Instead, Jefferson’s true “him” was the Jefferson he knew himself to be, his notion of himself, the person he hoped his intimates might come to know—and that his enemies (and hostile biographers) would never begin to comprehend. This self was necessarily hidden, for the very notion of an “inner life,” the premise of Burstein’s book, required that it be distinct from the public self, the “imaginary being” that others saw. Yet, however hidden, and therefore “real,” this private Jefferson might be, it was nonetheless as much a self-conscious construction as the artfully projected public image. Both were artifacts of their times.

Burstein’s Jefferson, then, is one of several possible Jeffersons: the inner Jefferson, the Jefferson as Jefferson saw himself. Burstein takes us as close as we are likely to get to Jefferson’s interior world, the fragile and vulnerable self that he was still brooding about on his deathbed. At the same time that Burstein shows us this “inner Jefferson,” he demonstrates how slippery such a concept was. It is not only that Jefferson embodied the transition between two very different notions of the self but also that he defined himself in relation to others. “The essential

²⁸ For further discussion of the “character issue,” see Peter S. Onuf, “The Scholars’ Jefferson,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 50 (1993): 671–99.

²⁹ Sarah N. Randolph, *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville, Va., 1947), 369.

³⁰ See Lucia McMahon, “‘While Our Souls Together Blend’: Narrating a Romantic Readership in the Early Republic,” in Peter N. Stearns and Jan Lewis, eds., *An Emotional History of the United States* (forthcoming, New York, 1998).

³¹ Burstein, *Inner Jefferson*, 287.

Jefferson,” Burstein writes, “was the private individual, an engaging and considerate friend . . . Friendship was . . . essential to his own pursuit of happiness.” Jefferson was at once private and social; his privacy derived its meaning from its relation to his social world, the one in which a private man was a friend to other private persons. “John Donne’s dictum ‘No man is an island’ applies particularly well to the age of Jefferson . . . and to Jefferson’s own ideal of developing friendship and good feelings among men.”³² Consequently, this Jefferson can only be understood in relation to his friends and his family, the chosen community in which he found himself and which he believed vital to his existence. This was a community, as Burstein shows, of fellow letter-writers and sentimentalists, people who valued the distinctive mixture of expressiveness and restraint that characterized the waning days of the Enlightenment in America in its transition to a Romantic sensibility.

Like Burstein, Gordon-Reed situates Jefferson in a community, a densely populated social world not of sentimentalists of the same elite social class but of black slaves and their owners and employers. As Gordon-Reed makes clear, too often previous students of Jefferson have tried to study him in isolation from that community. In responding to Ken Burns’s question about the possibility of a relationship between Jefferson and Sally Hemings, author Natalie Bober stated, “I think we must consider who Thomas Jefferson was,” as if the question could be answered by reference to character rather than evidence.³³ Although this is not her immediate purpose, Gordon-Reed shows us a Monticello inhabited by blacks and whites, a world that was *lived* alongside the world that Burstein shows us, a “dream world” of enlightened sentiment and bold ideas.

In the world of Thomas Jefferson that Gordon-Reed recreates, certain things happened: over a period of fifteen years, Jefferson’s slave Sally Hemings bore six children, all or some of whom had a strong resemblance to Jefferson. His family later acknowledged a family connection, claiming that one of Jefferson’s nephews, either Peter or Samuel Carr, was the father. Although Jefferson was typically at home only a few months a year during this period, he was always at Monticello during the periods when Hemings would have conceived her children. The Carr brothers might have been there as well, as they lived in the vicinity, but there is no evidence of Hemings having conceived a child when Jefferson was *not* around. All of Hemings’s four surviving children were freed at about the time they turned twenty-one, though generally in ways that would not have attracted the notice of the community. Beverley Hemings, for example, ran away from the plantation, and no effort seems ever to have been made to find him and bring him back. Such indifference to a runaway was unusual for Jefferson, and although he freed several slaves over his lifetime, freeing an entire family as they reached the age of twenty-one was exceptional. Sally Hemings herself was also freed, informally, after Jefferson’s death.

Gordon-Reed attempts not so much to explain this remarkable confluence of events as to evaluate how historians and witnesses have explained them. Members of the Hemings family asserted that Jefferson had promised Sally Hemings freedom

³² Burstein, *Inner Jefferson*, 149, 195.

³³ Natalie Bober, quoted at www.pbs.org/jefferson/archives/interviews/Bober.htm (under Sally Hemings).

for herself and any children she might bear if she returned with him from France, where he was serving as his nation's ambassador. Members of the Jefferson family denied not only that Jefferson was the father of Hemings's children but that he could have been. As Jefferson's granddaughter Ellen Coolidge put it, "The thing will not bear telling. There are such things, after [all], as moral impossibilities."³⁴ By and large, subsequent historians have repeated these explanations and elaborated on them more than they have weighed the evidence, and, all too often, Gordon-Reed argues, white historians have treated similar sorts of evidence from white and black sources differently.³⁵

One of Gordon-Reed's chief accomplishments is to problematize the usefulness of a term such as "character" for historical explanation. Is the concept of "moral impossibility" a meaningful term for historical analysis? Gordon-Reed notes, for example, that some historians have argued that Jefferson could not have been the father of Madison Hemings because Hemings was conceived when Jefferson's daughter Polly was home at Monticello dying. But, she argues, "Human beings have sex for many reasons other than depraved lust."³⁶ They have sex when they are happy, and they have sex when they are sad or depressed or frightened or need comfort. Gordon-Reed shows that the use of "character" as an explanatory mechanism necessarily flattens the human experience. It speaks to our emotional needs—Ellen Coolidge's defense of her grandfather rests more on the plaint "how could he have done this to us?" than evidence—more than the complexity of human life. Like the pantheon paradigm, the use of character as an explanation requires us to evaluate human beings in terms of black and white, as it were, either on the pedestal or off.

Gordon-Reed gives us another possible Jefferson. Although she by no means asserts that Jefferson was the father of Hemings's children, she certainly demonstrates that this is the best explanation currently available for the evidence we confront. She does not attempt to infer Jefferson's state of mind if and when he had sex with Sally Hemings while his daughter was dying; she suggests only that if he did, he might have been frightened or he might have been depressed or he might simply have needed comfort. Her evaluation of the evidence requires us to imagine a different Jefferson—one very different from Burstein's. This Jefferson would have persuaded a young slave woman to return with her master to Virginia by promising her and her children freedom. He would subsequently have fathered at least six children by her, seen four of them survive to adulthood, and kept his promise to their mother. There is additional evidence of affection or at least care for this family, enough at least for us to begin to imagine even if we cannot reconstruct a mulatto family that lived next to Jefferson's white one at Monticello, one that inhabited a tenuous, liminal space in the plantation world, somewhere between slavery and an unenforceable promise of freedom. Of course, this possible Jefferson in this possible Monticello gives rise to its own critique. As Brenda Stevenson has suggested, it runs counter to historians' depictions of the ravages of

³⁴ Quoted in Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings*, 259.

³⁵ Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings*, xvii, 34–38, 97–98, and *passim*.

³⁶ Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings*, 196.

slavery and may portray the institution in a light we find unacceptably romantic.³⁷ In the end, Gordon-Reed's revisionist effort may lead only to another American synecdoche, in which Jefferson and his plantation world stand for a multi-racial America in which racial reconciliation is achieved by interracial sex.³⁸ The desire to make Jefferson stand for the nation may be too powerful for historians to check.

For now, however, Burstein and Gordon-Reed offer alternatives to the powerful cultural imperative to make Thomas Jefferson represent America in order that we may judge the country right or wrong. Although both authors' Jeffersons are sympathetic, neither is a god—not because of imperfections but because they live in the world, surrounded by other people. These new, possible Jeffersons are complex men, living in complex worlds. They remain impenetrable, but perhaps no more so than any of the rest of us. These Jeffersons shift our attention to the worlds they inhabited, and they invite us to find him not in some inner, essential core but somewhere between those worlds, one of words and feeling and one of promises kept and promises broken.

³⁷ Brenda Stevenson, "Founding Father's Folly?" *Washington Post Book World* (June 15, 1997): 4.

³⁸ See Sean Wilentz, "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Thomas Jefferson," *New Republic* 216, no. 10 (March 10, 1997): 32–42.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

MARGARET ANNE DOODY. *The True Story of the Novel*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 580. \$44.95.

Margaret Anne Doody's book is a polemic against literary history, which has insisted for the last few hundred years on what she says is a lie: that there is something distinctively modern and new about the narratives (conventionally called novels) produced in England and the rest of Europe since the early eighteenth century. In place of this received version of literary history, in which the novel succeeds older kinds of storytelling in the Western tradition such as epic, ballad, allegory, and romance, Doody proposes a wholesale revision of our understanding of literary narration, in which what she calls the Novel (always capitalized in her usage) has existed since antiquity. To prove this astonishingly ambitious thesis, she has written an enormous book with three distinct sections: a study of what she calls the "ancient novel" (what literary historians have called the Greek Romances, such as Chariton's *Chaireas and Kallirrhoe*, Achilles Tatius's *Kleitophon and Leukippe*, Longus's *Daphnis and Chloë*, and Heliodorus's *Aithiopika*, along with two Roman narratives, the fragmentary *Satyricon* of Petronius Arbiter and *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius); a consideration of the influence on European narrative of these ancient novels through the eighteenth century; and an elaborate examination of what Doody labels the "Tropes of the Novel," which traces recurrent motifs or archetypes in narrative from antiquity to the present day.

The first section is the best. Doody brings to her study of these ancient narratives an almost religious intensity and burning conviction that they contain in all their fullness the emotional depth and psychosexual reality that have been identified by critics and historians as the characteristic insights of the modern novel. Broadly comparatist in her understanding of a wide range of European literature, Doody is impressively versed in these classical texts; her mastery of them is expertly detailed and her particular readings often brilliant. Her interpretation of them is informed by a revisionist feminist archaeology that extracts their lost (to modern ears) archetypal resonances. For example,

she calls the "powerful new women" of the ancient narratives "Medusas in that they are brazen and overt persons who must be witnessed, whether their spectators like it or not" (p. 66). Doody's ancient novels look back subversively from the patriarchal civic orders of antiquity to the primal female deities, and "the 'new woman' in the Greek stories asserts the power to resist and the power to change through the divinity she serves" (p. 88). Long and detailed plot summaries trace these recurring motifs and situations and also seek to equate the ancient novel's specifically literary effects (character, dialogue, setting, allusion, allegory) with those of later fictions. The effect is at first exhilarating in its learning and striking in its absolute conviction, but in the long run (and it is very long), Doody's book is repetitive, hugely over elaborated, alarmingly ahistorical, and for me at least, unconvincing.

The trouble, in fact, starts very early in the book. Before she launches into the ancient novel, Doody tramples all over traditional definitions and generic boundaries, declaring that she will not use the term "romance" but will call all the prose narratives she deals with "novels" because that is a term readers can feel comfortable with. As far as I can tell, a novel for her is simply any lengthy prose narrative or indeed any work she decides to call a novel, so that the careful and considered distinctions literary history has tried to make among varieties of prose fiction (and the distinct ideologies and historically situated kinds of self-consciousness they articulate) from antiquity onward are for Doody of no consequence or, worse, a hierarchical and masculinist imposition on the richly unified synthesis she proposes to reveal. The novel, in her rendering, has no history and is defined precisely by its capacity to negate historical difference as each and every novel "recaptures and reinterprets the history of the genre as a whole" (p. 304). Since Doody's "novel" is such a comprehensive category, it can hardly be called a genre in any coherent or useful sense. Doody is certainly candid about her disdain for historical discriminations as well as generic ones, and she is equally frank about her search for a "timeless continuum" (p. 163). Yet she is also concerned to situate the ancient novels in their historical circumstances as proto-feminist challenges, for example, to the patriar-

chal order. Indeed, much of the first part of the book offers in its evocation of the world of the ancient novel a kind of pop historical pageant, a glossy travelogue or television special colored by multicultural disdain for Eurocentric and Greco-Roman distortions of that world. In spite of her contempt for historical discriminations, she offers an account of the "matrix" of the novel (not its origin, since "Genealogy is after all a patriarchal exercise") in the worship of the primal goddess, of Isis, and of the Eleusinian mysteries (p. 458).

Doody's ancient novels may, indeed, have their roots in that worship, although most readers will probably want to leave that determination up to classicists. And she is probably correct to argue that the influence on later fiction of the Greek "romances" and other narratives from antiquity has been underestimated. Many readers may even want to concede that there is value and insight in Doody's archetypal readings, in the spirit of Northrop Frye, of novels from the Renaissance to the twentieth century. Her vision of the novel as essentially subversive in its utopian tendencies, providing "an escape from what the Civic order would wish to describe as Necessity" (p. 471), is also attractive and persuasive. I admire Doody's classical learning and her ambition to achieve comprehensive understanding. But her thesis is preposterous in its unyielding totalizing and its pseudo-mystical sweeping away of the historical discriminations and differences articulated in the changing forms of narrative over the centuries. Requiring an act of faith and uncritical acceptance rather than assent to evidence, this book is ultimately intellectual autobiography rather than literary history.

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GARY REMER. *Humanism and the Rhetoric of Toleration*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 318. \$45.00.

Gary Remer traces voices of toleration from Renaissance Europe to contemporary America. The book's emphasis, however, is on arguments advanced by thinkers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, as the title indicates, on the humanistic rhetoric of toleration. Remer focuses on the concept of Renaissance humanism as a worldview shaped by the *studia humanitatis* (especially the core subject, rhetoric). He argues persuasively that classical theories of rhetoric form the basis of the humanists' approach to religious toleration. Common concerns are the use of suasion instead of force; the distinction between universal articles of faith and adiaphora that need not be defined in detail; and an emphasis on ethics over doctrine.

At the center of Remer's thesis is the argument that the humanist position is predicated on the "rhetorician's commitment to *decorum*, his ability to argue both sides of an issue, and his search for an acceptable epistemological standard in probability and consen-

sus" (p. 6). In particular, it was the rhetorical category *sermo* (conversation, dialogue) that provided humanists with a process of argumentation. Discussing the humanist concept of toleration, Remer argues against the notion that it foreshadows the rationalism of the Enlightenment or constitutes a nascent liberalism. He distinguishes two forms of humanist toleration: sufferance for prudential reasons and acceptance of dissenters as a privilege granted by the governing authority, a concept akin to "comprehension" in seventeenth-century England. Neither form of tolerance, however, amounts to a recognition of an individual's right to religious freedom, as Remer notes.

After a full discussion of the classical theory of rhetoric that undergirds humanist thought on toleration, Remer proceeds to examine in detail the views of Desiderius Erasmus, Jacobus Acontius, William Chillingworth, and Jean Bodin. He then discusses in more eclectic fashion the ideas of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Pierre Bayle, ending with an epilogue connecting their views with contemporary legal thought. The arrangement of chapters, which places Bodin after Hobbes, is rather awkward, however. Remer explains that he has "chosen to discuss Bodin after these writers because Bodin anticipated some of the problems with the 'humanist defense of religious toleration' that Hobbes would later elaborate" (p. 204). This does not strike me as a compelling reason for inverting the chronological order, a process that leads to odd phrases such as Bodin's "*response* [my italics] to Hobbes's critique" (p. 227).

While the book is a courageous enterprise and certainly thought-provoking, the sweeping compass of the survey creates problems. One lies in the disparity of the source texts. It is difficult to trace a concept that has many shades of meaning through works ranging from dialogues and literary essays to systematic treatises, from handbooks of rhetoric to expositions of philosophical thought. Given the diversity of the sources, Remer is hard pressed to control the cultural variables and sometimes obliged to make assumptions about the meaning of terms that are used casually and without precision. Another problem is Remer's apparent desire to offer neat categorizations and arrive at a tidy synthesis. This leads to comparisons that are of limited import because they fail to explore the contexts that gave rise to the ideas compared. This reservation applies, for example, to a two-page comparison between Acontius and John Stuart Mill, which is introduced abruptly (Mill has not been mentioned before) and has no connection with the remainder of the chapter. It also applies to broad generalizations; for example, "Unlike Locke, but like Hobbes, Bayle argues that nothing can be known of religion." The statement, made in the introduction (p. 12), is taken up again briefly in the conclusion (pp. 237-43), but surely such an assertion deserves a fuller discussion of the premises and a more solid frame of reference, even if the protagonists are well known. In my opinion, a reduction of the book's scope would have yielded more

satisfactory results. A study limited to Erasmus, Acontius, Chillingworth, and Bodin (as variant on the main theme) would have allowed a more leisurely pace of discussion. The works of these four writers offer ample material illustrating Remer's central thesis, which is sustainable in itself and makes a respectable contribution to our understanding of Renaissance humanism.

ERIKA RUMMEL
Wilfrid Laurier University

KAREN GREEN, *The Woman of Reason: Feminism, Humanism and Political Thought*. New York: Continuum. 1995. Pp. 211. \$24.95.

At a time when no scholar would deny the plurality of traditions influencing contemporary feminist theorizing, few of us would include humanism within our list. From the perspectives of Marxism, radical feminism, and poststructuralism, humanism appears hopelessly mired in false assumptions concerning the existence of a common human nature and shared human faculties, reason and perception in particular, which provide a basis for developing truth claims.

Karen Green's excellent study of the historical links between feminism and humanism promises to change this perception of humanism and its value for feminist political theory. Indeed, Green argues that the unique promise of feminist humanism is to be found in its solution to current tensions between essentialist and social constructivist accounts of human nature. But the humanism that Green proposes to reclaim is a humanism most often articulated by women, a humanism that she argues emerges from a "distinctively feminine concept of the rational individual" and "begins with the observation that humans are sexual beings, who are born helpless, and its theory of justice aims, in the light of these facts, for the good of both women and men" (pp. 10, 6).

Green precedes her study of feminist humanism with a dense overview of recent critiques of humanism arising from the Marxist and poststructuralist traditions. Although some may find her renderings of complex theorists such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Luce Irigaray frustratingly abbreviated, she accurately identifies central tenets underlying these multifaceted critiques and provides possible avenues within feminist humanism for resolving or dissolving the tensions they raise. Undermining those who would equate humanism with a universal, generic human nature and its concomitant rationality, Green locates the promise of humanism in difference via the specificity of women's thought. She provides a genealogy of feminist rationality within the writings of historical feminists who posit a model of rationality that is "much more embodied and more closely tied to the emotions than that characteristic of male philosophical texts" (p. 23).

Green pairs comparisons of feminist with non-feminist humanists in an effort to trace the impact of humanism on feminism and feminism on humanism.

Contrasting Christine de Pisan to Thomas Hobbes, Green shows that current equations of liberalism with social contract theory are inaccurate by revealing how de Pisan's liberalism contains an early example of a non-contractual society in which those in power are morally responsible for the moral and material well-being of those with less power. Jean-Jacques Rousseau is paired with Mary Wollstonecraft to demonstrate that what Green labels "feminine" humanism, which postulates the existence of basic moral sentiments connected with innate tendencies to love, is not sufficient for an adequate feminism. Vindicating Wollstonecraft from the typical feminist critique of her as an egalitarian rationalist who embraced a masculine rationalism as a universal human norm, Green argues that Wollstonecraft espoused "a conception of human reason in which the capacity for imagination, and its consequent stimulation of sympathetic fellow feeling, are central to human rationality and ethical development" (p. 103).

In her final chapters, Green turns to the interconnected themes of socialism and sexual relations, two issues that remain a problem for a humanism that postulates women's financial independence while not critiquing either the linking of economic reward and political power to success in the market or the continuation of women's traditional roles within the family. Here Green moves quickly through a sometimes confusing array of nineteenth and twentieth-century theorists, including Friedrich Engels, Sigmund Freud, William Reich, Foucault, Ronald Dworkin, Simone de Beauvoir, Irigaray, and Carol Gilligan, in an attempt to find resources for a feminist humanism capable of resolving such omissions. One has to make an effort to follow the convolutions of her lines of argument, but, in the end, it is worth the effort. Green makes an admirable case for a feminist reexamination of humanism.

NANCY TUANA
University of Oregon

DOUGLAS A. IRWIN, *Against the Tide: An Intellectual History of Free Trade*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 265. \$29.95.

This is a concise account of the emergence and survival of free trade as an economic principle. It is concerned only with theoretical argumentation, not with the making of commercial policy. As Douglas A. Irwin explains in his introduction, "the aim of this book is to describe how free trade came to occupy such a commanding position in economics and how [it] has maintained its intellectual strength as a doctrine despite the numerous arguments that have arisen against it over the past two centuries" (p. 3).

The book has two parts. Part one, "The Origins of the Free Trade Doctrine," traces thinking about foreign trade from antiquity to the eighteenth century, with emphasis on the emergence of mercantilism in the seventeenth century, the overturning of the mercantil-

ist orthodoxy by Adam Smith, and the subsequent establishment of a new free trade orthodoxy by the classical economists in the early nineteenth century. This is an oft-told story that Irwin recounts crisply but with little new insight. Indeed, part one serves mainly to set the stage for part two, which explores the various ways in which the free trade orthodoxy has been challenged over the past 150 years. This is the most original and valuable part of the book.

Irwin takes up the various challenges to free trade in rough chronological order, starting with Robert Torrens's argument in the 1820s that a tariff applied unilaterally could alter a country's terms of trade in such a way as to raise its total consumption of goods above what it could consume under free trade, an argument that Irwin judges to be still the "most robust" challenge to free trade and the "least subject to qualification or exception" within the body of accepted economic theory (p. 115). He then moves on to the infant industry argument for protection that is normally associated with Friedrich List but which Irwin sees as getting its first theoretical justification in John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* (1848). Next Irwin examines Frank Graham's attempt to justify permanent protection of manufacturing as a way of shifting resources away from sectors with declining returns to scale to sectors with increasing returns to scale. From there, it is on to the "wage differential" argument for protection associated with the Romanian economist, Mihail Manoilescu, and the challenge to free trade presented by welfare economics. Irwin concludes with chapters on John Maynard Keynes's brief flirtation with tariff protection in the 1930s and the rise of strategic trade theory in the 1980s.

According to Irwin, these theoretical challenges to the principle of free trade have sometimes led to qualification of the blanket endorsement of free trade contained in classical economics. The terms of trade debate, for example, revealed that, in order to deliver its expected benefits, free trade has to be reciprocal (a country adhering to free trade unilaterally in a world of protectionists will suffer). As Irwin demonstrates, however, in most cases where criticism of free trade has appeared valid at first glance, further analysis has revealed flaws in the criticism and has reaffirmed the superiority of free trade, all the while clarifying the corollary policies that must accompany free trade. Thus Keynes's endorsement of tariff protection to combat high unemployment in Britain in the 1930s turned out to be a response to the British government's irrational devotion to the gold standard. When Britain went off gold, Keynes dropped his endorsement of protection. As if to confirm Keynes's judgment, subsequent theoretical work by Milton Friedman and others showed that, once fixed exchange rates are abandoned and a certain level of structural unemployment is accepted as normal, as happened after 1970, free trade reemerges as the preferred trade policy.

Historians will appreciate Irwin's cogent exposition of these important theoretical debates, but they will probably question his underlying assumptions about the way economics "works," and they will find his explanation of the rise and persistence of the free trade doctrine incomplete. Irwin tends to view economists as scientists who accept or reject economic ideas on the basis of their theoretical soundness, much as mathematicians prove or disprove theorems. Although Irwin readily concedes that much economic theory arises from the need to deal with new economic circumstances, he makes no allowance for the influence of ideology or aesthetic proclivities, the force of received wisdom, the politics of professional advancement, or the influence of social class and economic interest: in short, all the external influences on thought and ideas that historians customarily look for, especially in this post-Foucauldian age of "discourse deconstruction." So while the presentation of the theoretical argumentation on free trade in this book is welcome, in the eyes of most historians it will not be sufficient in itself to explain how and why free trade has gained or lost currency among economists over the years or indeed why free trade was "invented" in the first place. The search for such an explanation will no doubt continue.

MICHAEL S. SMITH
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MICHAEL DUREY. *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1997. Pp. xi, 425. \$45.00.

Countries such as Great Britain and the United States develop and function within many overlapping spheres simultaneously. In the United States, a Europe-facing perspective can coexist with the new western history, and in Britain, older interest in radicalism can cohabit with the attention given to popular conservatism. Thus, the concept of a North Atlantic democratic revolution remains a useful conceptual device, especially since political emigrants from Britain played a significant part in American politics during the 1790s. One of the many merits of Michael Durey's valuable book is that it extends analysis of transatlantic radicalism much more systematically than has been true in the past. It is, in essence, three studies in one: an analysis of radicalism in the British Isles during the 1790s, a sensitive discussion of the process of expatriation and adaptation to the circumstances of a second society, and a commentary on the party turbulence of late eighteenth-century America. Each section feeds on the other two, thus adding strength to the book's organizing principle.

Numerous scholars have explored the reception of radical British thought in the colonies before the American Revolution, but thereafter British historians have generally waved farewell to radicals as they left the country, and American historians have considered them primarily in their American context. Durey rem-

edies this deficiency in several ways. Instead of treating radical activities in England, Scotland, and Ireland separately, he uses a multitude of miniature biographies to analyze and compare them collectively as well, thus illuminating the diversity of their social and political features. He demonstrates that the character of radical emigrants varied considerably from country to country and was shaped by the different circumstances of each as well as by social background. English emigrants were drawn preponderantly from the ranks of the radicalism associated with old Dissent; for that reason, they were also largely middle class. Those few who came from the artisan radical societies of the 1790s tended to be lower middle class rather than working class; the latter presumably could not afford to migrate. The Scots, although fewer in number, were essentially similar. Between these groups and the Irish lay an important difference. Whatever English or Scottish conservatives thought of radical protest, it posed little threat to the established regime; British radicals were also British patriots. Ireland was another matter. Even before the Act of Union, political conditions were harsher and government policies more severe, and agitation for domestic reform was complicated by the issue of Anglo-Irish relations. From the Ulster Volunteers during the American Revolution to the armed risings of the late 1790s, criticism of the regime implicitly challenged the legitimacy of British power in Ireland; repression was commensurately harsh, and the involuntary emigration consequently more diverse and extensive.

Durey's treatment of the process of adaptation to a new society is especially sensitive. Radicals formed only a small component of British and Irish emigration, and it was their ideological and political character that distinguished them on arrival in the United States. Durey makes it clear that political migrants underwent severe cultural shock, even though he also demonstrates the correspondence between British radicalism and liberal American values. The transition was long and uncomfortable. For immigrants to adapt successfully, they were obliged to conform to the host society's orthodox mores, behavior, and values. This created difficulties for radicals, since their principles leaned strongly to one side of American politics. Many hoped to exercise their rhetorical talents and enjoy the political influence they lacked at home; many were excessively optimistic and genuinely believed that they were entering a republican and democratic society that had changed human nature as well as the human condition. Not surprisingly, they were often disappointed and sought to improve matters by promoting reform.

This obliged them to take sides in what was already a ferocious political battle. Most chose the Jeffersonians, but this laid them open to counterattack by their more conservative opponents. Worse still, several among the most prominent immigrant radicals were theologically as well as politically heterodox. Durey argues that his subjects were never completely under the control of party organizations and that this con-

tributed to the heightened savagery of political debate in the 1790s. The exiled radicals were a godsend to the Republicans, because they had experience in attacking an entrenched establishment and were proficient in the arts of popular politics and political propaganda, but this did them little good and several were prosecuted. Their situation only improved marginally with Thomas Jefferson's presidency. Some moderates obtained jobs in the new regime, but the militants were sacrificed in Jefferson's quest to construct a union of all honest citizens. Moderate Federalists were politically more deserving than radical immigrants, who remained as far from the centers of power as they had been in Britain or under the Federalist regime.

COLIN BONWICK
Keele University

PAUL T. PHILLIPS. *A Kingdom on Earth: Anglo-American Social Christianity, 1880-1940*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xxvii, 303. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$16.95.

Paul T. Phillips is convinced that the Social Gospel was not a uniquely "American" phenomenon. He agrees that Anglo-American influences flowed two ways across the Atlantic, but his thesis is that core ideas and practices of Social Christians in the United States were derived from the earlier writing and experiments of English leaders like F. D. Maurice, W. H. Fremantle, and Frederick W. Robertson. He gives minor attention to German idealism but emphasizes the influence of British idealism in the United States, tracing the dream of an organically unified society to Maurice's early publications, such as *The Kingdom of Christ* (1838).

The contribution of this book to scholarship is summarized by its title. Few scholars have attempted to write about Social Christianity in Britain, the United States, and Canada. Fewer still have attempted to chart "this primarily religious movement" over a sixty-year period. This approach yields some fresh perspectives on the Social Gospel in North America, especially since Phillips's vantage point is that of his primary field, Social Christianity in Great Britain. He argues that, throughout its history, Social Christianity was based more on religious belief than social philosophy. The focus of this study is on interactions between "Social Christianity" and issues of social and political philosophy and policy. A chapter on "Church, State, and Reconciliation" examines the way a religious impulse toward unity was directed toward denominations and church-state relations. Although the account of socially minded Christians participating in church unions is not new, Phillips's extended treatment of the political activity of Social Christians is revealing.

In a detailed account of the "perplexing difficulties for Social Christians in the real world of politics," Phillips demonstrates the variety of approaches found under the umbrella of Social Christianity (p. 193). For instance, Anglicans and Nonconformist Social Chris-

tians in Britain had been involved with various political parties, but by 1935–1936, only Anglo-Catholics remained supporters of Christian Socialism. Phillips argues that this is because they were grounded in medieval theology, whereas other Social Christians, including North American Social Gospel leaders grounded in pragmatism, lacked significant theological foundations.

Phillips's discussion of Social Christian political activity lays the foundations for a modulated interpretation of the movement's successes and failures. He sidesteps the question of whether the "American" Social Gospel reflected or produced Progressivism in favor of a discussion of Social Gospel influence on the state: "It is quite possible to argue that, as in Britain, there was much self-delusion in the idea that Social Gospelers on the whole had influenced the body politic" (p. 223). Yet Phillips also points out that they were a force in politics, as many of their social objectives were achieved through government policy (p. 286).

Although adroit at avoiding non-productive interpretive issues, Phillips does engage recent charges by historians that Social Christianity was "merely" a conduit of secularization. He acknowledges that such core beliefs of Social Christianity as the Kingdom of God on earth and incarnation led to a blurring of sacred and secular realms in Anglo-American culture. Yet, even as Social Christianity contributed to secularization, Phillips finds it significant that later figures such as Reinhold Niebuhr no longer dreamed of an organically unified society or a Christian commonwealth. By then, they were aware of the incredible power of the state to control and set its own priorities "regardless of the support or opposition of the churches" (p. 230).

An ambitious survey of this kind is a service to scholars, but it is too dense to be used effectively as a classroom text. A time line would help readers to visualize the relationships between political events and policies and Social Christians and their activities. Birth and death dates for the approximately forty individuals discussed would similarly contribute to the ability of readers to grasp Anglo-American connections and influences.

JANET F. FISHBURN
Drew University

MAROUF ARIF HASIAN, JR. *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought*. (The University of Georgia Humanities Center Series on Science and the Humanities.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1996. Pp. x, 265. \$40.00.

The history of eugenics has been studied in the past from different perspectives, either as a social or a biological science or as a political creed, and the movement's high point in the first three decades of the twentieth century has been investigated by scholars in some detail over the last thirty years. Marouf Arif

Hasian, Jr., has two objects in this new study. His main purpose is to examine the rhetoric of various groups in addition to the usual advocates of eugenics. His second purpose, which he treats in the last chapter of the book, is to warn the reader of the similarities between eugenics and contemporary genetic research, primarily the Human Genome Project. At the core of the book are four chapters, each of which deals with the response of marginal groups to eugenics: African Americans; women; Catholics; and liberal-socialists. The choice of these groups was made because they felt victimized by eugenics, either for racial, gender, religious, or political reasons. Each chapter describes a particular group's objection and the way it manifested its opposition. Much of the book covers territory known to the expert, but it will provide a quick introduction for the novice reader. The text is fairly short and enriched by endnotes.

The critique of eugenics by members of marginal groups is the book's most interesting aspect. Among African Americans, Hasian focuses on the "talented tenth" in an effort to show that these writers "challenged the eugenicists . . . by pointing out contradictions in eugenics literature . . . focusing on the environmental causes of any alleged inferiority [and] . . . substitut[ing] the concept of 'social' necessity for that of 'biological' necessity" (p. 56). He concludes that "black intellectuals began to tinker with the complexities of eugenics rather than totally rejecting this science of the newborn" (p. 70). Hasian alludes to the internal debate among black intellectuals over the class component of eugenic studies and I.Q. testing and presents very intriguing claims about the existence of more extensive literature. My main frustration was that the claim about "many writers" is supported with little concrete data. The story is too interesting to leave out the details. A possible reason for the lack of data is Hasian's other and possibly contradictory conclusion: that there was an "absence of black rhetoricians" and not an extensive critique. Hasian attributes this "partially . . . to the exclusivity of scientific organizations" (p. 191 n. 1). That the bases were loaded against minority scholars is not a great surprise, and the latter conclusion can hardly be controversial. The question, however, is whether one can find more black writing that would show the ambivalence of the community struggling to undo the science that declared its inferiority. Similar issues exist in the other core chapters, though there is more data in these to support the ambivalence that group members felt vis à vis the eugenics movement.

I hope that there will be more studies to illuminate the various perspectives of the victims of eugenics, not because those views determined the politics or contributed to the decline of the movement nor even because they shaped public debate. On the contrary, precisely because these were marginal and ignored voices, they can teach us about the role of the victim in submitting to and resisting dominant ideologies. The infliction of

racism and eugenics ought to be further illuminated by focusing on views "from the bottom."

The last chapter of the book deals with the similarity of the eugenics movement to the Human Genome Project. Hasian does not make extreme claims about this similarity; he registers a warning sign that a risk is present in the current research. This is prudent. Quoting some of the defenders of the current project and comparing their statements to earlier racist claims ought to raise concern. But if we have learned nothing else from historians of science, we ought to have learned how hard it is to view the limitations of a paradigm from within. Hasian is right to point to these similarities, at least in the limited and local sense. It is also important, however, to remember that the scientific community in 1920 was very different from that of 1997. The racial, gender, and social segregation characteristic earlier in the century no longer exists. Even if there is still much to aspire to in terms of access, the situation today is dramatically different. Indeed, the example of the racist past makes many critics determined not to fall into the same trap. This may raise another warning: by focusing on the old issues, we may be missing some new dangers. We should remain alert.

ELAZAR BARKAN

Claremont Graduate School

ROGER FAGGE. *Power, Culture and Conflict in the Coalfields: West Virginia and South Wales, 1900-1922*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. x, 290. \$69.95.

This book compares different patterns of protest in two major coal-mining regions during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Roger Fagge sets out to show how contrasting social relationships and cultural formations in the two settings resulted in very different forms of protest and outcomes. Although still seeing conflict as central to working class formation, the book turns away from the once-prevailing Marxist paradigm and, as Fagge stresses, from rigid theoretical confines as well. It is far more nuanced and, although far from an exercise in "history from the bottom up" of the sort championed by E. P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman, borrows heavily from the methodology of the new labor history. The comparative method applied here allows for a reappraisal of what was unique or "exceptional" in the West Virginia and South Wales experiences, just as it identifies the larger common themes that marked working-class formation and behavior.

The selection of the two regions is an apt one. Both were major national and international producers of bituminous coal. Both were marked by high levels of conflict. Yet, as Fagge shows convincingly, the patterns of conflict were different. West Virginia experienced peaks and valleys of conflict, with occasional explosions akin to civil war. Much of this warfare centered on attempts to form unions and pitted miners against operators and their government allies in stark eco-

nomic warfare. In South Wales, trade unionism was an accepted part of the industrial landscape; it undergirded wider independent political activity in the Liberal Party and the Independent Labour Party as well as in more radical associations.

Fagge attributes the violent nature of conflict in West Virginia to the fact that the labor force was transitory as well as ethnically, racially, religiously, and culturally diverse. A conglomeration of white, black, native, and immigrant workers toiled in the West Virginia mines. Employers used this diversity to their advantage, structurally segregating the different groups at the mine and in the town in order to forestall combination. In South Wales, on the other hand, the mining communities were ethnically and culturally homogeneous. Not surprisingly, the different composition of the labor force had a crucial influence on the type of collective action that emerged in the two regions. Community structures in the two regions differed as well. The West Virginia coal fields had been developed much later than those of South Wales. Thus, towns were new, and, because of the location of the main deposits in the southern part of the state, most were remote from existing settlements. These conditions led to the development of company towns, in which eighty percent of West Virginia's miners lived.

By contrast, South Wales was already an industrial region in the mid-nineteenth century. This meant that many of the mining communities were not isolated islands but well-established towns with their own traditions, culture, and history. In addition, many South Wales miners lived in communities with other industrial workers rather than in coal mining towns. Many owned their own homes or rented from private landlords, unlike the West Virginia miners who were most often tenants in company-owned housing. Their relative lack of dependence on the coal operators in their non-working hours gave South Wales miners greater civil space to create their own organizations and to develop their own culture. In other words, in South Wales, the coal operators could not control the structures of civil society. Miners had basic rights and access to working-class political action, libraries, and other voluntary organizations through their union and through government provision. Thus, the older, less isolated, more permanent mining communities of South Wales provided the setting in which a collective working-class culture, rooted in existing traditions of radical political activity, could assert itself.

To realize how much difference these contrasting social and political contexts meant to the miners, consider that the bitter industrial conflict that marked West Virginia in this period was over one central issue: the right to organize, long taken for granted by both miners and operators in the South Wales fields. And given the fragmented, transitory nature of their communities as well as the hegemonic power of the coal operators, it is not surprising that the miners lost even

that elemental struggle, with considerable loss of life and civil liberties.

If any criticism is warranted, it is that the book still retains too many of the characteristics of the thesis on which it is based. The comparison moves mechanically through the categories—industry structure, conflict, civil rights, politics—looking first at West Virginia and then at South Wales. The effect is to interrupt the narrative with frequent restatements of the issues and repetitive summaries. This small caveat aside, Fagge's book is thoroughly researched and carefully argued.

RONALD L. FILIPPELLI
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ABBOTT GLEASON. *Totalitarianism: The Inner History of the Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 307. \$25.00.

A variant of the tyranny classified by the ancients, totalitarianism scarred much of the twentieth century. Although associated primarily with the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, Benito Mussolini's Italy and Mao Zedong's China have also been so characterized. The extinction of the boundaries between the state and civil society, the destruction of privacy and of personal autonomy through omnipresent terror, the deliberate infliction of mass suffering and mass murder by a single dictator imposing his will through a single party: these features appalled students of totalitarianism. How this peculiarly modern form of autocracy has been analyzed and criticized is the subject of Abbott Gleason's valuable survey. His is the first major account in English of what totalitarianism has meant to scholars, publicists, and political figures writing in Western and Eastern European countries as well as in the United States.

The book begins in the 1920s with Italian Fascists eager to assert the novelty and extent of their own power, and ends with Russian, Czech, Polish, and Hungarian intellectuals who have realized in recent decades that the West's indispensable rhetorical weapon during the Cold War illumined their own political experience. By giving their neologism a positive spin, Mussolini's ideologues were virtually unique; by acknowledging that so pejorative a term as "totalitarianism" was accurate, some members of the Eastern Bloc helped to accelerate its disintegration. In between Gleason shows how World War II and the Cold War made this concept salient to social science and to propaganda. He respects the ineluctable demands of chronology. But the author also treats controversies as distinctly national debates, so that the reader can easily follow the disputes over the meaning of the term. Of course, depth is sacrificed; even the most influential texts are summarized rather than freshly examined. The virtues of this volume are therefore balance and range, not detailed diagnosis. It would ask too much of so brisk yet ambitious a work that Gleason cite every relevant article or monograph. But he merits

high praise for using published sources in five foreign languages (mostly German, Italian, and Russian).

One inference to be drawn from Gleason's study is how rarely the concept of totalitarianism was developed into an effective instrument of analysis. Too often, this category was reduced to virtually one example: sometimes the Third Reich, more often the Soviet Union. Thus the comparative possibilities were mostly undeveloped. An exception was Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski's *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (1956), coauthored by specialists in different fields. But of the three sections of Hannah Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), the first two were devoted to anti-Semitism and imperialism. This adumbrated Nazism but not Bolshevism, however inspired her effort to establish parallels. Another major work published at the same time, J. L. Talmon's *Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (1951), discerned in the utopian absolutism of some *philosophes* the sinister genesis of the homogeneity that the Communist elite would impose. How this side of the Enlightenment foreshadowed Fascism was not obvious. Though Gleason has specialized in Russian and Soviet history, his study is by no means imbalanced in that direction.

Totalitarianism was most influential in shaping academic interests in the early 1950s, when Raymond Aron's books were also published. Since then, no significant permutations or modifications could be discerned, which poses a problem for an "inner history." The moral case for democrats to resist totalitarianism did not evaporate, but the concept calcified. Gleason fails to dramatize the fate of so static a political category, and therefore his book does not maintain the momentum of its opening chapters.

Nor does it help that his own passions stay banked and that he keeps his opinions to himself. Too few of the chapters come to any emphatic resolution, and the book's conclusion is feeble. Gleason's diligence and energy in approaching the abyss of modern politics are commendable, but reticence deprives his book of punch. One partial remedy might have been to show, for example, how images of totalitarianism infiltrated vernacular discourse, where—at least when spoken with an American accent—little precise affiliation with the systematic cruelties of the Third Reich and Stalinist Russia remained. Spelling America with a k, some New Leftists typified an urge to evoke the horror of modern despotism. They were not alone in wanting to shock, to warn, to trump, to mobilize. But then, using charged terminology to stir the populace was familiar to the ancients as well.

STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD
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HELENA M. PYCIOR, NANCY G. SLACK, and PNINA G. ABIR-AM, editors. *Creative Couples in the Sciences*. (Lives of Women in Science.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 369. \$50.00.

Scientific biographies used routinely to leave out as irrelevant the private life of their subject, a tendency that is unfortunately now being revived in those biographical works based heavily on laboratory notebooks. By contrast, this collection of seventeen essays, edited by Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack, and Pnina Abir-Am, is primarily about the successful and unsuccessful careers and personal lives of twenty-four heterosexual, married couples in the sciences, social sciences, and medicine from the United States, Great Britain, France, Canada, and Sweden. Although biographers have treated couples in politics and the arts before, this genre takes the history of science into fresh territory. Yet readers need to be forewarned that these are not all "collaborative couples," for as the introduction by Pycior points out, few of these pairs worked together for all or even part of their marriage; even the most famous of them, Marie and Pierre Curie and Irène and Frederic Joliot-Curie, worked intensively together for only five years (p. 11). Thus most of the scientific couples depicted here spent most of their lives together but did their research separately.

The editors are to be congratulated for having found so many authors and for having brought such a venture to completion. They have arranged the essays in five sections by type and circumstances of the marriage: several but not all of the Nobelists come first, then the marriages of an established—or at least older—scientist to his student, then the more companionate unions among equals like fellow students, and finally two sets of unsuccessful marriages that ended in divorce, mental illness, suicide, and public disgrace. This arrangement means that the reader skips around among countries and fields as well as chronologically. The last is the most serious, since in the century between 1829, when the first marriage took place (British ornithologist John Gould to illustrator Eliza) and 1934 (when Margaret Mead married her third husband, Gregory Bateson), higher education and scientific societies opened almost all their doors to women in these countries. Although this greatly increased the opportunities for men and women scientists to meet, forms of exclusion also increased and allocated employment, resources, and status differently to men and women. This sex-linked differential meant that the stories of later couples are full of contingencies: lucky breaks, independent means, accommodating third parties, and other favorable local circumstances that helped these pairs become "exceptions."

Calling on a great many fresh resources, such as family papers, these well-researched essays take us into an amazing variety of marriages and household arrangements. The authors of several of these essays should be encouraged to expand them into whole volumes and to hold on to the movie rights in their book contract. Joy Harvey's chapter on the pioneering pediatricians Mary and Abraham Jacobi, who lost a son to diphtheria, the very disease on which they were experts, is particularly ironic and dramatic. Abir-Am's is the most analytical and conceptually bold essay,

because it covers three highly unusual (even for this volume) sets of sexually liberated social activists and reformers of the 1920s and 1930s, some of whom might not fit the usual definition of scientists: Dora and Bertrand Russell, Alva and Gunnar Myrdal, and Mead and Bateson. Because at least one child of each of these unions later wrote an autobiography, there is an additional level of richness in the family dynamics open to scrutiny here.

These essays not only reevaluate the contributions of the married Nobelists, of whom there are several here, but also take more seriously the mundane activities of the far more numerous non-Nobelists of science who were heretofore just names, such as the zoological Blanchards of the University of Michigan, brought endearingly to life by Sylvia McGrath. We also read more here than one usually does in the history of science about underemployed and downwardly mobile male scientists who needed help with their work and supporting their families. But a few of the tales of unsuccessful outcomes (as in Linda Tucker and Christiane Groeben's poignant essay on mentally disturbed Emily Nunn Whitman, who late in life wrote to her brother that "my life is a thing of the past" [p. 205]), remind one of the far larger population of women not here because they were lost to science when more conventional marriages ended their careers or contributions. But as Slack points out in her essay on several botanical couples, many marriages did not last a lifetime; for some, divorce or bereavement reopened the opportunity for increased scientific participation—with or without a new, more suitable spouse.

We learn from these essays that up close and personal traditional gender stereotypes of dominant male geniuses and docile female assistants do not hold up. The variety of skills and roles involved were far too complex for that, thus causing a historian of science to rethink just what acknowledged and unacknowledged roles and skills contribute to creativity. All too often traditional patriarchal roles arose at the end of the project as a result of outside pressures, as when publishers wanted to maximize sales by featuring the better known of the couple (usually the male, but not so in the case of Mead) on the title page, or award committees selected those already well known, thus obliterating the spouse's public recognition. Yet as Barbara Becker points out in her essay on astronomers Margaret and William Huggins, sometimes both spouses wanted it that way.

Although most of the essays are generous in assessing contributions and sympathetic to the lack of public credit, John Stachel's essay on Albert Einstein and Mileva Marić sounds a discordant note and seeks to dismiss or at least minimize her contributions as detrimental to Albert's uniqueness. Stachel does not even mention Einstein's sharing his Nobel prize money with her in 1922, to which Pycior's first sentence has already called attention (p. 3). By contrast another essay by Susan Hoecker-Drysdale on sociologists Helen and Everett Hughes tells us we should not

accept spouses' evaluations at face value, since there is a pattern of husbands' seeking and accepting wifely assistance but then minimizing its extent and undercutting its value (p. 338 n. 53).

The general reader does not need to read these essays in the order presented but should feel free to dip into the book anywhere and save for last Pycior's wide-ranging analytical introduction, which surveys the sociological literature and brings many of these topics chronologically into the 1990s. The volume is already in paperback and with its many pictures and low price it should be useful in classes on the history of science, gender and science, the professions, or marriage and the family.

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MAXINE BERG. *A Woman in History: Eileen Power, 1889–1940*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 292. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95.

I grew up in a household in which the works of Eileen Power and of M. M. Postan were considered among the great twentieth-century contributions to medieval history. *Medieval People* (1924) was a family favorite, and years later, when I discovered feminism and women's history, I turned with delight to *Medieval Women*, the posthumous anthology of Power's writings on women that her husband and fellow-medievalist, Postan, compiled long after her death. It was, therefore, with great eagerness that I picked up Maxine Berg's life of Power, a volume long overdue in the worlds of women's history, historiography, and biography.

Berg's principal interest, not surprisingly for an economic historian, is Power's contribution to a liberal economic history closely associated with the London School of Economics (LSE), where Power worked for the greater part of her professional life. Thus, Berg's structure alternates between more traditionally biographical chapters, which detail both the quotidian and the exceptional events of Power's life, and chapters focused principally on her intellectual contributions and the development of her quite particular and innovative style and method as a historian. If there is a tendency to compartmentalize and perhaps separate the personal and the professional, this is nonetheless a strategy that makes the book a readable one.

This is a very traditional biography, even given its division into two types of chapter. It is unabashedly empirical, heavily reliant on Power's marvelous letters and diaries, but Berg rarely turns an analytic lens on any of her sources. She reads Power very literally, and her focus is principally on Power as a professional woman. A more complex reading might seek to understand how Power, as one of only a handful of women to achieve seniority within the old-boy ranks of the profession in the 1920s and 1930s, navigated the prejudices so vividly conjured, for example, in Power's 1920 encounter with London University's vice-chancel-

lor. Applying for the Kahn Traveling Fellowship (which she won), Power had to endure an interview's worth of insults about women's incapacity for "real" history.

Despite such stumbling-blocks, Power rose to the top of the profession, and in so doing she became something of an establishment figure, notwithstanding the maverick qualities that Berg skillfully depicts. Her friendship circles, her commitment to liberalism (albeit of a pacifist bent), and her attitudes to the countries she visited as a Kahn Fellow suggest a woman inside the networks of academe and not knocking at its doors for entry. Berg chooses not to consider the interesting paradoxes that Power's life presents, concentrating instead, and most successfully, on presenting an attractive portrait of a lively, intellectually engaged, and warmly human woman, living life to the full and in London's best intellectual and even political circles. That, unlike her junior male colleagues, Power was seldom asked to serve on government commissions and the like is noted but hardly pursued by Berg; perhaps in the 1990s, it seems too obvious an omission to need discussion.

The depiction of Power as deeply likable is central to Berg's aim. As a result, some sensitive topics go untouched that might have thrown an interesting light on how Power remained on top as a woman. There are brief allusions to her mutual enmity with LSE administrator Jessie Mair, but although we are privy to the poisonous pen of Mair, we hear nothing about how Power dealt with Mair or what she thought of her. If there is nothing in the record, then the silence itself might be illuminating, or at least worth consideration, but Berg avoids that path. And while Berg acknowledges Power's orientalist reading of India as Europe's Middle Ages all over again, she also insists that Power did not share the anti-Semitism displayed by so many of her close friends. Her marriage to Postan, a Russian Jew, and her close friendships with British Jews such as Harold Laski and Matthew Nathan are Berg's evidence for this. Yet Power is complicit with J. H. Clapham's ill-mannered xenophobia, speaking disparagingly in a letter to him about editorial difficulties with the "wops" (p. 215). Power may well have been racist but not specifically anti-Semitic; the paradox needs discussion.

There is much here to praise: Berg's lively evocation of the glory days of the LSE, her detailed accounts of Power's work and life, her sensitive accounts of Power's important female friendships. This is not, however, the last word in scholarship on Eileen Power, although it is a good beginning. At one point, Berg describes Power's work as collapsing the boundaries between history and fiction in its imaginative evocations of the medieval world and as moving away from the reigning positivism of the day. What, I wonder, would Power herself have thought of this unexaminedly empirical account of her own life?

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WILLIAM H. DRAY. *History as Re-enactment: R. G. Collingwood's Idea of History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 347. \$75.00.

The distinguished Canadian philosopher, William H. Dray, has written a book about R. G. Collingwood (1889–1943): archaeologist, historian of Roman Britain, and author of *The Idea of History* (published posthumously in 1946). The book draws on many of Dray's previous publications (although very little from his well-known early monograph, *Laws and Explanation in History* [1957]). But it is in no way a collection of essays; rather, it is a carefully constructed book, built from the ground up and whole in itself.

What distinguishes this book from almost all other studies of Collingwood's philosophy of history is the vast knowledge it exhibits not only of Collingwood's extensive published writings but also of his unpublished manuscripts (which run to over 3,000 pages total, the great bulk of them on deposit in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University). And then there is Dray's impressive knowledge of the secondary literature on Collingwood's work, a literature itself of great and ever increasing size.

The focus throughout this book is either directly on Collingwood's idea of re-enactment or on putting that idea in the context of the many other things that Collingwood said about history. Dray is a very careful writer, and his analysis of Collingwood's philosophy of history is unparalleled in its scope and in its balance. Dray is also a very clear writer, and the book is well organized, offering a full and subtle treatment of almost every theme addressed (although sometimes the material is overburdened with qualifications).

As I especially liked Dray's frequent summaries and signposts of the various stages of his argument, let me follow his example. Chapter one introduces us to Collingwood and his importance as a writer on history; it then discusses some of the principal secondary literature and makes a case for the kind of book Dray has written. The second chapter summarizes Collingwood's idea of re-enactment and sets out what Dray regards as paradigm cases. The third chapter, after some further elaborations on the notion of re-enactment, draws two kinds of contrasts: between re-enactment and natural-scientific explanation (as Collingwood and many others view such explanation), and between what Dray thinks is the best general or philosophical version of Collingwoodian re-enactment and two other prominent accounts that have been advanced in the literature.

After that, Dray turns to some of the most common objections to Collingwood's idea of re-enactment. Typically these are objections that arise once we go beyond the paradigm examples: that re-enactment is too much focused on deliberate actions reflectively undertaken, that it ignores the frequent irrationality of historical agents, and that it is too oriented toward actions performed and tends to downplay or ignore perceptions, feelings, desires, and emotions. These objections

are canvassed in chapter four. In chapter five, two further objections are taken up: that re-enactment ignores the physical background and the physical causes of action and that it is singularly inept at capturing the social or institutional aspects of human existence and action. In these two chapters in particular, Dray's treatment is richly textured and nuanced.

Chapter six deals with what might be called a cross-sectional understanding of history, a big-picture view of some fairly unified historical subject (such as the American Civil War) or period; here the subject is depicted at a given point in historical time or over a certain stretch of years. Chapter eight looks at historical events as standing in certain temporal relationships to one another and to the historian writing about them; Dray calls this retrospective understanding. The chapter also provides a number of useful reflections on issues such as revisionism in history and historical relativism (focusing here, in particular, on the related topics of perspectival understanding and presentism). Dray's intent is not so much to criticize Collingwood as it is to show that Collingwood shared these understandings, and in fact contributed to them as both historian and philosopher, and to argue that Collingwoodian re-enactments can have a place in such historical projects.

Chapter seven is somewhat of an anomaly, for it takes up two issues that historians do not talk much about (though they may sometimes think about them, as Charles Beard and Carl Becker explicitly did). I mean such issues as whether the past really exists, or ever did, and how the historical past differs from the "real" past. Here Dray is very hard on Collingwood's earlier idea (mainly from the 1920s) that the past is merely an "ideal" past and exists, if it exists at all, in the minds and the writings of historians themselves (or of ordinary folks when they think historically). This particular idea Collingwood seems largely to have repudiated by the time *The Idea of History* was written (the various parts of which date from 1935–1939). Nonetheless, a school of interpreters—of Collingwood and of the historical enterprise itself—has grown up which stresses, in one way or another, that the historical past is nothing but a "construction" made by historians and that the "real" past is, for all historical intents and purposes, simply irrelevant. Dray gives "constructionism" in its various dimensions a very careful and balanced review, but in the end he rejects it firmly, both as an interpretation of Collingwood in particular and of the work of historians generally.

There are a few points where I think Dray's book falls a bit short. Perhaps his main claim about re-enactment is that, in a successful re-enactment, one envisages an action as expressing certain thoughts of the agent by "eliciting from the performance of an action an implied practical argument which represents what was done as the thing to have done, given the agent's point of view" (p. 323). I cannot object to Dray's often-repeated claim that the leading idea of Collingwood's theory of re-enactment is that of a *valid*

practical argument (pp. 55, 57–58, 113, 115, 119, 122, 138). What I do object to is that Dray nowhere shows that Collingwood would have accepted such a characterization (or that it would be appropriate to ascribe it to Collingwood's work, taken as written). Nor does Dray show what, exactly, such an argument would look like. We presumably know its conclusion, but what are its premises? Moreover, Dray acknowledges that this practical argument (which we can take to be the form of a successful re-enactment) may require certain material conditions of applicability, if it is to be explanatory in the right way (p. 78). But he does not tell us what these conditions might include or even what Collingwood thought they included.

Let me suggest briefly two things that might count, in Collingwood's eyes and in those of his readers, as important material conditions. First, the various facts deployed in a particular re-enactment explanation must be true, as supported by available evidence. Second, these facts must bear a peculiar relation to one another. On this point, Collingwood laid special stress on judgments of intelligibility or plausibility. If we were to put the matter precisely the way Collingwood put it, we would say that (often implicit) judgments of intelligible connection allow us, once we have in mind the particular situational motivation and purpose of an agent, to re-enact the agent's deed. For we can see, with these points in mind and in the light of available evidence, that *one* of the courses of action—as identified in the deed actually performed—makes sense in the situation envisioned, and its being done is plausible.

One of the things Dray is best known for is his careful and astute discussion of well-known but complicated cases of causation in history, and he has also done interesting work on the theoretical issue of causation. What I find disappointing in the book presently under review is that the few pages Dray devotes to Collingwood's views on causation are so unrevealing and thin (pp. 143–44, 157–64). This is not to say that Dray's book fails to provide interesting discussions of causation in history when he addresses that matter, more or less on his own hook, in chapter five, section six.

In sum, this is a fine study, perhaps the single best account of the pertinent ideas of this century's most eminent philosopher of history (certainly of all those writing in English). Not surprisingly, it was written by the leading philosopher of history of our own day. These two facts should count as high commendation; indeed, I can think of none higher.

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KEITH WINDSCHUTTLE. *The Killing of History: How a Discipline Is Being Murdered by Literary Critics and Social Theorists*. Rev. ed. Paddington, Australia: Macleay. 1996. Pp. 298. \$24.95.

This book falls into a rapidly growing genre, what might be called born-again empiricism or, at times, even positivism, arising in reaction to recent theoretical and methodological initiatives and often rallying around the flag of objectivity. One of the most intelligent if still contestable instances of the genre is *Telling the Truth about History* by Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacobs (1994). One of the most obdurate is Gerard Noiriel's *Sur la "crise" de l'histoire* (1996) which attempts to combat all challenges to the *Annales* school, both external and internal, and to reconsolidate the intellectual and professional hegemony of the school in France by a return to Marc Bloch's *Historian's Craft* (1953). Keith Windschuttle probably remains closest to the G. R. Elton of *The Practice of History* (1967). (He does not refer to Elton's more recent *Return to Essentials* [1991].) He nonetheless shares what is common to Noiriel and Elton: the rejection of philosophical reflection in the attempt to affirm the autonomy of the historical discipline and to validate conventional empiricism (the philosophy that dare not speak its name).

Windschuttle divides his adversaries into three categories: invading aliens (the literary critics and social theorists who are killing history); traitors (historians who have adopted the aliens' ways and gone native); and dupes (historians who have been beguiled and contaminated by recent theoretical tendencies and, although accomplices in the killing of history, may possibly be saved for the true faith). The aliens are a diverse group often portrayed in the book in excessively homogeneous terms, as are those situated in the other two categories. Apparently, recent pleas for close reading, at times made by Windschuttle's adversaries, have fallen on deaf ears. Indeed one of the hallmarks of the born-again genre is the tendency to bowdlerize the views of those criticized and to construct an insufficiently differentiated "other" in a night in which all cows are *vaches folles*. As Windschuttle puts it, his "targets" are cultural relativism, semiotics, structuralist theory, poststructuralist theory, anti-humanism, genealogy and discourse theory, Hegelian and Marxist philosophy, postmodernist philosophy of history, radical skepticism and scientific relativism, hermeneutics, historical fiction, and the theory of poetics.

Windschuttle's method is at least twofold. First, he intends to provide accurate synoptic accounts of the views of his adversaries, yet he often offers only truncated versions of their most extreme hyperboles. He counters the latter with full-blown hyperboles of his own that are not controlled and mitigated by being explicitly framed as hyperboles; instead they are simply presented as accounts of the way things are. Second, Windschuttle contrasts the work of those he terms "real" or "genuine" historians (that is, empiricists who reject or avoid theory) with the work of theorists, and he brings home this contrast with respect to a diverse, indeed inchoate, series of "test cases": the European discovery of America and the Spanish conquest of Mexico; the British discovery and exploration of the

Pacific islands, the death of Captain James Cook, and the mutiny on the HMS *Bounty*; the foundation of European settlement in Australia, including British exploration, the convict system, and relations with the Aborigines; the history of mental asylums and penal policy in Europe; the expansion of the aristocracy of Western Europe in the Middle Ages; the fall of Communism in 1989; and the Battle of Quebec in 1759.

The array of problems or "test cases" treated by Windschuttle is mindboggling. But, aside from a few lapses (such as situating Ferdinand de Saussure [1857–1913] in the nineteenth century [p. 20] or identifying Frantz Fanon, born in Martinique, as "the Algerian author" [p. 31]), he does his homework well enough to provide the reader with some interesting and potentially useful information. His own animus is to use his "test cases" to show how the "empirical jalousies" will win the race, particularly against flashy French imports. In this manner, he trusts he will combat the "sophistry" of his adversaries and remedy the "theoretical naivety" of professional historians that has contributed to the killing of history and the lack of resistance to the "putsch" of the alien "Continental gurus" and their addicts (pp. 4–5).

Windschuttle's argument is mired in what Jürgen Habermas (one of Windschuttle's many and sundry aliens) terms a performative contradiction, that is, a contradiction between dimensions (notably, the form and content) of what purports to be the same unified argument. One contradiction is blatant. Windschuttle argues for rationality, detachment, objectivity, and openness to evidence, but he does so in a vitriolic style that attests to a closed mind and is suited to the narrowest form of party-political agitation, if not to a bloody crusade. Moreover, his own approach is affected by the tendencies he condemns, but, in light of the extremism and obduracy of his reaction, he cannot account critically for these elements of his own argument. This point applies not only to his penchant for hyperbole. It also applies to his reliance on rather loose montage or collage as an overall organizational device, for the list of his adversaries and "test cases" would seem to make any stronger mode of articulation unavailable to him. He does little to explore the possibility that the dichotomy between empirical research and theory is specious—that history requires both as solid an empirical basis as the evidence allows and theoretically informed conceptualization that provides interpretive insight into facts and deepens the questions the historian poses to the past.

Within the Australian context, Windschuttle is concerned with an institutional and material problem. He claims newer academic institutions in Australia are creating programs in cultural studies, communications studies, and media studies but not "anything deserving the name of history" (p. 4). He fails to see that his approach may backfire by providing fuel for such programs, for he confronts what he perceives as the extremism of his adversaries with another variant of

extremism. His reaction obscures the fact that recent forms of theory, developed in good part by literary critics and social theorists, have not always been assimilated by historians in the bemused and slavishly imitative manner he deplores. Historians have also made critical, selective, and constructive theoretical efforts that have been combined with the attempt to reformulate and resituate—not simply jettison— notions of empirical research and objectivity. Among recent books in which newer initiatives have been fruitfully employed to rethink certain problems, I would make special mention of Philippe Carrard's *Poetics of the New History: French Historical Discourse from Braudel to Chartier* (1992) and Robert Berkhofer, Jr.'s *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (1995). The basic point is that we are now in a position where a more informed dialogue or debate between approaches (including crossdisciplinary or hybridized approaches) to history is possible, and it may be time to engage in it rather than endlessly to repeat either automatic defenses or dismissals of recent theoretical tendencies. Otherwise we will be caught in a vicious cycle in which combatants write and rewrite books like Windschuttle's whose basic purpose is ritualistic: preaching to the converted, shoring up an embattled faith, exorcising one's own anxieties, and making convenient scapegoats of those who challenge one's point of view.

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HUGH DE SANTIS. *Beyond Progress: An Interpretive Odyssey to the Future*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 307. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$15.95.

This erudite, ambitious, and humane book has three purposes. The first is to debunk a variety of the monochromatic formulas about world futures that found advocates in the 1980s and early 1990s: the end of history (Francis Fukuyama), the ineluctable decline of the United States (Paul Kennedy), the rise of Japan (Ezra Vogel). Hugh De Santis takes to task the American "retreat from realism" that allowed such oversimplifications to gain attention in the first place and that bedevils sensible foreign policy in a time of great change. While his critiques and comments are short and somewhat scattered, he succeeds well in this first purpose. The book's summaries are not entirely fair to the originals, but its historical assessments are solid, productive, and accompanied by a chapter on the distinctive, sometimes counterproductive ingredients of American culture that should be rethought in the complex contemporary world.

The book's second purpose is to demonstrate the need for historical knowledge in judging both present and future. A slightly murky chapter discusses various historical views and their relationship to reductionist science. Beyond this, De Santis offers his own summary of world history, designed primarily to demonstrate that the twentieth century is indeed a time of

great change and that the current period is one of particular flux within this century. Several chapters sum up world history toward this end. One offers a rather limited view of ancient and medieval times, slanted toward the West although with comments on China and Islam. De Santis argues for a human propensity to seek order but really does not push this analysis very far; for the most part, the chapter highlights the fourteenth century as a point of new departures. By this time, De Santis argues somewhat obscurely, many people were "bereft of beliefs"; a Western age of commerce and science was about to be born. He then sketches this age, showing that the dominant, progressive views produced are no longer sustainable in the late twentieth century. Key trends are largely familiar (information age, technological diffusion, environmental challenge), but this section also offers interesting comments on the redefinitions of political legitimacy in recent decades. There is also an ambitious attempt to join developments like deconstructionism and religious fundamentalism to show the end of intellectual commitments to progress.

This long middle section of the book not only omits a lot of world areas but also key topics in recent history, particularly on the social side; some of the judgments are a bit suspect even on more familiar points, including fourteenth-century periodization. But readers may find certain emphases provocative, and the ultimate claims for change seem unexceptionable.

Finally, the book's conclusion urges a new era of mutualism: among nations, among cultural systems (toward syncretism), and between rich and poor within as well as among societies. The plea is heartfelt. It may seem callous to note that it is not particularly well anchored in the history cited, which leaves mutualism's foundation somewhat uncertain. De Santis's sincerity also prevents him from showing whether his invocation of decency avoids ethnocentrism, a standard against which he has earlier criticized the strength of "anti-Western rage." But the final exordiums are thought-provoking, and accompanying the author's well-founded distaste for current and past American parochialism, including beliefs in national exceptionalism, they give the book a timely as well as an earnest quality.

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ANCIENT

ELAINE FANTHAM. *Roman Literary Culture: From Cicero to Apuleius*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 326.

Ancient societies could be multicultural in ways not necessarily familiar to present-day observers of culture and history. Among the ancient Romans, immense energies and resources were devoted to an educational system that would make educated men—and some

women—genuinely bilingual in Latin and Greek. Horace famously remarks that "after having been conquered, Greece conquered her uncouth conqueror and introduced the arts to rustic Latium," and the fact is nowhere more evident than in the Romans' efforts to be as much at home in the admired foreign culture of the Greeks as in their own. Julius Caesar was a typical educated Roman in that he habitually chatted with his friends in Greek and while dying addressed his murderer Brutus in that language. Yet typical also is Caesar's intense interest in the literary potential of his native Latin, which he employed with such skill in his deceptively simple campaign narratives. "This was a man," writes Elaine Fantham, "who dictated a treatise on the principles of word formation and regularity in syntax to secretaries while he crossed the Alps on horseback, and who could dedicate it to Cicero with the claim that extending intellectual frontiers was a greater triumph than any military victory" (p. 47).

Roman bilingualism as a cultural phenomenon is an especially rich theme that weaves through Fantham's book, from the philhellenic Cicero in the first century B.C.E. down to second-century writers such as African orator M. Cornelius Fronto. The teacher of emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Fronto is known for writing letters in Latin and Greek with equal facility. The emphasis on bilingualism and the educational system that ensured it is one of several features of the book that demonstrate Fantham's aim to offer not a literary history but a social history of literature, one in which cultural circumstance and context, including audience, are in the foreground: "I see as important aspects of any literary work its author in his social and political setting, its recipients and their culture, and the medium or nature of its presentation" (p. 2). Consistent with this principle, Fantham offers her readers illuminating and lively treatment of such topics as the circulation of books and the book trade; the nature of libraries both public and private, including remarkable pages on libraries as war booty; and the custom of recitation, whereby many written works reached their first audiences as oral performances given by the author. There is a thought-provoking discussion of Velleius Paterculus, a contemporary and admirer of Tiberius; Velleius's universal history includes an early effort to establish lists of canonical authors for Greece and Rome. He links "cultural decline" to an organic metaphor still familiar in literary history, "the principle," as Fantham remarks, "that the arts are organisms whose prime will inevitably be followed by decay" (p. 131).

Fantham disclaims literary history and modestly identifies her work as a companion volume to *Latin Literature: A History* (1994), edited by Gian Biagio Conte. She suggests that her intended audience may overlap with that of "the New Historicism" (p. 12), but despite such demurrals, her project is often literary-historical in traditional ways. Fantham proceeds in chronological fashion through a largely familiar canon of authors and texts, taking judicious positions on

literary-historical questions. One should not expect here the brilliant and sometimes perverse anecdotalism characteristic of some new-historical writing; Fantham's is a more sober undertaking, informed by the indispensable virtues of literary history: common sense and lack of prejudice. To these she adds a quality even rarer among students of Roman literature: critical sensitivity.

Fantham's book begins with Cicero and Varro, even though Roman literary culture had long existed before their time, and treats no authors beyond the second century, although Roman literary culture continued to transform itself for centuries to come. The book ends with an enthusiastic account of Apuleius's *Apologia* in its rich context of North African multilingualism. For Fantham, Apuleius is "the Ultimate Word Artist"—praise that jars with the depreciatory chapter title, "Literary Culture in Decline: The Antonine Years." Indeed, Fantham's genuine appreciation of Latin literature beyond the traditional greats makes the pejorative term "decline" seem especially out of place, although Velleius Paterculus might have found it satisfactory. Concepts of "maturity" and "decline" in Roman literary history—along with the evaluative baggage they bring with them—remain in need of some new-historical scrutiny.

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PAUL PLASS. *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide*. (Wisconsin Studies in Classics.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 283. \$48.75.

Gladiatorial combat and suicide were two Roman practices that fit uneasily with the paradigmatic role that classical antiquity has played in the Judaeo-Christian West. Although the figure of Seneca has given some legitimacy to heroic suicide, scholars have been perplexed by the centrality of the institution of gladiators in the Roman cultural map and reduced to comparing it with the Nazis and Genghis Khan (introduction to first edition of Michael Grant, *Gladiators* [1967]). With the reception of "mentalities" by ancient historians, this has changed: studies such as Carlin Barton's *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans* (1993) and Donald Kyle's forthcoming *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*, as well as my own *Emperors and Gladiators* (1992), have examined how the ritualized killings of the arena helped Romans to structure their ideas about good and evil, power and legitimacy, and immortality.

Like these studies, Plass makes much use of the concept of marginality/liminality, but he also applies a new angle, that of game theory. Republican Roman society "managed" the disorder and suffering of the violence that is a human constant and the warfare (especially civil warfare) that was a Roman peculiarity by setting aside times and places during which killing became normal by being configured as a game, styl-

ized, and staged. Later, under the emperors, the Roman political elite "managed" the constant fear of exile or execution for offending the emperor by ritualizing their own elimination as a game in which they might score points against the emperor by making him appear irrational or tyrannical. Plass recognizes that the two practices had "quite different historical sources and original purposes" (p. 11), and readers may wonder if they had common features not also common to other cultures and periods, if not universal (p. 134).

But thematic coherence and structure are not among the study's highest priorities. Leaving aside the eight addenda (pp. 141–74) in small type and the nearly ninety pages of notes, some of them essays in their own right, the 138 pages of text proper move rapidly from point to point, drawing on parallels from classical Greece, Adolf Hitler, Balinese cockfighting, and the now obligatory Mesoamerica. Inevitably there are assumptions that might be questioned (do we actually know what "the Etruscan Phersu [sic] game" was [pp. 23, 57], or that statements made by Christian critics such as Tertullian or by imperial biographers [p. 74] were based on fact?) and distinctions that ought to have been made clearer (such as that between gladiatorial combat and judicial executions [p. 33]). There are also signs of haste, particularly in the addenda.

In general, however, Plass's reading of the texts is deep as well as broad. He makes few concessions to the reader: the first three pages include discussion of Latin texts by Tacitus and Livy, followed by a reference to "the axiom of *patria-potestas*," none of which readers who have not studied classics will find easy to follow. Like Tacitus, whose textual nuances he analyzed in *Wit and the Writing of History* (1998), Plass enjoys words: "Disparate social institutions, then, can be considered to exhibit a deeper logic or shared 'patternment' in the Whorfian linguistic sense of general submerged cryptotypes that shape explicit phenotypes" (p. 8). That Plass's material is disparate and his insights sometimes disjointed does not distract from their value, as his remarks about public competition (both in terms of quantity and freakishness), the criminalization of ordinary citizens in the eyes of the state, and, in particular, the socially integrating function of betting at Rome all demonstrate. It is curious that there is no reference to the work of Johan Huizinga, whose *Homo Ludens* (1944) anticipated so many of the insights that contemporary classical scholars claim to have discovered about the artificiality of social (and literary) constructs.

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JOHN S. RICHARDSON. *The Romans in Spain*. (A History of Spain.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1996. Pp. vii, 341. \$74.95.

Roman Iberia has elicited a good deal of interest from English-speaking scholars over the last quarter of a

century. The purpose of the present treatment, a volume in Blackwell's History of Spain project, is to "discern the pattern of development of the Roman presence in the westernmost provinces of the empire and the effects of that presence both on those the Romans found there and on the Romans themselves" (p. 308). Using a chronological framework, John S. Richardson covers Roman activity in the peninsula from the late third century B.C. to the Visigothic conquest in the fifth century A.D. It can be usefully consulted in conjunction with M. C. Fernández Castro's *Iberia in Prehistory* (1996) in the same series.

The framework for discussion here, as in most other treatments, is military, political, and administrative history. Indeed, Richardson sees the key factor in the evolution of "Romans in Spain" as military/administrative: his thesis is that the evolving administrative conceptualization of the Spanish *provinciae* moves from *provincia* as sphere of military operations to *provincia* as territorial entity. Paralleling this, he sees an evolution of the human sphere of activity from a conqueror-conquered relationship to a fully integrated Spaniard/Roman melding, which in the end produces Romans who happen to be from Spain but who are not thought of as other than merely "Roman." It is not clear that there is a causal relationship between these two developments, however, or, if there is, which way the causation moves. Richardson seems to assume that the change in the concept of *provincia* somehow caused the human relationship/identity changes, but one might as easily suppose the opposite (if, indeed, there is any causal relationship at all). A model for both military and cultural integration might be sought in Italy, especially in the crucial years just before and after the Social War, but Richardson does not make much use of comparative material from Italy or elsewhere in the Roman domain. This makes Spain stand out perhaps rather more than it really did in the processes described.

Although one might ponder whether it is best to write a synthetic history of Roman Spain mainly from the perspective of the elite and from an administrative/political angle at this point in the development of historical thinking and approaches, Richardson certainly has done a masterful job of laying out the basic sources in a coherent way. There are especially good discussions of the Sertorian period and of the Flavian changes. Some material cultural evidence is brought in; that for the northeastern peninsula is especially good, while other areas (e.g., Baetica and modern Portugal) seem less well covered. The most recent epigraphic discoveries are well treated, and, as administrative documents for the most part, fit in well with the book's general emphasis. In Richardson's conceptualization of Romanization, the non-intentionality of Roman results in Spain—a leitmotif of recent scholarship—is rightly stressed. One does miss a discussion of what the increase of inscriptions by all literate classes might mean; likewise, the numismatic evidence from the south, where coin types could perhaps have been

squeezed for information about the origins and ideology of the issuers, is neglected. For a more encompassing account of all inhabitants of the peninsula, not just the elite, we have L. A. Curchin's *Roman Spain* (1991) and A. T. Fear's *Roman Baetica* (1996), and for wider archaeological discussion there is S. J. Keay's *Roman Spain* (1987). Except for Fear's too-recent work, Richardson has made judicious use of all of these but was, naturally, limited by constraints of space.

The production of the book is, in general, excellent, marred only by a frequent failure to transcribe Spanish language accents correctly. The maps are clear, and there are enough of them; the bibliography is in the form of an essay, which is difficult for scholars to use efficiently although good for the more general reader.

In sum, Richardson has given us a very useful aid to understanding Roman Spain; his erudition and long experience with things Spanish and Roman show through on every page.

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THOMAS S. BURNS. *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome: A Study of Roman Military Policy and the Barbarians, ca. 375–425 A.D.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 417. \$35.00.

This book by Thomas S. Burns is about the policy that Emperors Valens (A.D. 364–378), Theodosius I (379–395), and their successors adopted of entering a *foedus* or treaty with entire barbarian tribes, permitting the latter to enter the empire *en bloc* and to receive rations or other subsidies in return for military service. Thus Roman emperors and generals found themselves holding a Germanic tiger by the tail. Historians since Edward Gibbon have evaluated this policy as a disaster that led to loss of military control and swift barbarization of large tracts of the western empire.

The point is, first, that the policy was nothing new. Shortage of quality recruits had long required the formal acceptance or *receptio* of barbarians. Constantine the Great, for example, had settled Franks as *laeti* or soldier-farmers to help defend the lower Rhine. By the later fourth century, much of the officer corps already was German, and so were military uniforms and even the *barritus* or war cry. Moreover, from the battle of Adrianople in 378, in which Valens lost his life and much of his army, to 418, when Constantius III settled the Visigoths in Aquitaine, policy changes were incremental, mostly forced by events, and successful enough to achieve modest levels of security and prosperity through much of the west. Theodosius I, for example, alleged architect of the disastrous policy, practiced traditional *receptio* successfully in the crisis after Adrianople, bringing over rebellious Germans and other barbarians and rejuvenating Roman military units. By contrast, it was when rival generals and anti-barbarian reactionaries froze out the Visigoth Alaric, withholding from him the high Roman com-

mand that he needed to secure supplies for his men, that he embraced a different style of leadership and accepted the anti-imperial title of *rex Gothorum*. Paradoxically, Alaric's sack of Rome in 410, an event of vast symbolic meaning, marked the end of a sustained effort to extort a Roman generalship and, for his men, the status of Roman soldiers.

Alaric's failure, in Burns's view, forced his successors to forge a new Gothic identity for themselves and their people. It issued in the fateful settlement of 418 that established the Visigoths in Aquitaine. The settlement was indeed based on *hospitalitas*, the established Roman law of military quartering. For the first time, however, it was not Roman troops quartered on Roman soil but an independent barbarian people with its own king and its own government.

Debate will continue on perennial issues like the chronology of 378–380, the genesis of the *Notitia dignitatum*, and the mechanisms of *hospitalitas*, but in general Burns makes a compelling case. A special strength of the book is adept marshaling of archaeological evidence. Illustrating traditional *receptio*, for example, a tetrarchic medallion from Lyons (ca. 300) shows a barbarian prostrate before the emperors and entire families crossing the Rhine at Mainz. Archaeological evidence demonstrates more effectively than texts that the lower Danube cities survived the Germanic rebellion under Valens and its aftermath. In transalpine Raetia and Noricum, remains of camps and settlements indicate Roman military occupation continuing into the fifth century, and German military graves yield imperial-style armbands, fibulae, and belt ornaments showing *receptio* attracting German recruits into Roman units.

Burns's chief sources remain the well-known texts, and his approach is reliably political and military. Yet I suspect that his topic will not yield to such a traditional approach. What was the meaning, ultimately, of politics and military strategy in a world where the state hardly existed and the social universe, whether barbarian or Roman, was a dense system of dependency relationships? In a military society interchangeably Roman and barbarian, the formation of Gothic and other barbarian identities was indeed a critical issue, one that deserves far more sustained attention than it receives here.

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RODNEY STARK. *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 246. \$24.95.

In this book, Rodney Stark extends the hypothesis he and Roger Finke developed in *The Churching of America 1776–1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (1992): that religious movements demanding adherence to strict doctrine and practice grow, while groups modernizing their doctrine and

embracing the values of wider society decline. This is a claim that runs counter to the prevailing secularization hypothesis. As the subtitle of the 1992 book suggests, Stark believes that religious movements can be analyzed in terms of free-market economics: the “invisible hand” of the marketplace does not forgive “ineffective religious firms” (*Churching*, p. 17).

This analytical model Stark here applies to the first three centuries of Christianity's existence. It is important that Stark end his narrative approximately with Constantine, because, according to his theory, religions thrive best when costs are high and alienation from the larger society great, as was the case when Christians were subject to persecution. Cost-benefits analysis shows that “expensive” Christianity was perceived as a good investment: although Christians gave much, they also received much from their community, not least of which was the assurance of a blessed afterlife.

Some of Stark's earlier methodological tools, such as social network theory, are here redeployed to account for early Christianity's success. Stark plots a “plausible growth curve” for the movement of forty percent per decade. “Simple arithmetic” (p. 12) here replaces explanations based on huge miraculous conversions, such as have been advanced by historians from Eusebius to Ramsay MacMullen. Through social networks of family, friends, and benefactors, people were drawn into Christianity.

Stark posits that the new Christians did not come from the proletariat but were “the solid citizens of the empire” (p. 45), a point already well established by Biblical scholars and social historians. Much less convincing is Stark's claim that Jews must have constituted a significant number of converts into the fifth century. Like nineteenth-century Jews who embraced the Reform movement, Jews of late antiquity could shed the “heavy burdens of ethnicity” while preserving some aspects of their tradition in early Christianity (p. 69). Yet, it could be countered that even in Paul's letters, Jews do not feature prominently in many localities. Archeological and other evidence suggests that, in some areas, Jews, Christians, and “pagans” continued to live and worship in proximity to each other, and that Christians continued to believe that Judaism provided “good magic.” With a few notable exceptions, however, Christians' interest in *contemporary* Jews and their conversion (as opposed to Christians' appropriation of Jewish Scriptures, which they renamed the “Old Testament”) dwindled much earlier than Stark posits.

Stark offers two other reasons for Christianity's early success: the Christians' ability to survive epidemics in higher proportion than non-Christians (they cared for each other as well as for non-Christians, thus ensuring a higher survival rate as well as an impetus to conversion); and Christianity's proscriptions of infanticide and abortion, which prompted an increased female population and higher birth rates than obtained among “pagans.” The intermarriages of Christian

women with "pagan" men must have produced a rash of "secondary" conversions, according to Stark.

Christianity as an "exclusive firm" was able "to mobilize extensive resources and to provide highly credible religious compensators, as well as substantial worldly benefits" (p. 204). "Paganism" failed, in effect, because it was unable "to generate religious belonging" (p. 207). Stark's book ends on a somewhat puzzling note: having argued throughout that effective social networks account for Christianity's rise, he credits the superiority of Christian *doctrine* as an explanation. No epiphenomenon, theology "prompted and sustained attractive, liberating, and effective social relations and organizations" (p. 211), as well as a moral vision that restored "humanity" to persons in the midst of "pagan" brutality (p. 215).

Scholars of early Christianity have learned much from Stark, especially about social networks. Thus it is surprising to see how little Stark has learned from them. Stark's use of the materials to which historians turn is naïve; for example, he accepts the numbers of converts listed in the book of Acts as factually accurate and the proscriptions by Christian theologians and moralists of contraception and abortion as descriptive of "reality." Even more disturbing is his claim to "scientific" verity against predecessors such as Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, who are denigrated for indulging in metaphoric language. On Stark's model, the early Christians were ideological bedfellows with both rational choice economists and various contemporary conservative Christian groups. Given this understanding of Christianity, one wonders why a picture of that supreme gay icon, Saint Sebastian, was deemed a fitting adornment for the book's cover?

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MEDIEVAL

SIMON FRANKLIN and JONATHAN SHEPARD. *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200*. (Longman History of Russia.) New York: Longman. 1996. Pp. xxii, 450.

This is the first in the eight-volume Longman History of Russia series. Its authors, Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, drawing upon their combined expertise in archeology, literary culture, and the neighbors of the Rus, bring fresh perspectives and insights to this overview of the earliest eras in the history of the Rus lands. Their main departure from standard works on early Rus is their rejection of Kievocentrism, originally introduced by the Primary Chronicle and later adopted by most historians of Kievan Rus. By casting aside this model, which treats Kiev's political centrality as a foregone conclusion and traces the rise and fall of the state built around it, Franklin and Shepard broaden their subject matter and open new channels of inquiry.

Franklin and Shepard essentially redefine the era of early Rus by pushing the beginning of their narrative

back to the mid-eighth century. One half of the text, contained in the first of the three main sections of the volume, is devoted to an examination of the Rus from the time of their initial appearance and settlement in the northern regions of what became the lands of Rus to the reign of Vladimir (c. 978–1015). Relying heavily on archeological evidence, supplemented by non-Russian literary sources (Arabic, Byzantine, and European), the authors reconstruct the activities of the Rus as they explored the northern regions, interacted with local Finn and Balt populations, settled at Ladoga and Timerëvo, conducted trade with the Volga Bulgars, and built a political-commercial network around their main base at Gorodishche. Attracted by Constantinople's markets and enabled by Khazaria's decline, the Rus began to move southward into Slav territory by the tenth century. But only after Sviatoslav unsuccessfully explored other options by campaigning against the Khazars and venturing into the Danube area did his son Vladimir secure the dynasty's base at Kiev on the mid-Dnieper, whose rapids and exposure to hostile steppe nomads had "for most traders and travellers" made the river "an obstacle rather than a thoroughfare" (p. 93). Stimulated by the challenges they encountered during the process of establishing themselves in the south, however, the Riurikids achieved what had eluded the Rus in the north: the political and military organization that served as the foundation for state-building.

The two sections that make up the second half of the book explore the development of the dynasty and the regions that its members ruled through the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Consistent with their non-Kievo-centric approach, Franklin and Shepard observe no fixed political system, no set hierarchy of political centers or princes, not even an accepted definition of seniority within the dynasty. They contend that the political structure, never formalized into a stable system, cannot be understood in the standard terms of a rise of the Kievan state under a unified dynasty in the eleventh century followed by a decline of the state and disintegration of the dynasty in the twelfth. They perceive instead a thriving, dynamic society ruled by princes whose interrelations followed consistent patterns throughout two centuries.

One prominent feature of interprincely relations was recurrent conflict. In contrast to the interpretation that warfare was a sign of political ineptitude or a breakdown of an established system of governance and succession, Franklin and Shepard point out it was a constant feature of intradynastic relations from the time of Vladimir's generation; only the scale on which it was conducted changed. The authors consider interprincely disputes as "noise on the surface" (p. 339) that has tended to detract attention from the Riurikids' more important accomplishments. Franklin and Shepard place their emphasis on the princes' persistent search for new opportunities, the expansion of their realm, and their capacity for creating and recreating a political order in response to changes in

the conditions surrounding them. Rather than reflecting "a system in chronic crisis," the dynasty's flexibility was the quality that enabled its members "to exploit and adapt to economic and territorial change" (p. 349).

Discussions of economic and territorial growth and associated social, legal, and cultural changes balance and supplement accounts of political development. Franklin and Shepard argue that just as the dynasty gradually exerted its control over a broader and broader territorial area, so the Christian culture linked to it after Vladimir's reign gradually penetrated deeper and deeper into society, first through its urban layers and then beyond into rural villages. In the process, diverse ethnic communities became integrated into a society bound together by interlocking economies as well as a shared culture, language, and dynasty. The process was only partially initiated or facilitated by the dynasts, who more often merely exploited its results by assuming, for example, the right to tax trade or adjudicate disputes. Nevertheless, the result was that the eloquent but somewhat empty assertions of a politically powerful and culturally grand realm, claimed by eleventh-century literary promoters of Iaroslav, had been realized by the end of the twelfth.

This innovative volume, which rests firmly on a broad scholarly foundation, is not without flaws. The narrative flow is not always smooth, and the intended audience is not consistently defined. The discussions on Tímerevo and the Saltovo-Mariatskii culture, for example, assume knowledgeable readers. But such readers may be dissatisfied with occasional slips in descriptions and with some interpretations of evidence, as in the discussion on Ladoga that is evidently intended for non-specialists, or with the authors' failure to subject non-Russian sources to the same critical standards they apply to the Primary Chronicle. By deliberately opting to avoid cluttering their narrative with historiographical background and synopses of debates, the authors, furthermore, have obscured for the non-specialists the criteria they used to select their topics and themes and even the significance of some of their contributions.

In a few cases, the authors' conclusions on specific topics are, disappointingly, not as bold as their overarching framework. Their reduction of interprincely warfare among Vladimir's sons to a "fraternal free-for-all" (p. 192) not only confuses the issue of dynastic legitimacy with that of seniority within the dynasty but discovers neither the factors fueling the dynamic of intradynastic relations nor the reasons why only a few of Vladimir's sons actually claimed and competed for their father's seat. In other cases, intriguing questions such as how and why the Rus shifted the focus of their activities and their political center from the north to the south are only partially answered. Such factors may make use of this volume in introductory courses on early Russian history a challenge. But Franklin and Shepard have, nevertheless, provided a valuable and

thought-provoking study that should be given serious consideration by specialist and novice alike.

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CASPAR EHLERS. *Metropolis Germaniae: Studien zur Bedeutung Speyers für das Königtum (751–1250)*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 125.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1996. Pp. 428. DM 89.

Around 980, the cleric Walter, who subsequently became bishop of Speyer (1004–1031), described his future, impoverished, and insignificant see as *vaccina* (Cow City). After Emperor Henry V's death in 1125, the Anglo-Norman monk, Orderic Vitalis, called Speyer the *metropolis Germaniae*, not because of its rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy (the bishop of Speyer was a suffragan of the archbishop of Mainz) but because of its royal tombs. In this book, Caspar Ehlers examines Speyer's changing relationship to the monarchy between the accession of the Carolingians to the Frankish throne in 751 and the death of Frederick II in 1250. Specifically, he investigates royal stays in the city and the cathedral's function as the burial site of various Salian and Staufer monarchs and some of their wives and children.

Ehlers applies Eckhard Müller-Mertens's methodology for tracing the itinerary of a specific king to the study of Speyer's importance for the monarchy. Essentially, this involves ascertaining the number of documented royal stays in the city (120 in five centuries), documented visits that cannot be precisely dated (17), and possible halts that can be inferred from reconstructions of royal itineraries (117). The best introduction to this type of methodology for anglolexic readers is John W. Bernhardt's *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (1993). With only 7.9 percent of the 254 visits, the Carolingian and Saxon periods (273 years) were the prehistory of Speyer's relations with the monarchy. This changed dramatically with the election of Conrad II in 1024 and his decision to rebuild the cathedral. Altogether the four Salian monarchs visited Speyer seventy-eight times (30.7 percent) in 101 years. Perhaps surprisingly, the most frequent visits occurred in the late Staufer era (1211–1250); Frederick II and his two sons stayed sixty-nine times (27.2 percent). The latter statistic may be skewed, however, by greater documentation. All the visits are summarized in an appendix. Since there are no comparable studies of royal stays in other cities, it is impossible to tell how typical Speyer was.

Speyer's real significance was as the burial place of the four Salian kings and two of their empresses (Gisela and Bertha). Ehlers argues that Conrad II intended the rebuilt cathedral to be the site of his tomb and those of his wife and son—that is, a founder's grave analogous to that of his predecessor Henry II in Bamberg—and not a dynastic necropolis. Unlike Ste-

fan Weinfurter, who attributed the latter idea to Henry III (see "Herrschaftslegitimation und Königsautorität im Wandel: Die Salier und ihr Dom zu Speyer," in Weinfurter, ed., *Die Salier und das Reich*, Vol. 1 [1991]), Ehlers maintains that Henry III may have intended such a role for his own foundation in Goslar, St. Simon and St. Jude, where his innards were interred. In any case, all of Henry's diploma for Speyer date from before his imperial coronation in 1046. His widow Agnes expanded Speyer's memorial responsibilities to other members of the imperial house, but Henry IV's personal involvement with Speyer, based upon Ehlers's study of the king's itinerary and donations, began only with the collapse of his Saxon ambitions, that is, with his remodeling of the cathedral in the early 1080s. Henry V's efforts to obtain Christian burial for his father indicate that Speyer had become the dynastic burial site. This became visible in the construction of the so-called, (now destroyed) Salian Monument, sometime in the twelfth century, over the graves of the Salian rulers.

Speyer's chief value for the Staufer was as a token of their dynastic legitimacy as the heirs of the Salians, and it thus became a major battle site after Lothar's election in 1125. Unlike their predecessors, however, they had no interest in increasing the church's endowment, and it was only in the 1180s that the first Staufer, Frederick I's wife and daughter, were buried there, though Barbarossa may have chosen it for his own grave. The only Staufer king who rests in Speyer is Philip of Swabia. In addition, the first three post-interregnum kings are also interred there, ironically in reused Staufer graves.

Although this is largely a technical study, it does call in to question to what degree the Salian tombs can be utilized as evidence for a new Salian dynastic consciousness. Weinfurter has argued (in *Herrschaft und Reich der Salier: Grundlinien einer Umbruchzeit* [1992]) that the Salians were the first noble house to develop a new, territorially based dynastic consciousness, as symbolized by their family graves in Worms. In effect, Conrad, and more notably his son, then applied this conception to the monarchy itself; the planned Salian necropolis becomes proof for such a transcendent vision of royal authority. Ehlers's monograph suggests that this interpretation of eleventh-century German history may be *ex post facto* speculation.

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ROSEMARY MORRIS. *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxii, 330. \$64.95.

Monasticism is always a fascinating subject to anyone interested in Byzantine church history. It was so much a part of Christian life in the East that it tends to overshadow all other ecclesiastical institutions. In this book, Rosemary Morris makes a major contribution to Byzantine monastic studies. She has chosen to focus on

the period from the reign of Michael III and the final victory over the Iconoclasts through the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. One commendable feature of the volume is its inclusion of the Byzantine monasteries of southern Italy, so often neglected on works dealing with Byzantine monasticism. Morris reminds the reader that these monasteries were very much a part of the monastic world of the ninth and tenth centuries.

The book has two major sections. In the first, Morris examines the lives of the monastic founders of the period and how they decided on locations and sought disciples. The second part of her book looks at how the inhabitants of monasteries learned the survival skills necessary to withstand the challenges to their independence, whether from emperors, patriarchs, bishops, or local nobility. If monasteries became too wealthy, there was always someone who sought to interfere. The most notable such attack was Emperor Nikephoros Phokas's decree of A.D. 964, which forbade any new foundations and limited donations of property to large monastic institutions. Although the law's effect was minimal, it shows how the goals of emperors and monks might clash, despite the usual reverence given to monastic personnel.

After Carolingian times in the West, uniformity was imposed on monastic life; nothing similar happened in the East. No religious orders ever developed. Therefore, Byzantine monasteries always tended to have greater variety, partly as a result of the individual founder's preferences and the constitution he drew up for its structure, partly because there was always tension between the hermetical and cenobitic models.

Contrary to popular opinion, it was poverty rather than wealth that caused most monasteries to fail to live up to their ideals. Morris emphasizes the importance of patronage if the monastery was to endure. Monasteries went through periods of prosperity only to be hit by plague, war, or famine. There was a chronic labor shortage on monastic estates, so that a major concern of abbots was to have enough workers to till the land. The larger monasteries of Mt. Athos, such as the Grand Lavra and Iviron, and the great foundations in Constantinople escaped the turmoil of the times, but smaller monasteries of ten or fewer occupants could easily be swept away. The smaller monasteries were the norm, not the exception.

The book's title reflects the interaction between the lay and monastic spheres of life. Despite the monastic goal to separate oneself from the secular world, monks remained a part of Byzantine society. Political and economic necessities frequently required them to give up the seclusion they desired. For lay people, the monk was the ideal Christian, the model of spiritual life that they needed as a guide to a blessed eternity. They did not want to be denied the benefit of monastic prayers or example.

A number of charts illustrate the life of the monks including the amounts and kinds of food they ate. This sheds new light on the wisdom of the hermit's decision

to live alone, for most lived on an exclusive diet of beans.

The author has done a masterful job dealing with often difficult archival material. She uses hagiography well, knowing of its pitfalls but searching for the useful and often overlooked information contained in such works. Even the complex terminology of Byzantine land-holding in the ninth and tenth centuries present no problem for her. This book is a pioneering work on the life of the monk in the middle Byzantine period.

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RUTH MAZO KARRAS. *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*. (Studies in the History of Sexuality.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 221. \$35.00.

Ruth Mazo Karras addresses both practical and theoretical questions concerning prostitution in medieval England. She sets forth the social and cultural contexts of prostitution as a business and a way of life and relates its history to that of female sexuality, arguing that the image and construct of the whore was used to control all women. In order to deal with both "reality" and representation, Karras had to discover and exploit a wide variety of sources. She has skillfully woven together the records of town, manorial, and diocesan courts with insights gained from literary sources such as saints' lives, sermons, plays, and *fabliaux*. Karras builds successfully on the work of (among others) Judith Bennett in women's social and economic history and of Leah Lydia Otis, Judith Walkowitz, and Monica Green in the history of prostitution and of sexuality.

In the opening chapters, the records of regulation of prostitutes and of brothels are examined to discover the ways in which prostitution was treated as both a trade and a crime, and to explore the status and life history of the prostitute as worker and criminal. Examining various factors (economic, demographic, coercive) at work in the lives and choices of women who became prostitutes, Karras emphasizes the diversity of their experience, their clients, and their circumstances. She investigates the social and economic position of female workers as well as medieval notions and assumptions concerning women's sexuality in and outside of marriage. Finally, she explores the role of the church and of traditional clerical misogyny in the construction of the image of the whore and her association—thus the association of all women—with the sin and shame of lust.

Karras provides useful critical commentary on the nature and adequacy of her sources. She points out, for example, that women who stayed in the sex trade for a long time were more likely to appear in court, and thus in the records, than those who stayed only for a year or two. But although we have much more information about the careers of these long-term prostitutes, their experience cannot be assumed to be similar to that of

women who appear in the records only once or twice. Furthermore, although the sources reveal almost nothing about the children of prostitutes, we may not infer the absence of children from the absence of evidence. We may account for their absence in terms of contraception, infanticide, abandonment, or non-procreative sex, but Karras reminds us of the dangers of the argument from silence. If such children were born and grew up in fairly ordinary circumstances, they would not necessarily leave traces in the courts. The problems raised by such lacunae in the sources are not unusual for medievalists, but they are exacerbated in the history of women and of non-elites. Karras responds to this challenge extraordinarily well. She is willing to risk speculation, but she respects the rules of historical argument and the integrity of her subjects, who never become playthings of theory. They remain citizens of a distant country, on whose motivations and concerns we can never finally pronounce.

Careful analysis of disparate sources allows Karras to make useful distinctions and generalizations: for example, "what marked these women for their contemporaries was not the fact that they took money for sex but rather that they were generally available to men for sexual purposes" (p. 131). From the book's title to its conclusion, Karras emphasizes that control of women's independence, much more than sexuality, was at stake in the unending insistence on the shameful nature and image of women who were not "safely under the dominion of any one man—husband, father, master" (p. 3). Karras is not the first to make this point, but she argues it with authority and with a wealth of illuminating detail. I was reminded repeatedly of Margery Kempe—not only of the hostile reactions she encountered, but of her agonizing anxiety. Kempe, apparently, had internalized the reiterated theme that a woman outside of a male-headed household or convent was a potential source of trouble and sin to her neighbors and an easy mark for the devil. This book makes a significant contribution to our appreciation of the social and cultural history not of prostitutes alone, but of all women in medieval England.

CLARISSA ATKINSON
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SHERRI OLSON. *A Chronicle of All That Happens: Voices from the Village Court in Medieval England*. (Studies and Texts, number 124.) Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. 1996. Pp. 253. \$45.00.

This book by Sherri Olson represents a development in the interpretation of late medieval English manorial court rolls by the "Toronto school" of historians founded by Ambrose Raftis. Here is another study of peasant society based on the records of two Huntingdonshire village communities on the estates of Ramsey Abbey, Upwood and Ellington. In familiar style, the book examines the lives of the villagers from the late thirteenth to the fifteenth century, with a special emphasis on the autonomy of the community and its

hierarchy of officials. A novel element is the comparison between two villages, chosen because one of them, Ellington, had its demesne and tenant rents farmed to its tenants, affording them a greater degree of self-government. The abbey maintained control over the manor court, however, and although Olson has found some differences in the development of the two communities, these were not very dramatic.

The principal development represented by this work lies in Olson's adoption of a cultural history approach, so that her stated aim is to explore the dominant culture of the village, and her analysis is couched in the appropriate language. Terms such as "mergence," "connectedness," and "mutual formation" are used to explain the development of systems of enforcement and control, notably the pledging arrangements by which villagers acted as guarantors for each other in such matters as payment of fines and correction of misbehavior, and the "hue and cry" that allowed villagers to call on neighbors for help if they felt threatened. The complex position of the officials, particularly the jurors, is also examined, and we see how they could be reminded of their duties to observe the values of the community by criticism in the court. Olson's main conclusions are that the cohesion of the village, and in particular the pledging system, was beginning to break down in the 1330s, even before the Black Death, and that the communities came under severe stress in the early fifteenth century, when violent and anti-social behaviour was increasing and the position of the officials underwent important changes. A number of other issues receive attention, notably the role of peasant women and the relationship between the lord and his tenants.

This book has a character distinct from other products of the Toronto school. One might expect that the cultural history approach would lead Olson to treat the sources in a sophisticated fashion, but instead she asserts that the court rolls represent the "minutes" of the proceedings of the courts, that they contain a "chronicle of all that happens in the court" (p. 12). She even suggests that small differences in the Latin vocabulary, for example between *dicere* (to say) and *presentare* (to present) when the statements of juries were recorded could represent significant shifts in procedures and meaning. This is at variance with the findings of other researchers, who believe that the court rolls contain brief and inadequate summaries of the often lengthy pleadings in the courts and that the cases brought before courts, valuable sources though they undoubtedly are, reflect only partially and inadequately the lives of the peasantry. The record was a specialized artifact, constructed primarily for the benefit of the lord, and therefore colored throughout by the seigniorial interest. The court rolls need careful handling, and small changes in their language are more likely to reflect scribal or administrative preferences than the thinking of the peasants. Olson is aware of the lord's interest and of the dialogue between peasants and lords, and this could have helped her to decon-

struct the evidence of the court roll in a more critical manner.

Cultural history has much to offer students of the medieval peasantry, and the reconstruction of the mentality of the village is a goal worth pursuing, but such work must be based on a rigorous appreciation of the documents and their limitations; generalizations (here occupying many pages) must flow from the sources as well as the imagination of the historian. In this case also, the preoccupation has led to a neglect of the material basis of the communities studied. Scant effort is made to define the landholdings of the peasants, the market in land, non-agricultural occupations, and other economic matters, leaving the reader with the sense of an incomplete picture. Information about land and farming might have strengthened the analysis of social interaction and community attitudes.

CHRISTOPHER DYER
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JOHN ABERTH. *Criminal Churchmen in the Age of Edward III: The Case of Bishop Thomas de Lisle*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xxiv, 280. \$45.00.

Thomas de Lisle, bishop of Ely from 1345 to 1361, was an interesting although not very pleasant man, and John Aberth has written an interesting book about him. De Lisle was of relatively humble background, probably belonging to a Kentish family from the ranks of the lower gentry. He joined the Dominican order, and, in 1341, Edward III sent him to the papal curia at Avignon as part of a diplomatic mission. There he became a protégé of Pope Clement VI. In 1345, Clement provided him to the vacant see of Ely. De Lisle was an unusual member of the fourteenth century English episcopate. His relatively modest background and his membership in the Dominican order set him apart from the other bishops, and he was one of the very few English bishops who obtained their sees by papal provision rather than by means of royal patronage or gradual ecclesiastical preferment. This background isolated him and made him politically vulnerable when he ran afoul of the king.

In the 1350s, de Lisle was drawn into a property dispute with the wealthy and well connected Blanche, widow of Thomas, Lord Wake of Liddell. This dispute resulted in arson and the 1355 murder of Lady Wake's valet by the bishop's chamberlain. De Lisle was eventually convicted by a jury of receiving the killers of Lady Wake's valet but not of consenting to his murder. His case was then sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, who refused to allow de Lisle to prove his innocence in accordance with the procedures of canon law. De Lisle's flight to Avignon in 1356 involved the pope in a protracted dispute with Edward III, in which the king received the almost complete support of the English Church. In 1361, just as it appeared that a compromise solution was in the offing, de Lisle died.

De Lisle's agitated career throws much light on the

high politics of church and state in the fourteenth century. But Aberth is particularly interested in what these incidents reveal about the problem of crime and public order in fourteenth-century England. Aberth argues that de Lisle was indeed the master of a criminal gang, composed of his servants and retainers, whose members used arson, robbery, assault, and extortion to fatten their purses and that of their master. Aberth believes that de Lisle's inexperience in manorial and diocesan administration and his personal extravagance, perhaps modeled on that of Clement VI, left his finances in such a perilous state that he was willing to contemplate criminal activity as a way to balance his books. In adopting this course, de Lisle was unusual, according to Aberth, who argues against the now rather old view that overmighty subjects and "bastard feudalism" led to public disorder in late medieval England. Aberth instead aligns himself with those who take the much more sanguine position that overmighty subjects did not overawe and corrupt the institutions of justice by gathering around themselves retainers eager to cultivate their protection and support them in their nefarious deeds. Rather, magnates often acted to preserve order, maintaining discipline among their retainers and acting as arbitrators of disputes among their followers. Indeed, lords had a positive disincentive to support criminals among the ranks of their retainers, since the maintenance of the law-breakers risked losing them the support of their tenants and the local gentry.

Aberth by no means wishes to paint fourteenth-century England as an idyllic, orderly society. He discusses at length the widespread complaints about the corruption of the royal judicial system. And he argues on the basis of Edward III's behavior in the de Lisle case and other affairs that the king failed to give the maintenance of law and order the priority it required. Distracted by his military ambitions, Edward liberally pardoned criminals in return for military service, failed to root out corruption among his judges and administrative officials, and surrendered (to local men) the initiative in doing justice. At times, he was willing to act in contravention of the law, as when he seized de Lisle's temporalities even before the bishop had been formally condemned for his crimes in a court of law. Aberth's case study of one bishop's difficulties may not be enough to support some of the larger claims he makes, but he has written a good book that casts much light on high politics and the problems of law and order in fourteenth-century England.

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ROBERT I. BURNS, S. J. *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinate Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250–1350*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. x, 267. \$45.00.

This book studies a most unusual survival: Jewish wills in Latin from medieval Christian Spain. Most Jewish documents in the Middle Ages, including wills, were written in Hebrew (or in Aramaic) and have, largely in consequence, not survived. Some fifty or so wills by Jews and other documents relating to their testamentary affairs have survived, however, because they were written in Latin, copied into Christian notarial codexes, and kept in Christian archives. They all come from the combined territories of Catalonia, Aragon, the Balearics, Valencia, and parts of southern France, during the period 1250–1350, when these areas formed a thriving political and mercantile power.

Robert I. Burns collects these documents, situates them in their various contexts, and also publishes them in an appendix. He looks first at "the world of the wills," reminding us that the Jews of the Aragonese realms before the trauma of 1391 were highly integrated into a pluricultural society. A second chapter studies the mechanisms of minority notarial and quasi-notarial culture; Burns is too careful a scholar to draw tempting but erroneous parallels between superficially similar institutions. *Sofer* is not, or not quite, the same as scribe, and wills are different kinds of documents in these different cultures. A Latin will by a Jew is not merely a Jewish will in a different language. In the third chapter, Burns investigates the role of the monarch in testamentary dispositions and conflicts and shows that he was often a court of last resort for difficult cases. But the very necessity to call on the monarch, as Burns also points out, shows that at least some Aragonese Jews had quite considerable estates. These were prosperous communities.

The next two chapters look respectively at wills from three cities in the Arago-Catalan realms—Palma de Mallorca, Perpignan, and Puigcerdà—and at women in the wills. Burns is able to provide some striking figures for population sizes, reminding us how thin the line of Jewish survival, both physical and cultural, was before the modern period. In 1300, Puigcerdà, which was a capital and a city of commercial importance, had some 660 Christian households and only about fifty Jewish families. While the Jews represented a fairly large percentage of the total, they were hardly numerous in any absolute sense. Burns's examination of the wills of a number of women seems to concentrate on women as testators. Although he notices women as legatees, he does not pay very much attention to them in that role specifically as women; in what was a man's world, however, there were more women legatees than women testators. But this is a very minor worry, especially in view of the other riches on offer. In a final chapter, Burns discusses extensions of the search for medieval Jewish wills, looking at other periods and, especially, at other areas, including the Islamic world, where the Geniza has revealed some, though not many, Jewish wills.

Among the texts collected here, several stand out: one in particular is the record of a major inheritance case (the estate was worth some 48,000 gold *morab-*

atins) involving the famous rabbi, Solomon Ibn Adret, which was ultimately decided by the king against Ibn Adret. Others include charters from the ruler granting notarial appointments, upholding testaments by Jews, or deciding between claimants in cases involving Jews (one of these involved the forgery of a document).

Burns tells us more than once that these documents reflect an entire social world; that they do so to such effect owes much to the dense description of context—cultural, linguistic, religious, administrative and bureaucratic, and more broadly social—that he is able to give them. Burns claims that this book began as a hobby while he was working on other projects and occasionally came across the kinds of documents collected in it. We should hope that other scholars of such learning have similar hobbies.

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JOHN BELL HENNEMAN. *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society in France Under Charles V and Charles VI*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 341. \$54.95.

This long-awaited study is the first scholarly biography since 1898 of Olivier IV de Clisson (1336–1407). It skillfully reconstructs “political society” at both the national level and in Brittany, Clisson’s home and power base. John Bell Henneman’s bibliography and extensive endnotes balance and evaluate traditional accounts from the chroniclers with massive evidence gleaned from five departmental archives, the Archives Nationales, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the municipal library of Nantes, a private collection at Bringolo, the Musée Condé at Chantilly, and the Bibliothèque of the Arsenal at Paris.

Clisson is best known as a general. Henneman sees him, rather than the more famous Bertrand Du Guesclin, as the author of the military strategy of nonengagement with the English that proved profitable for the crown but disastrous for the French countryside during the 1370s. Clisson’s leadership of the *Marmouset* (upstart) faction at the royal court is also well known. The nickname was applied to this group from 1388, when it gained power at the royal court only to lose it to the king’s uncles after Charles VI went mad in 1392. Henneman, however, sees the *Marmousets* as a coherent reform group of lesser nobles and bourgeois in the households of John II and Charles V who were supported by substantial elements of “French military society.”

Clisson was an important figure at the royal court from 1370 and a dominant power by 1378. He was also the leader of the Breton nobles, who perhaps paradoxically insisted on their own autonomy within Brittany but favored a strong monarchy. Although Henneman gives a generally favorable account of the *Marmouset* reform program and disputes Raymond Cazelles’s assertion that Charles V “the Wise” was not really in control of his own government until 1375, he admits

that the more conspicuous *Marmouset* presence thereafter led the king into some unwise moves. He finds Clisson an unattractive personality: proud, cruel, and avaricious. Although he spent his boyhood in English exile as a supporter of the Montfort faction in the Breton civil war and returned to Brittany as an English ally in 1358, he came to detest the English when they did not restore lands to him after 1360 and became notorious for mistreating English prisoners of war. He broke with Duke John IV of Brittany in 1370 over issues that each considered points of honor, then pursued a vendetta against him that was only reconciled in 1395. This feud led Clisson to champion and finance the ousted Penthievre faction’s claims to the duchy; involved Charles V in an ill-considered invasion of Brittany in 1378; prevented a permanent accommodation with Brittany in the early 1380s; foiled French efforts to invade England between 1386–1388; exacerbated Clisson’s relations with Charles VI’s uncle-regents; involved John IV in seizing Clisson in 1387 while he was under safe-conduct; and witnessed an attempt by a Breton ally of John IV to murder Clisson in 1392, which provoked Charles VI into invading Brittany on the campaign where he had his first attack of insanity. The king’s incapacity permitted the duke of Burgundy to seize control and banish Clisson from the court. The sources are curiously reticent about any direct dealings that the aging former constable may have had with French court rivalries after this, although he did ally with the duke of Orléans in 1396. He remained active in Breton affairs, even attempting unsuccessfully in 1402 to become the regent of Duke John V.

Faced with such a wealth of information, including extremely insightful comparisons of different sources and always important interpretations, I have one question. Henneman emphasizes that Clisson was famed for his riches. He paid his troops out of his own pocket and advanced substantial sums to the crown and other nobles. Yet Henneman does not explain convincingly, and perhaps the documents do not say, what the source of this wealth was. He notes that Clisson bought land cheaply when prices were down and that his period of ascendancy was a time of comparative peace, when the French nobles had less onerous military expenditures than before 1360. Clisson benefited from the patronage that all highly placed royal servants enjoyed and from his salary as constable, but the evidence of his wealth is clear even by the 1360s, when he was still gaining possession of his ancestral estates and long before he was even in royal service.

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JOËL BLANCHARD. *Commynes L’Européen: L’invention du politique*. (Publications Romanes et Françaises, number 216.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1996. Pp. 508.

Philippe de Commynes (ca. 1447–ca. 1516) has often, as a political thinker, been treated as transitional

between the later Middle Ages of Johann Huizinga and the Renaissance of Jakob Burckhardt; Sainte-Beuve, with some exaggeration, described Commynes long ago as the French Machiavelli. His *Memoires*, translated into English as early as 1596, remain one of the richest sources for our knowledge of the political history of Burgundy under Charles the Bold and the France of Louis XI, both of whom he served as a counselor and diplomat. The *Memoires* deal with the struggles between France and Burgundy and also, in its final books, with the French invasion of Italy in 1494 and the diplomatic negotiations surrounding it. But the particular value of the *Memoires* lies in their revelation of Commynes's attitudes toward politics, which reflect his years of political experience. Joël Blanchard's emphasis, as his subtitle suggests, is on Commynes as a forerunner of modern politics. But Commynes's was also a mind in transition. On the one hand he recognized the acute need of his disorderly time for order and peace, and to this end he urged careful deliberation before any serious political decision; his desertion of the rash Burgundian duke for the wily French king in 1472 probably reflected more than the lands and preferment it brought him. His own shrewd observations about the motives of those he encountered generally display a political realism we are likely to associate with a later age. But his insistence on the inadequacy of the judgement in politics of any single individual, even a king, and his resistance to royal taxation, on the traditional ground that royal government should—and presumably could—be supported solely by the income from the royal domain, suggest the feudal attitudes of the past, in which, it may be observed, the elevation of Commynes, a man of middle-class background, had given him a material interest. His political orbit lay somewhere between that described by Huizinga and those of Burckhardt's autocratic princes.

Blanchard's new work on Commynes is the first modern, full-length study of an instructive figure. The author (who is also preparing an edition of Commynes's correspondence) has discovered much new material, including unpublished letters and contemporary diplomatic dispatches. He is also thoroughly acquainted with the European political context of Commynes's experience. But in spite of much new and rich detail, especially concerning the diplomacy of the time, our general understanding of the significance of its subject seems to me little changed by this book.

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MICHAEL CAMILLE. *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 286.

This book manages simultaneously to infuriate and intrigue the reader. Michael Camille's choice of topic is fascinating, but his indulgent and pretentious pre-

sentation grates on the nerves. Camille profits from the current surge of interest in manuscript studies to ask a logical yet neglected question: "Who were the manuscript illuminators and how did they work?" This question has not been widely treated because, with very few exceptions (such as Jean Pucelle in the early fourteenth century or the Limbourg brothers in the early fifteenth), we know very little about those whom Camille calls "the many ordinary, anonymous picture-makers" (p. 4).

In Pierre Remiet, Camille feels he has the means of penetrating that most difficult of all historical veils, the veil of the ordinary. We know Remiet only because of a gap not filled, a picture not painted. In an almost fully illuminated manuscript of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinages de la vie humaine*, the scribe responsible for executing the manuscript wrote these instructions to the illuminator: "'Remiet ne faites rien cy car je y feray une figure qui y doit estre' (Remiet, make nothing here because I will make a figure which should be there)" (p. 13).

Remiet obeyed the scribe's injunction, thereby putting his otherwise unknown name to a style often critiqued as "lifeless" and preoccupied with death. This is what attracts Camille's interest. Armed with Remiet's name, and a significant sample of his technique from the Deguileville manuscript, he has tracked down, identified, and commented on other examples of his work. The account of Camille's detective work forms the most interesting part of his book by far.

We do need to know more about those responsible for that original artistic achievement, the medieval illuminated book. But can one really do so by constructing the hypothetical "biography"—Camille's term—of an artisan for whom we do not have even birth and death dates? Camille conjectures both statistics to fit his themes of death as Remiet's subject matter, lifelessness as a sign of his artistic mediocrity, and his final decline into artistic irrelevance as representative of the legions of ordinary illuminators.

Camille places Remiet's birth in "1348—the year the Black Death first struck Paris" (p. 31). He died after "a long life of making pictures which ended, not with the glorious flowering of a free 'late' style (such as with 'old masters' like Titian) but with the feeble scribbles of someone whose style was by then redundant . . . the old man ended up in the margins, just as he had begun his career there" (p. 5).

This reverie counters Johann Huizinga's *Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924), which depicted late medieval culture as preoccupied with "decadence, death, and decline." Whereas Huizinga was "fascinated and repelled" by this culture, which he viewed "anachronistically" and only through artifacts of high culture, Camille feels empathy with it, an understanding born by living it vicariously through the work of his ordinary artisan protagonist.

The reader needs to block the strategy of putative biography and ignore such overwrought chapter titles as "Death in Miniature," "The Birth of Death," "The

Life of Death," "The Face of Death," "The Body of Death," "The Death of Death" in order to appreciate the intelligent, informed study of a neglected illuminator. Although the book does not provide an antidote to Huizinga—do we need one?—it does plunge us into a world whose fascination grows with our increasing knowledge of the people, both ordinary and extraordinary, whose lives and works created it.

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DANIEL BORNSTEIN and ROBERTO RUSCONI, editors. *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. Translated by MARGERY J. SCHNEIDER. (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. x, 334. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$16.95.

This collection of ten essays, edited by Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi and translated from the Italian by Margery J. Schneider, introduces an important body of scholarship to an English-speaking audience. Bolstered by an introduction and afterword, the essays address several issues critical to the study of women and religion in north-central Italy from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries: the tensions between women's charismatic power and ecclesiastical authority, the forms of religious life and female association that women of all classes created in societies that afforded them few public roles, and the ways in which women exploited fissures within the institutional church and urban locales to carve out pockets of influence. While American scholars have tended to focus on women's agency in skillfully deploying the "powers of the weak" (p. 2), these essays emphasize more pointedly the dense local contexts in which women made religious choices at a time when the secular and the sacred were still tightly interwoven. The book thus makes a double, complementary contribution to American scholarship. It opens up the work of leading Italian scholars to a public unfamiliar with this marginalized language, and it cultivates a deeper context in which to situate women's religious experiences in premodern Europe.

The chronologically arranged essays are preceded by Bornstein's informative introduction, which neatly sketches the Italian medieval setting alongside issues of method and historiography. Bornstein highlights two forms of religiosity that bore a particularly female stamp: a concern with food and flesh, and an affective piety that stressed a personal, emotional attachment to Christ. Bornstein also praises the rigorous empiricism characteristic of the strand of Italian scholarship represented in the collection as superior both to micro-history, which he eschews, and to the "global generalizations" of the Annales school (p. 14).

Unfortunately, the first entry, Antonio Rigon's "A Community of Female Penitents in Thirteenth-Century Padua," does little to warrant such high marks. Rigon examines the evolution of a small female penitential group into a traditional monastic community,

but his thin essay presents no discernable argument. The following essay by Clare Gennaro suffers from a similar lack of focus. In "Clare, Agnes, and Their Earliest Female Followers," Gennaro offers a sympathetic portrayal of ecclesiastical authorities trying to guide the budding Clarissan movement. In doing so, she downplays the tensions dividing clerics from the resolutely radical early female Franciscans, who insisted on a life of voluntary poverty. Gennaro sidesteps the paradox that Clare and her followers were instrumental in rejuvenating lay piety yet were barred from full apostolic status.

Mario Sensi's "Anchoresses and Penitents in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Umbria" reveals to better advantage a society caught in its own contradictions. It proved impossible for female penitents inspired by Franciscan ideals to follow simultaneously the religious principle of voluntary poverty and the social precept of female seclusion. As a result, penitential groups including the Poor Clares found themselves in need of property endowments to provide a secure income, making them monastics rather than mendicants. Given Sensi's institutional analysis, in which papal and episcopal control loom large, the impulse driving female penitents continually to choose this form of associative life remains vague.

The collection takes flight with Anna Benvenuti Papi's "Mendicant Friars and Female Pinzochere in Tuscany." In this rich survey of Tuscan hagiography, Benvenuti Papi proposes an argument that has shaped much thinking about the institutionalization of informal religious communities. She argues that in the fourteenth century, under the watchful eye of the mendicant orders, spontaneous female associations were increasingly shunted into conventional, enclosed monastic arrangements. The argument, still open to challenge, is nevertheless made powerful by her attentiveness to issues of class and to distinctions between patterns of change in urban and rural areas. Like Benvenuti Papi, Enrico Menestò identifies the fourteenth century as a pivotal transition in female sanctity and lay piety. In "The Apostolic Canonization Proceedings of Clare of Montefalco, 1318–1319," Menestò provides an illuminating examination of how to make a saint. Stressing the interactive nature of sanctity between the aspiring saint and the populace, on one hand, and the populace and ecclesiastical authorities on the other, he documents how "new" saints like Clare replaced more traditional saints as the laity's preferred intercessors. Chiara Frugoni's "Female Mystics, Visions, and Iconography" updates an old argument with a new feminist twist, arguing that visual images proved especially instrumental to lay female mystics and to the later promotion of their cults because of their ambiguous official status.

Fernanda Sorelli's lucid examination of "The Legend of Maria of Venice" marks an important disjuncture in models of female sanctity that occurred around 1400. Although the young, well-born Maria Sturion fervently devoted herself to ascetic practices, the key

to her "imitable sanctity" lay in the fact that her "sphere of action was entirely human" (p. 170). It was the virtuous and charitable manner in which Maria conducted herself, not dramatic miracles, that made Maria a saint in the eyes of others. This shift to a more domesticated form of female sanctity is pursued in Rusconi's short study, "St. Bernardino of Siena, the Wife, and Possessions," which sketches the common discourse among humanists, merchants, and preachers regarding proper female deportment. More richly textured is the analysis by Anna Esposito in "St. Francesca and the Female Religious Communities of Fifteenth-Century Rome." Esposito brilliantly delineates the social composition of the cult of the Roman holy woman Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani and the networks that linked her female followers. In showing how one group of devout women who desired to live outside convent walls were supported by other women and male clerics, Esposito explicates the means by which Italian urban women sustained alternative communities. Her analysis implicitly underlines the tenacity of the monastic model in structuring women's religious experience and expression over four centuries of social and political change; monastic life stood at the heart of female religiosity, even when women tried to escape it.

Rounding out the collection is the now-classic essay by Gabriella Zarri, "Living Saints: A Typology of Female Sanctity in the Early Sixteenth Century," which makes a long overdue appearance in English. With its bristling insights, subtle arguments, and packed notes, Zarri's essay is in a class of its own. Zarri focuses on fourteen holy women active around 1500 who became objects of devotion during their own lifetimes or immediately after death. These "living saints" shared a number of mystical gifts—prophecy, ecstasies, stigmata—that assured them prominent political and social roles during the widespread crisis besetting Italy. Local princes and prelates actively promoted their cults in hope of achieving greater social cohesion and spiritual protection for their locales. But after 1530, the fortunes of the "living saints" faded abruptly. The papacy exercised greater rigor in recognizing cults, local backers dropped away with the restoration of civic order, and visionary piety became too dangerous in the wake of reformist attacks. Zarri's essay crystallizes two themes running throughout the collection: that political instability and social crisis opened windows of opportunity for charismatic women, and that holy women found themselves inextricably intermeshed with the mendicant orders whose members acted as either friend or foe, depending on the situation.

Despite its virtues, the collection seems somewhat dated from the specialist's standpoint. All ten Italian essays were published originally between 1979 and 1985, and several pieces show signs of their historiographical age. Rusconi's superb afterword attempts to remedy this situation by indicating trends in Italian scholarship over the past decade. He imaginatively

illustrates how recent scholarship has and might continue to deploy the vast range of sources generated by and for female religious groups.

Whatever its shortcomings, the collection makes a fine contribution to international scholarly exchange. The translator also deserves praise for successfully turning a sometimes convoluted, opaque Italian academic style into lucid English prose.

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GHERARDO ORTALLI. *Suole, maestri e istruzione di base tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: Il caso veneziano*. (Cultura Popolare Veneta, number 3.) Venice: Neri Pozza, editore. 1993. Pp. x, 151. L. 22,000.

In this book, Gherardo Ortalli focuses on Venetian pre-university education from the end of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century. This is not a work of original research. Fewer than ten archival sources are cited, Ortalli's mainstay being the first volume of *Documenti per la storia della cultura in Venezia*, edited by Enrico Bertanza and Giuseppe Dalla Santa (1907). This Venetian material, however, has never been the subject of a full-scale historical analysis, and Ortalli's book is useful as a synthesis, particularly since he has been assiduous in pursuit of often obscure Italian secondary literature.

This study verifies one generally held assumption about Venetian schools: elsewhere in Italy communal authorities may have been assuming ever greater responsibility for schools in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but in Venice pre-university education remained almost entirely private. For Ortalli, the *longue durée* of Venice's private sector was an isolated exception, and yet Florence could have been cited as another large city in which communal schools never came close to displacing private education. Ortalli also observes that the prevailing mercantile ethos made Venice unattractive to great humanist pedagogues, none of whom was willing put down roots there; again it would be enlightening to make a comparison with Florence, whose commercial ambience also proved inimical to humanist educators before the second half of the fifteenth century.

Ortalli's methods are impressionistic, and this approach is generally appropriate for a topic such as Venetian education, in which the material hitherto available derives from a random variety of sources. Nevertheless, I wonder whether Ortalli could have been more imaginative with his material. For example, Bertanza's and Dalla Santa's data shows a strong prevalence of Latin/grammatical education until at least the second half of the fifteenth century: there are something like three references to grammar teaching for every one reference to abacus learning up to 1400, a proportion that remains unchanged in the first half of the Quattrocento. This seems remarkable for a mercantile city like Venice, especially in comparison with Giovanni Villani's well-known statistics for Florence,

where abacus pupils outnumbered grammar pupils by two to one as early as the first half of the Trecento (see F. G. Dragomanini, eds., *Cronica*, vol. 3 [1844–1845], p. 324). Ortalli observes that, in comparison with Florence and Tuscany, which of course was the great cradle of the medieval Italian vernacular, Venice was slow to develop a strong vernacular dialect literature. Perhaps Venetians were equally conservative in their educational habits, preferring the traditional latinate grammar schools to the new vernacular abacus education, much of which was being imported from Tuscany and Florence in the form of both treatises and teachers.

Regarding one aspect of education, Ortalli's book is controversial: the role of the church. It is generally thought that the rise of private and communal lay education in the second half of the thirteenth century and especially in the fourteenth century sounded the death-knell for already declining ecclesiastical schools. Ortalli believes, on the other hand, that there must have been continuity of clerical education on a parochial level, often linked to the cure of souls. This kind of basic education has, in his view, largely escaped documentation, and it is only faintly detectable through indirect sources. The few positive bits of evidence mentioned, however, are ambiguous: it is unclear if the clerical teachers whom he cites were offering instruction in their role as parish priests or were simply clerks providing private teaching for payment. Of course, undocumented parochial education may have subsisted after the thirteenth century; nevertheless, the broad Italian educational pattern, based on solid documentary evidence, is clear. Church schools, which can be documented in centers such as Genoa, Florence, or Arezzo up to the thirteenth century, disappear in the fourteenth. The rise of communal and private lay education and the simultaneous decline of church schools is no coincidence: the church had no need to organize Latin education for the clergy when basic grammar teaching was being provided at large in lay society. Again, it is necessary to see Venetian developments as part of a larger Italian picture.

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RONALD E. ZUPKO and ROBERT A. LAURES. *Straws in the Wind: Medieval Urban Environmental Law—The Case of Northern Italy*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. vii, 152. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.00.

I was disposed to like this book, whose subject matter is important and fresh, and it gives me no pleasure to conclude that, from beginning to end, the text swings between the peculiar, the questionable, and the unacceptable. Nor should its intent to instruct a general audience excuse it from serious scrutiny. Ronald E. Zupko and Robert A. Laures were, it is true, handicapped in the sources available to them. Notes and

bibliography indicate that they have consulted virtually nothing written in the past fifteen years or in any language other than English. They cite only statutes published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and did not use the vast body of statutes published earlier. They have done no archival research, except in Bergamo. They omit consideration of Venice, Rome, Florence, and Siena on the odd grounds that larger cities were embroiled in extraregional affairs and thus were not as engaged with local environmental issues (p. 7).

Even so, Zupko and Laures might have found much to work with, but they undermine their argument with a narrative that wanders between the digressive and the irrelevant. The book's opening chapter on the medieval city sets a cluttered stage, spinning from Max Weber and German sociological typologies (with analogies from George Orwell's *Animal Farm*) to the micro-case of Bologna in 1288. We hear much about Roman transportation (pp. 44–46) and water systems (pp. 59–63), despite the authors' admission that these had decayed by and left no legacy to the Middle Ages. Discussion of the urban reaction to environmental crisis in the fourteenth century largely summarizes Bergamasque statutes of 1727. Chapter five, nominally about eliminating wastes, deals with guilds, retail sales, and the food supply.

Line-by-line scansion is equally difficult. Small errors—such as dating the Black Death to 1345 (p. 77) or misspelling Pirano and Vicenza (p. 113)—are not fatal, but statements such as “One had to be of the city . . . to be considered a citizen” (p. 41), which denies the possibility of acquired citizenship, cause the reader to question the accuracy of the text. The depiction of non-elites as “little more than an industrial proletariat with only their labor to sell” (p. 10) also gives pause, as do statements that “Canon law, like any other form of sacred law, inevitably attempted to extend its claim of absolute right to rule over all aspects of human behavior” (p. 13) and references to “smog-shrouded cities” prior to the Middle Ages (p. 33).

All of this would be less damaging if the book's macro-concerns were plausible or even provocative, but they are not. Zupko and Laures seem to have no clear vision of their subject. They trace “environmental awareness” and “environmental theory” back to classical and early Hebrew times, citing texts that show only that people have made wildly diverse comments about the earth and the human place on it. “Environmentalism” seems to be something like “human concern for the environment and endangered resources” (p. 1). At its most specific, it boils down to a conception of “the earth as a planned abode and humans as the stewards of their environment” (p. 28), which seems to be a constant in the Western consciousness and thus not specific to any culture.

Given such vague, ahistorical definitions, Zupko and Laures cannot connect any of the ideas of ancient “environmental spokesmen” to the concrete acts of medieval legislators, even by adopting the most gen-

eral possible definition of "environmental law" and "environmental quality standards" (p. 5). Indeed, the laws cited would much better support a thesis of empiricism and pragmatism. Does a city relocate butchers downriver because lawmakers respond to ideals of stewardship or because offal thrown upriver is offensive to those further down? One does not have to be steeped in classics, patristics, or scholastics not to want to live amid stinking streets, fetid waters, and inadequate food, and there is no sign here that medieval *borghesi* were so steeped.

Even more dubious is the authors' conclusion that medieval Italian "environmental legislative initiatives . . . have become the cornerstone of the modern environmental movement" (p. 114; see also p. 5), drawn without the slightest effort to demonstrate a linear development from medieval Italy to contemporary America. But readers may already have given up, perhaps at "Medieval Italian water and land pollution standards tend to reflect modern norms because the effects of pollutants were perceptible to the regulators and had an immediate impact upon the physical and financial well-being of the town's citizens" (p. 34).

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MODERN EUROPE

BRONISŁAW GEREMEK. *The Common Roots of Europe*. Translated by JAN ALEKSANDROWICZ *et al.* Foreword by FRANCESCO M. CATALUCCIO. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1996. Pp. 194. \$59.95.

This book will not disappoint the reader who is aware of its character. It is not a synthetic interpretation but consists of five essays that take—quite brilliantly—a bifocal approach to Poland and Europe in the Middle Ages and a sixth, chronologically rather detached, on "The Nation-State in Twentieth-Century Europe."

Bronisław Geremek here reasserts the cultural affinities of Central and Western Europe in historical context. Those parts of Europe that recently emerged from communist tyranny may feel especially strongly that they are part of Western culture, but although the Iron Curtain has come down, there remains a linguistic barrier between Westerners and Central Europeans. After all, three of the essays published here would be accessible to very few Western readers had they not been translated.

In this regard, Geremek's emphasis on the Middle Ages as a period when the "common roots" of European culture is a meaningful concept is highly persuasive, because Latin provided a powerful cultural bond. This is one of the unifying themes of the book. The first chapter wisely urges that "national" history can only become comprehensible as comparative history and assesses the contribution of Polish scholars to the history of medieval Europe. The second chapter deals with *exemplum* from medieval preaching. It is a superb

essay on culture and communication, full of fascinating *aperçus* on miracles and the devil as part of everyday life, not the inventions of clerics to mislead a superstitious populace but essential tools in making sense of the world. The feeling of European community expressed in *Romanitas* and *Christianitas* is further explored in chapters three and four. A vision of the world and Europe's place in it from fifteenth-century Cracow is the focus of chapter five.

As the reflections of a master historian who has been closely involved in the modern upheavals of his own country, these essays are bound to stimulate. It is illuminating to think about the Middle Ages in Central Europe as vital to the shaping of European identities. Yet there were to be other forces at work in later periods. As Geremek points out, "Europe" as a term only entered everyday language in the sixteenth century, yet discussion of the forces of change in that era—the Renaissance, urban growth, Turks, and overseas expansion—is crammed into barely ten pages of chapter three. That was also the age that witnessed the Reformation and the shaping of national identities through confessional choice, a process that contemporaries such as Sir Edwyn Sandys thought had passed Poland by.

It is revealing of the speed of change in Europe in recent times—and the uncertainties about where it or its constituent regions may be heading—that this collection was first published (in Italian) in 1991. For some it may seem a bit dated. The "perspective of European unity" (p. 82) is perhaps now more remote; the common European bond "discernible in the Middle Ages" (p. 94) is again under scrutiny. Would Europeans today agree that "the concepts of nation and fatherland are already faded" (p. 162)? This is a book to enjoy as a reflection of the author's humanity as well as his scholarship. At the same time, it is a reminder that however well we know the past, we should not make assumptions about the future, still less use history as a justification for prediction.

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ANN MOSS. *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 345. \$80.00.

This is a compendious, learned, and thoughtful book. Renaissance commonplace-books were compilations of notable quotations from Latin authors, systematically arranged according to particular headings. Collecting such quotations was a standard practice in humanist schools. With the advent of printing and the founding of grammar schools on a very large scale, commonplace-books became, in the sixteenth century, a staple of the publishing industry.

These seemingly banal textbooks eventually became obsolete. Only recently, beginning with Ernst Robert Curtius's *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittel-*

alter (published, in its final version, in 1948), have commonplaces (*topoi, loci communes*) become the subject of serious study and something of a specialty among German historians of culture. Ann Moss follows in the wake of Peter Jehn and Edgar Mertner in revising Curtius's analysis of the commonplace literature. She argues that printed commonplace-books functioned as the "technical support system" of Renaissance culture (p. 134).

Moss is entirely persuasive in her assessment. Her judgements are trenchant, her familiarity with the secondary literature in several languages is exhaustive, and her intelligent sampling of this enormous mass of neo-Latin academic treatises inspires confidence. Moss is particularly good at tracing the development of these anthologies from their ancient sources (Cicero, Seneca) through the medieval *florilegia* to the Renaissance commonplace-book, which retained some of the metaphors and idiosyncrasies of the genre while adapting it to new purposes.

Seneca, for instance, recommended that intelligent readers imitate bees gathering pollen from a variety of flowers. Once collected, the precious harvest was to be stored in separate compartments, a honeycomb of sorts, before it was transformed into a "single sweet substance" (p. 12), the final product of the reader's musings. Medieval writers repeated the advice concerning the imitation of bees, but in their versions the gathering and storing became an end in itself: no new substance was produced (p. 14). With Petrarch, we return to Seneca's original version, but with special emphasis on the production of a new substance—new phrases, new ideas—that ought to be not only different from the collected raw materials but better (p. 51). Erasmus abandoned the medieval interest in collecting and arranging in favor of production (p. 105). Variations on these themes were sounded by Juan Luis Vives, Philip Melanchthon, Peter Ramus, and Henri Estienne, among others, culminating in that "most uncommon of commonplace-books," the *Essais* of Michel de Montaigne (p. 212).

Moss is particularly successful at showing the importance of the printed commonplace-book in French culture during the century following the 1530s, a time when a gargantuan proliferation of humanist public schools took place in France. The scope of this book, however, is international, and there is no doubt that Moss's main point is both plausible and disturbing: Renaissance culture rests on a foundation of repeatedly imitated commonplaces. Particularly useful in this regard is the appendix of 256 Latin quotations that accompanies the text.

Reasonably enough, Moss emphasizes the most common and the broadest functions of commonplace-books and avoids truly exceptional cases. Montaigne's essays, she points out, conform in every respect to the commonplace-book tradition. Their titles are commonplace headings, the essays are organized as if they were a flexible honeycomb, and each is larded and weighted down with copious Latin quotations used for

"example, authority and ornament" (p. 213). But these quotations serve as the armature of his book; Montaigne wrote the essays themselves in French. Moss does not consider vernacular commonplace-books in her study, perhaps because this is a practical way of limiting the task she has set herself, or perhaps because that category raises too many difficult questions. Indeed, it would seem that the rise of a vernacular literary culture in France made the commonplace-book obsolete. In Ramus's *Dialectique* (1555), the Latin quotations have been translated by young French poets; the tension between imitation and the creation of a new and independent vernacular culture is already manifest. This tension is eventually resolved in works such as La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes* (1665), a collection of original aphorisms that owes nothing to the commonplace-book tradition.

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JAMES J. BONO. *The Word of God and the Languages of Man: Interpreting Nature in Early Modern Science and Medicine*. Volume 1, *Ficino to Descartes*. (Science and Literature.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 317. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$22.95.

In this book, the first of a projected two-volume study, James J. Bono endeavors to provide an interpretive framework for understanding natural knowledge in early modern Europe. He focuses on the biblical stories of the Fall and the tower of Babel and their interpretation in theories of language and language change from the late fifteenth through the mid-seventeenth centuries. This is quite familiar ground in early modern intellectual history, the major scholarly monument to its study being Arno Borst's impressive four-volume *Der Turmbau von Babel* (1957–1963). It is also familiar to historians of early modern science: Francis Bacon's use of these stories in his apologies for a new kind of natural philosophy have been examined by a number of scholars, including Benjamin Farrington and Jerome Ravetz. Bono wishes to take them and use them as keys to understanding contemporary conceptions of the intelligibility of nature.

According to the book of Genesis, before the Fall and the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, Adam had named all the animals. In the Renaissance, this was commonly taken to mean that he had been privy to the *true names* of all created things; that is, that Adam possessed knowledge of their essences and, in consequence, had dominion over all creatures (an important trope for Bacon). Debate then concerned the fate of Adam's privileged, knowledge-bearing language after the Fall: had it survived even if Adam's easy command over the natural world had not? The issue was complicated by the subsequent tale of the tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues that resulted. Even if the original Adamic language had survived until then, a multiplicity of new languages had subsequently arisen,

from which those of the present day are descended. Assuming that the original Adamic language possessed some privileged relation to the New Testament's creative Word of God, many scholars in the late Renaissance sought to determine the connections between it and the diverse "languages of man"; hence Bono's title.

Both the "Word of God" and the "languages of man" represent language as constitutive of knowledge, because language was both the means by which the world was created and the means whereby human beings could understand it. Grasping the world intellectually became, on this metaphor, a matter of learning how to read it. Bono is concerned to explain the variety of meanings invested in the well-known trope of the "Book of Nature," and, in particular, to claim a transition (of inexactly determined chronology) from one dominant mode of interpretation to another, newer one responsible for "the sciences and the follies, the noble aspirations and obsessive nightmares, of the modern world" (p.271). Knowledge of God's creation as pursued by thinkers such as Marsilio Ficino was fundamentally exegetical, according to Bono, focused on recovering the traces of original human knowledge found in the texts of antiquity. Although Bono never lays out precisely what he means by the term "exegetis" (allusions to unspecified "technologies of reading" fill the gap), the operative views of human history, related to the stories in Genesis and to the *prisca theologia* of the *corpus hermeticum*, keep the picture reasonably clear. The seventeenth-century alternative, which abandons hope of recovering privileged knowledge from the remains of the past, is a descriptive approach to nature, or rather, says Bono, "de-inscriptive," meaning that it is concerned with reading that which God had written in the Book of Nature at the creation. Bono contends that this view necessarily rode on the back of previous "exegetical" approaches because it makes use of the same general "cultural narratives" about language and human history. People such as René Descartes and Bacon saw the world as having been created by an intelligent God and regarded language as the form of such intelligence.

The book is somewhat marred, especially at the beginning, by its attempts to talk "theory," which tend to promote vagueness of expression and mask rather than reveal Bono's argument. For example, he says that in studying scientific change in early modern Europe, "we must look to a complex process whereby cultural actors continually negotiate meanings produced by the contestation of new narratives vying for interpretive authority over formative tropes of the Book and the Word" (p. 7). The ambiguity over ascriptions of agency in this remark remains unresolved; the discussion of such matters seldom leaves a level of abstraction and imprecision. Nonetheless, Bono's highlighting of conceptions of language in early

modern knowledge of nature is a useful departure, and it should bear full fruit in volume two.

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NICHOLAS HOPE. *German and Scandinavian Protestantism, 1700–1918*. (Oxford History of the Christian Church.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xxvii, 685. \$120.00.

In one sense, the aim of this book by Nicholas Hope is a modest one. Minimizing the weight of "theology or politics as forces changing average Protestant churchmanship" (p. viii), Hope tells the story of his chosen "churchscape" of German and Scandinavian Protestantism from the vantage point of the "clergy office, the liturgy of worship in church and home, and the pastoral care" (p. x). Although he thus limits the scope of his book, the author has performed a herculean labor by presenting an in-depth account of the evolution of critical aspects of church life over a period of more than two hundred years. Hope does not content himself with a schematic presentation of developments but delves instead into the particularities of the various German regional churches, both Lutheran and Reformed; the four Scandinavian national churches; and the Lutheran established churches of Estonia and Livonia under the Swedish and Russian empires. Such a large-scale, integrated treatment of the Protestant churches of the Baltic littoral is unprecedented and most welcome.

Although the text is crowded with informative portraits of scholars, church leaders, devotional authors, architects, and musicians, it also offers important interpretive insights. Hope, rightfully critical of the stereotype of seventeenth-century Lutheranism as a sterile "orthodoxy," begins by emphasizing Protestant church leaders' provision of devotional materials to help parishioners overcome both the social crises of the day and their ignorance of the gospel. In an original and profoundly significant way, Hope relates the pastoral reforms promoted by early eighteenth-century Lutheran Pietism to the simultaneous creation of modern Protestant canon law, Lutheran patriotic morality, and new "high" national languages in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. The author's tendency to downplay the importance of theological labels is further vindicated by his treatment of late eighteenth-century reforms in church law, liturgies, and homiletic style. Hope shows how complementary were the efforts of Halleian Pietists, Moravian laity, and Enlightenment clerics in these areas. He is not concerned merely with what church leaders discussed among themselves and then sought to impose on the mass of believers. Hope has sufficiently perused parish visitation reports to produce compelling social history that makes clear why many of the reforms proposed "from above" had only limited impact at the parish level.

In the second part of the book, Hope treats the responses of the Protestant churches of Scandinavia

and Germany to the ever-accelerating modernization of the social and political order after 1770. To my knowledge, such a large-scale attempt to address this critical topic has never before been made. Hope succeeds in placing the early nineteenth-century awakening in its social context and in describing how the mid-century unraveling of the traditional church-state relationship forced Protestant churches in Germany and Scandinavia to pursue self-government within a modern legal framework. Of most general interest is the way the author uses comparative and long-term chronological perspectives to fashion a multilayered and not wholly negative assessment of the late nineteenth-century decline in church attendance by Protestants, German and Scandinavian, a phenomenon experienced in other industrializing European countries at that time.

Despite the book's many merits, not the least of which is a superb annotated bibliography, it does possess some shortcomings. Little is said about the parish school, for example. Hope also could have done more to help the reader make sense of the vast amount of material he presents. His literary style is often as Germanic as his subject matter, at times obscuring the point he is trying to make. More fundamental is the absence of an overarching argument or unifying conceptual framework. This omission is perhaps due in part to the author's determination to emphasize the internal development of church institutions, irrespective of politics. But it does not seem to be coincidental that the most effective section of the book is the one in which Hope sets this principle aside: namely, his brilliant account of the catastrophic effects of World War I on the German Protestant churches.

On the whole, therefore, Hope deserves praise for his pioneering work, which contributes much both to comparative church history and to our understanding of a neglected aspect of the modernization process in Central and Northern Europe.

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STEPHEN KERN. *Eyes of Love: The Gaze in English and French Culture, 1840–1900*. New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. 283. \$50.00.

Once upon a time, men were chivalrous and women lived on pedestals. Everything about the relationship between the sexes (thank heavens they were not called genders then) was to everyone's mutual advantage. Women were morally superior to men, and men respected women's morality, regardless of whether the women were wives, concubines, naked models, innocent blossoms, or sultry temptresses. So Stephen Kern would have us believe. In this earnest and optimistic book, Kern uses paintings to argue that the good old days were really good. His examples link English and French work, avant-garde and conservative styles. Painters as diverse as John Everett Millais, Edward Burne Jones, James Tissot, Alexandre Cabanel, Edgar

Degas, and Pierre-Auguste Renoir are refreshingly put into a common cultural context, easing some aged art historical distinctions mysteriously dug by the Channel and reinforced by formal exegesis. Kern shows how all his examples—every single one of them—place more formal and compositional emphasis on the gaze of women than on the looks of men. From this one fact he draws his sweeping conclusions.

Kern is a romantic. He wants to see love wherever he looks. About the avant-garde exoticist painter Paul Gauguin, for example, Kern writes: "Gauguin looked to the women of Tahiti to discover how love went wrong and perhaps find a way to revitalize it" (p. 244). He is not keen to tell us that Gauguin's idea of love in Tahiti turned out to include paying very little money for lots of native sex, infecting women with syphilis, and making an artistic reputation for himself back home with paintings of primevally lusty dark women. Kern ends his book with an analysis of a woman in a Gauguin painting who "[offers] to the eyes of the world the possibility of a dangerous but transforming love that was the inspiration for the artist's painting, a driving spirit of Western art and literature, and a solace to human loneliness everywhere" (p. 245).

Kern knows how much scholarship about art history and gender relations has been produced from a rather different point of view than his own. Toward the end of this book, he acknowledges such work and deflects it without, however, engaging any of its substantive arguments. Marxist, feminist, psychoanalytic, and poststructuralist forays into the analysis of painting have all had their own excesses, to be sure: perhaps all these approaches have sought conflict and iniquity too relentlessly. Kern is not completely wrong to characterize them as "sexually dichotomous, reductive theorizing" (p. 36), but he is as excessive in his way as the writers he criticizes are in theirs. Never-neverland is a long way away.

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LAURA L. FRADER and SONYA O. ROSE, editors. *Gender and Class in Modern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. vii, 365. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

The essays in this innovative, state-of-the-art volume examine from multiple angles the complicated relationship between sex and class, thereby advancing the theoretical agenda of European labor history. Contributions by a transatlantic team of scholars cover topics in nineteenth and twentieth-century history, with a heavy emphasis on France and the United Kingdom (including Ireland). Developments in Germany and Soviet Russia are each accorded one essay, and the final chapter compares gendered images promoted by the Communist Parties in Germany, France, and Italy. The book nicely complements Ava Baron's edited collection, *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor* (1991).

The introductory essay by editors Laura L. Frader

and Sonya O. Rose, "Gender and the Reconstruction of European Working-Class History," provides a masterful guide (abundantly footnoted) to developments in that field and to the multiple challenges posed to its foundational assumptions by feminist scholarship during the last two decades: "This book demonstrates how the study of gender both transforms the ways we think about working-class history and reinvigorates the study of topics that have long been of interest to labor and social historians" (p. 1). The editors signal the explicit challenges mounted to the masculine assumptions of the old, heavily Marxist, and dominantly male labor history when scholars include women's paid and unpaid labor in analytical comparison with that of men and explore the gendered aspects of organized labor movements and their politics. Frader and Rose eloquently summarize the distinct contributions of women's history and gender analysis to the explosion of old paradigms and to the formulation of new ones.

The rest of the volume constitutes a cumulative progress report, one that also "proposes a new agenda for working-class and labor history" (p. 32). This new agenda is elaborated in thirteen chapters, organized around four themes.

The first theme, "Rethinking Proletarianization," includes innovative essays by Jane Gray on the exploitation of female spinners in the northern Irish linen industry, Tessie P. Liu on the long survival of home-based handloom weaving in western France, and Helen Harden Chenut on the gendering of skill among French knitters in Troyes. Drawing on varied types of sources, including poetry by Irish weavers, all three authors underscore the difference that gender consciousness and analysis can make in our understanding of how manufacturing processes are structured. Chenut is especially skillful in explaining how gender analysis illuminates changing definitions of "skill" over a fifty-year period that ended (alas!) with the devaluation of women's work.

Essays on France and England by Judith G. Coffin, Frader, and Laura Tabili variously explore the second theme, "Public and Private in Working-Class History." Coffin expertly examines the sociocultural history of sewing machines as gendered tools of production, central to the expansion of home-based garment production. In a thoughtful comparative analysis of French and British scholarship and sources, Frader queries the neglect of analysis of the "family wage" concept in French labor history. She locates claims for the male wage and attempts to exclude women in certain male-dominated trades, especially the printing and metalworking trades, but documents a more accepting attitude toward women's paid employment in other trades. Tabili forcefully demonstrates how the complex intersection of gender and class could be further complicated by race/ethnic considerations by examining what happened when black seamen from the British colonies set up housekeeping with working-class white women in England's port cities.

In the third theme, "Gender, Class, and the State,"

luminous essays by Rose and Kathleen Canning examine the politics of male discourse about women's paid labor and campaigns for protective legislation in Britain and Germany. An essay on nineteenth-century French republicanism by Judith F. Stone confronts Rousseauian sexism among male politicians during the late nineteenth century but ignores the contrasting commitment of other republican figures to radical notions of gender equity even as they, in tandem with socialist colleagues, advocated protective legislation for working women.

Four essays explore the fourth and final theme of "Gender, Politics, and Citizenship." Complementary essays by Anna Clark and Keith McClelland insist on the importance of gender issues in constructing class consciousness in England, demonstrating how notions of citizenship developed by working-class men came increasingly to rest on notions of masculinity incarnated in headship of household, fatherhood, and breadwinner status. Elizabeth A. Wood chronicles the disputes over organizing women workers in Soviet Russia during the 1920s, when the women's section of the Communist Party vied with trade union leaders for dominance and control even as party leaders adamantly denied that women proletarians might have separate interests or specific problems. Eric Weitz examines the "cacophony of female imagery" (p. 314) disseminated by communist parties situated in three differing national political cultures—Germany, France, and Italy—from the 1920s through the 1940s, contrasting these with the far more uniform image of the heroic, militant, male comrade.

As rich and articulate as these essays are, and despite the editors' efforts to link them, most stand alone, leaving it to well-versed readers to formulate the many possible comparisons. Moreover, the geographical distribution of essays in the book remains relatively narrow; parallel analyses by feminist scholars working on Belgian, Italian, Swiss, Swedish, Austrian, or Spanish sources might have complicated as well as enriched the thematic and discursive snapshots provided in this volume. Finally, it is unfortunate that although gender is clearly "a focal point" (see pp. 1, 32), it is never granted clear priority by the editors, even when the evidence offered in a particular case study (such as those of Clark and McClelland) seems to scream out that gender carries the psychic weight inflecting class and citizenship, rather than the other way around. Indeed, class is still accorded more respect by these authors than it perhaps deserves.

The intersection of gender and class is complicated, in several essays, by factors of race and ethnicity (Tabili), and occasionally religion (Gray), which produce an increasingly complex blend of variables. Both Frader's and Canning's essays, for instance, might have profited from acknowledging the powerful political impact of the Roman Catholic Church's endorsement of the male "family" wage and its accompanying objections to married women's paid labor following the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891).

The cumulative impression left on this reader is that its editors and contributors, no doubt successful in advancing the theoretical debate, remain relentlessly "process-oriented"; the proper theorization of processes (both cultural [symbolic] and political) tends to deflect attention from the fate of those whose lives and aspirations provide the object of study. "Work" and "workers," after all, are not only "conceptual categories" subject to "discursive shifts" but terms that designate women and men and the physically stressful and poorly paid tasks they performed in order to put food on their tables. While traveling beyond the now seemingly discredited "teleological vision" (p. 8) of the old, male-centered labor history, future feminist scholars in European labor history should be urged to expand their theoretical and methodological agenda still further by rendering their now-gendered proletarian subjects more fully as human beings, with blood, guts, faces, and lives of their own, and just a wee bit of free will.

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PAUL GRIFFITHS. *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560–1640*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 459. \$90.00.

It has long been known that early modern England was a relatively youthful society: about half the population were under the age of twenty-five, and nearly one-fifth were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. Over the past couple of decades, considerable light has been shed on the position and experiences of early modern youngsters by historians working on the family, apprenticeship, crime, and crowd unrest; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos published a full-length study, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*, in 1994. Paul Griffiths's book, therefore, traverses what is now fairly well-charted historiographical terrain. Although there is a certain amount of overlap with Ben-Amos's book, Griffiths's is by far the better-researched study. It draws both on contemporary printed works, to recapture the conceptual world of those adult authority figures responsible for socializing and disciplining young people, and on the manuscript records of church and secular courts, in order to get at the experiences and activities of the young themselves (especially those of the middling and lower orders). Griffiths also tries to take in all of England, through a "broad-brush" approach, rather than limit himself to one locality. To guarantee depth of coverage on certain issues, however, he has conducted an exhaustive examination of the records of London, York, and Norwich.

The first two chapters survey attitudes toward youth and what Griffiths terms "the politics of age." Contemporaries had both pessimistic and optimistic views of youth. It was a "dark and dangerous age" when the unpredictable temper of "the flesh" produced tempta-

tions to sin and vice; but it was also an age of hope, because the young were malleable and could be "planted in good virtue," if properly nurtured and instructed, before it was too late. The young, however, had to learn their position in the age hierarchy; they were to be tamed by their elders and taught obedience, discipline, and piety. Age governed youth, or so the theory went. In fact, the main thrust of Griffiths's book is to show that youth was not a passive experience in Tudor and Stuart England. The young, instead of conforming blandly to the normative scripts laid out in the moralist literature, possessed considerable agency, making their own choices and pursuing their own initiatives and strategies. The remaining five chapters of Griffiths's book explore the variety of ways in which young people responded to the pressures of being socialized and deal with issues such as juvenile delinquency, piety (or lack thereof), sex, order, and discipline within the household, and vagrancy and work.

There is much fascinating material here. Nevertheless, this book is not particularly reader-friendly. It has been incompetently copyedited by Oxford University Press; punctuation and grammatical errors abound. Nor is the organizational structure particularly tight. Discussions of certain central themes (such as the sexual behavior of the young) are split between different chapters, whereas some chapters are so wide-ranging that they appear to lack thematic unity (the chapter on the church and the alehouse, for example, concludes with a discussion of dress and hair styles). Such problems make it more difficult to unravel the overarching argument of the book, which at times comes across as amounting to no more than the assertion (made on the dustjacket) that young people "grew up in all sorts of ways." In fact, the book provides a subtle and sophisticated understanding of the experiences of youth in early modern England and repays patient reading and perseverance. I particularly liked the way Griffiths broke down simple polarities. There were some godly and some reprobate youths, but the vast majority, he reminds us, inhabited some ill-defined position between the two extremes. Not all households were well-ordered, nor were all youths unruly. There was a spacious middle way, which confused contemporaries and makes things messy for modern scholars who like neat interpretive paradigms, but Griffiths's portrait is surely more realistic for acknowledging that. He genuinely captures a sense of the humanity of the young men and women who fill his pages. The book also contains numerous precious insights, such as the observation that the contest over the sabbath was in large part a problem of youth (since this was their day of play), or the powerful critique of those who have seen the apprentice attacks on brothels on Shrove Tuesdays as some form of licensed misrule (when there is no evidence of any sympathy or sanction from those in authority). This is the work of a bright, young

scholar who has unfortunately been badly let down by an old, established university press.

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ANDREW PETTEGREE. *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies*. (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar. 1996. Pp. viii, 213. \$76.95.

Collections of articles are of unpredictable value, but this one justifies itself by the penetrating insights into Marian Protestantism made possible by Andrew Pettegree's use of the archives of the city of Emden, where there was a community of English exiles. The studies are closely related, and a conclusion sets out interesting hypotheses. The single most important thread in the book is Nicodemism (named after the disciple who visited Jesus only at night): the religious position that believers are justified in concealing their beliefs in the face of persecution.

Throughout the history of Christianity, martyrdom has been consistently extolled and apostasy, or the falling away from faith, has been condemned. Pettegree points out that, although John Calvin, among others, strongly condemned Nicodemism, other Protestants criticized him for excessive rigidity and made what adjustments were necessary to survive. Indeed, had there been no Nicodemists, there would not have been an Elizabethan religious restoration, since the latter depended on people—William Cecil, Matthew Parker, above all the queen herself—who had been precisely that.

Pettegree points out that the narratives of John Foxe and the record of the English Marian exiles should not obscure the fact that the great majority of Protestants more or less conformed during Mary's reign. What is debatable is whether mere prudence should be elevated to a religious position. The formal term "Nicodemism" implies a doctrine, and when so stated it was rejected by almost everyone. In a sense, the conformists could be forgiven by their more courageous brethren as long as they did not try to make a theological case for their conduct, something that Pettegree obscures.

Research at Emden has uncovered the presence there of Thomas Young, the future archbishop of York, whose activities during Mary's reign have hitherto been unknown; of a flourishing industry publishing English Protestant books; and of a liturgy and church government among the exiles that moved considerably "beyond" Edwardine practices and helped plant the seeds of the later Puritan crisis.

Pettegree also argues that, contrary to what has previously been thought, the large majority of foreign Protestants in England probably remained during Mary's reign, albeit forced into conformity. He suggests that the Marian persecutions were distinctive not only in their scope but in being anachronistic, citing examples throughout Europe where local opinion had already turned against the execution of heretics. This is

a plausible idea but requires more systematic investigation than it receives here.

Another stimulating thesis is Pettegree's claim that Elizabeth set herself against the more aggressive Protestants in 1559 because of the coincidental publication at Geneva of John Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, which was written before her accession but about which Calvin felt some embarrassment. Thus some of her apparent conservatism was not primarily religious but an assertion of royal authority.

Pettegree argues that Catholics would not donate heavily to a restored church that they were not sure would survive and that Mary's failure to execute Elizabeth following Wyatt's rebellion was her single greatest mistake, since it insured a Protestant succession. He has arrived at some provocative ideas, which suggest that the time has come for him to attempt a synthesis of the Marian religious scene.

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MICHAEL F. GRAHAM. *The Uses of Reform: "Godly Discipline" and Popular Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560–1610*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, number 58.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1996. Pp. xviii, 373. \$116.25.

Although the importance of discipline in the Reformed tradition is universally acknowledged, Michael F. Graham is the first historian to offer a convincing, richly detailed analysis of disciplinary practices in Scotland during the half century following the break with Rome. The result is a compelling challenge to the work of historians of theology such as André Biéler and social historians such as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie who, Graham avers, pay insufficient heed to context by placing excessive emphasis on texts. Moreover, Graham's comparative material on three Huguenot parishes reinforces the findings of Janine Garrisson-Estèbe and Raymond Mentzer on the small percentage of disciplinary cases involving illicit sexuality, thereby further weakening Ronald Po-Chia Hsia's contention that Calvinists were principally concerned with sexual discipline.

Graham analyzes the disciplinary practices of kirk sessions both rural (Monifieth, Anstruther Wester, Rothiemay, Dundonald) and urban (St. Andrews, the Canongate, Edinburgh, Aberdeen) and of presbyteries (Stirling, Edinburgh, St. Andrews). Initially, the kirk sessions were preoccupied with sexual matters (Graham likens them to vice squads), but in time they broadened their work to embrace sabbath enforcement, the settlement of disputes, participation in parochial religious activities, poor relief, and the care of children and the elderly. Although the presbyteries were more concerned with sexual matters than other offenses, they were less preoccupied with this problem than the kirk sessions and more concerned than the latter with the enforcement of religious orthodoxy. Not

surprisingly, the presbyteries were more willing to deal with prominent offenders than were the sessions. Of the 4,594 cases in Graham's database for kirk sessions, 339 involved persons of at least local prominence. Sessions were almost as successful in making such persons appear when cited as they were lesser folk, although the elite were more able to frustrate discipline; nevertheless, the sessions were able to bring nearly two-thirds of the cases involving prominent people to conclusion. Graham documents significant differences between the offenses of the elite and the general population. For both groups, sexual misdeeds topped the list, though at a substantially lower rate for prominent offenders (thirty percent) than the general population (fifty-five percent). Thereafter, common folk were most commonly cited for sabbath breach (eleven percent) and verbal misbehavior (4.5 percent), whereas the elite more often faced accusations of deviant religious practices and beliefs (thirteen percent) and political offenses (ten percent).

Although more broadly based than the sessions, the presbyteries had more difficulty punishing prominent offenders. Of the 1,191 cases examined by Graham, nineteen percent dealt with elite offenders, of whom forty-three percent refused to appear; by way of comparison, thirty-eight percent of the general population ignored summons from the presbyteries. As in the case of disciplinary cases handled by the sessions, the presbyteries were more often concerned with sexual misconduct (forty-eight percent) than any other offense among the general population, but this was not the case with prominent persons, whose principal offense involved unacceptable religious beliefs and practices (twenty-five percent) rather than illicit sex (seventeen percent).

Graham demonstrates differences in disciplinary practice both over time and between communities. Before 1582, for example, the session of St. Andrews was more concerned than the others with religious orthodoxy, sabbath observance, and attendance at communion, while the Aberdeen session was especially interested in the kirk's control of marriage, the Edinburgh session with the enforcement of political orthodoxy (against the background of civil war), and the Canongate session with the resolution of disputes.

The book's subtitle notwithstanding, only a tenth of this study is devoted to disciplinary practices beyond Scotland, and this material is essentially limited to short periods in three southern French parishes, namely Pont-de-Camarès (1574–1575), Coutras (1581–1584), and Labastide-St-Amans (1591–1594), buttressed by the broader studies of Garrisson-Estèbe and Mentzer. The value of a comparative approach is evident in the marked differences between Reformed discipline in Scotland and France: whereas the Scots were preoccupied with sexual offenses, Huguenots in the three French parishes concentrated on matters of discord and popular culture, paying scant attention to illicit sexuality. Graham explains the differences by contrasting the religious monopoly enjoyed by the

Reformed Scottish kirk with the competition the Huguenots faced from a Catholic church that was still a viable option. The Scots were therefore able to impose rigorous discipline, whereas the Huguenots, seeking to survive in a more hostile environment, focused on communal solidarity and identity. Implicit in Graham's argument is the thesis that the Huguenots, unlike the Scots, were willing to overlook at least some illicit sexuality, but is it not just as likely that sexual offenses among the Huguenots were less frequent because they, unlike the Scots, were a largely voluntary church? Graham's study provides a superb foundation for additional studies of a comparative nature that embrace Reformed churches in other lands.

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NIEVES MATHEWS, *Francis Bacon: The History of a Character Assassination*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 592. \$50.00.

Nieves Mathews aims to set straight the historical record and thus vindicate Francis Bacon's moral character from 150 years of libels, slurs, and cavalier appropriations. The result is a very readable work of prudent and intelligent synthesis rather than new research. Casting her net widely if sometimes unsystematically, Mathews gives a sensible account of key episodes in Bacon's life consistent both with the primary sources and with recent historical scholarship on Bacon and on late-Elizabethan and Jacobean high politics and court culture.

The first four sections (twenty-three chapters, nearly 300 pages) tackle the "character crimes" levelled against Bacon: that he was a "faithless follower" (of the earl of Essex), a "corrupt Lord Chancellor" and a "corrupt man," a "servile self-seeker," and a "cold fish." Against each indictment, Mathews offers persuasive rebuttals by rehearsing the charges (fairly); showing critics of Bacon's character to be reading material out of context, making it up, or blindly following others (true enough); adducing Jacobean and Caroline opinion to the contrary (it shows no such line of critique of Bacon); highlighting the consistencies of Bacon's writings and behavior over thirty-odd years to render even more implausible various assertions of Bacon's shameful conduct; and situating actions by Bacon and others within the subtleties of their immediate context (a welcome approach in Bacon studies). Her assessment of the 1621 impeachment is crucial and is handled particularly well. Mathews steers a steady course through the usually present-centered muddles about what "corruption" and "bribes" might possibly mean in fact, if anything, when ascribed to the central officers and institutions of Jacobean governance. There are intriguing sketches of Essex, the duke of Buckingham, and Edward Coke, and of the machinations of various privy councillors during James I's reign, especially during the Buckingham ascendancy.

"Defamation is brief, but vindication is long" (p. 23),

indeed. This refutation of allegations repeated and encrusted as facts since Thomas Babington Macaulay's infamous, inaccurate, and influential attack on Bacon in 1837 is a lengthy but solid historical account, well written and well paced. While Mathews's entire admiration for Bacon is clear throughout, it does not undercut the credibility of her defense against his imputed "crimes."

What then of the reception history part of the book? We are offered a tour of Bacon's reputation in England and Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (very positive, in the main) and a look at Alexander Pope and his "meanest of mankind" quip, which Mathews admits baffles her as it was Pope's only negative remark about Bacon. Georgian and Regency politicians, historians, philosophers, and poets spoke in his favor, but it was Macaulay who caused the stain on Bacon's honor that Mathews hopes to remove (or at least to neutralize). With notable exceptions, principally James Spedding, the story is downhill from 1837, with Macaulay's libels repeated and embedded until few, it seems, could think good of Bacon. The local motives behind these critiques are not explored. In our century, Bacon has been held especially to blame for the "disassociation of sensibility," the rupture between nature and the intellect, and for causing an alienating "modernity." Bacon has been blamed most recently for the torture and rape of nature.

Mathews surveys the historical scene, examines the evidence, and disposes of the libels accurately enough. In attempting to knock holes in the living legends of his culpabilities, I believe she performs a needed service, not because rescuing the moral credit of a dead man against dead critics is so important in itself, but because Bacon scholarship is mired in and perennially distracted by the ubiquitous acceptance of the calumnies against him.

But why the consistent willingness to believe Bacon guilty not just of personal failings but of global sins? Mathews does not tackle this well, and she remains bewildered by the tenaciousness of the dark legends. I suspect it is not a matter of better publicizing the historical man; the central issues are more anthropological than evidential. Bacon has been appropriated always and his significance reworked to the interests of the day; now, an icon dubbed "Bacon" occupies a role as object of vilification. This role grew up in harness with industrialization, with the intimate alliance of science and states, and with the dominance of technoscience. Bacon's detractors have been, in the main, passionate critics of one or all of these phenomena. In attacks on Bacon's character, ahistorical to be sure, perhaps we witness the popular persistence of an even older attribution (despite the labors of historians of science), namely that of "father of modern science," a self-attribution that still holds Bacon hostage.

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H. R. Woudhuysen. *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 515. \$95.00.

Manuscript culture in Tudor-Stuart England is currently undergoing a reappraisal by literary scholars such as Harold Love and Arthur Marotti. At first glance, this book by H. R. Woudhuysen seems to belong in the same distinguished company. But closer examination shows it to be a work of compilation rather than reassessment. It is loosely organized into two sections. Reversing the order given in the title, part one surveys what is known about manuscript production in England between 1558 and 1640; part two is devoted to the handcopying and posthumous printing of Sir Philip Sidney's works. In both parts, Woudhuysen offers an abundance of data collected from numerous specialized monographs and supplemented by his own extensive archival research.

Part one is mainly concerned with tracking down the hands and names of the scribes who copied texts. But the difficulty of making definite attributions often proves insurmountable (one is told rather more about this problem than most readers want to know), and much space is devoted instead to describing the activities of patrons and collectors. Here again concern with identification looms large. Several pages are devoted to an obscure collector who wrote little or nothing himself but (unlike other antiquarians) did record the names of the copyists he employed. At one point, "modern scholars" are chided for "paying too much attention to the question of attribution" (p. 160). Perhaps the same thing could be said about the author's own approach.

Part two again repeatedly reminds us about the difficulties of ascertaining who did what. There is much speculation about what "may have," "might have," or "probably did" occur (pp. 219–20). Five pages are given over to the "purely conjectural" (and unlikely) possibility that Samuel Daniel was involved in the "theft" of a manuscript (pp. 376–81). Sweeping generalizations—"Sidney changed the idea of authorship" (p. 298)—go hand in hand with a microscopic examination of *Old* and *New Arcadia* texts. The latter, accompanied by diagrams of modified stemma of specific manuscripts and several appendixes, belongs in a monograph aimed at Sidney specialists and seems misplaced here.

The treatment of more general issues pertaining to the coexistence of manuscript and print is unhelpful. In agreement with other recent authorities, Woudhuysen downplays the "stigma of print" thesis. But apart from the obvious case of "suppressed" printed work, his alternative explanations for the resort to hand copying are unconvincing. It seems doubtful that "quick" availability was responsible (p. 15), given the figure of eight copies being made of *Old Arcadia* "in as little as two years" (p. 8). Discussion of the hand copying of plays, newsletters, and parliamen-

tary reports merely summarizes other published accounts. At one point, there is a jarring use of McLuhanite terminology in a puzzling reference to the "cold" medium of the manuscript and the "hot" one of print (p. 355). Elsewhere there is a general tendency to overlook the number of pens that continued to be wielded in offices of all kinds until the typist replaced the scribe. The long-lived practice of handcopying legal, commercial, and bureaucratic records needs to be more clearly distinguished from the briefer interval after the invention of printing that saw a circulation of handcopied books and journals. The same point applies to the difference between turning out an entire book by handcopying and keeping a journal or making notes on the margins of printed books. The latter practices have never ceased; the former has long since vanished. On the topic of professional copying, the term "scrivener" is frequently employed in a confusing way: it is applied narrowly to members of a specific "corporation" and also widely to numerous diverse practitioners who wielded pens. An attempt to clarify usage only seems to compound the confusion (p. 53).

The book's conclusion contains a reference to the existence of copy shops and professional scriptoria that would seem to require more attention elsewhere. We are told that the evidence for copying agencies and scribal syndicates is shaky (p. 188) and are given numerous specific examples illustrating the unorganized and diverse ways in which manuscripts were produced. These examples, which provide the most valuable parts of the book, include an intriguing vignette of Sidney calling on his pages to write down passages of the *Arcadia* while he was being dressed by his attendants (p. 305). The questions that are raised about organized copy centers recall Albinia de la Mare's demonstration that the chief manuscript book dealer of *Quattrocento* Florence did not have a scriptorium in the back of his shop but simply farmed out work to a variety of skilled penmen, including notaries, who turned out copy in their spare time. It is too bad that Woudhuysen's study (along with many others) adopts such a restricted, insular view of a topic that seems so well suited to comparative perspectives. One also regrets the unhelpful decision not to provide a selective or annotated bibliography and instead to offer a long indiscriminate list of all the titles that are cited in the text.

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RICHARD GRASSBY. *The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxx, 615. \$74.95.

Richard Grassby begins his book on seventeenth-century businessmen with a memorably gruesome dedication: "To those who taught me by example that no value system is proof against self-interest and deceit and that the only certainty in human history is that

everybody dies." Such an outlook may be inspired by Grassby's own considerable experience in twentieth-century business. As someone who has participated in a version of the very community he studies, Grassby is sharply critical of grand theorizing about capitalism, sweeping generalizations about the *mentalité* of businessmen, gratuitous quantification, and overdrawn distinctions between bourgeois and aristocrat. Instead, he offers a comprehensive, thoroughly researched (the bibliography alone is 176 pages long), and meticulous description of the English business community.

Grassby starts with a precise definition of the business community and proceeds systematically through a number of topics. What was the status of business? How did people become businessmen? What economic resources were necessary to launch a business? Which social backgrounds did businessmen come from? What kind of skills and motivations did businessmen possess? What role did business play in politics? How rich was the business community as compared to other elites? How profitable was business? Grassby goes on to discuss the connections between business and religion, the family life and kinship structure of the business community, and the consumption patterns and leisure activities of businessmen. Each topic is treated in a separate chapter, and by the end of the book the reader is almost overwhelmed by the sheer volume of information. When describing large numbers of persons, it is tempting to emulate the cliometricians and use statistical measures. Yet Grassby is very cautious in his use of quantitative data and works heroically to summarize general trends and patterns non-numerically (p. 7).

Although he focuses on the business community, Grassby underscores that this was not a unique group. He is eager to dispel the idea that capitalists or bourgeoisie were somehow a distinctive social group in their family life, marriage practices, consumption patterns, or outlook on life. Rather, they partook of the practices and prejudices of larger social groups. For example, since they tended to live in urban areas, business people embraced urban lifestyles. If they were wealthy, they usually followed the marriage and inheritance practices of other elites. Furthermore, the business class was not unitary or homogeneous; internally, it was riven with all kinds of religious, economic, and political differences. Business people had no consciousness of themselves as a distinctive group (although, Grassby recognizes, they were aware of their inferior social status). They married extensively into the gentry and absorbed the younger sons of landed families.

This is not to say that the business community had no distinguishing features. Businesses were based on liquid, mobile assets and wealth that lacked the economic solidity (and social stolidity) of land. A business was an ephemeral economic entity, easily damaged and maintained only through the ceaseless efforts of the owner. A businessman who wanted to stabilize his gains, secure his family, or "lock in" his patrimony

would eventually have to convert his wealth into land. The political conflicts that occurred between merchants and the gentry could never seriously threaten the established order, according to Grassby, not only because of the bilateral flow of families and individuals from one group to the other (as merchant families converted their wealth into land or married their daughters into the gentry, or as landed families placed their younger sons into business) but also because the business community was itself internally divided.

Business was both a personal and a family-based enterprise. The credit extended to business relied heavily on the moral character and individual reputation of the owner, and in the absence of an effective or predictable legal system, many people negotiated and transacted informally, relying on personal honor rather than formal contracts to create binding agreements. In addition, family connections were mobilized in many different ways. People relied on their kin to safeguard against dishonesty and disloyalty (p. 89), and they used their families and their marriages to generate startup capital or obtain loans (p. 267). In fact, the devolution of productive assets occurred much more through marriage and inheritance than formal capital markets. Grassby opens with a forceful critique of the simplistic dichotomies and conceptualizations of sociologists and economists. Unfortunately, he closes an otherwise impressive analysis with some crude generalizations of his own. The final chapters offer several simplistic summaries and abstractions; for example, "English society was not universalistic, specific or closely knit, but particularist, diffuse and heterogeneous" (p. 387). The market is celebrated in Social Darwinist terms (pp. 400, 417), bureaucratic personalities are disapprovingly contrasted with entrepreneurial ones (p. 412), and pre-industrial England oscillates among a host of hoary dualisms, including freedom and restriction, centralization and decentralization, ascription and achievement, and formality and informality (p. 416). At the very end, Grassby the grumpy businessman seems to have gotten the better of Grassby the historian.

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CHRISTINE GERRARD. *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725–1742*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 273. \$55.00.

By Good King George's Glorious Days it took Merlin, as well as Zadok and Nathan, to anoint Solomon. The blueprint for loyalty and royalty, originally drawn to express the convertible aspirations of Frederick Stuart and Charles Brunswick, has been misread, however, because Tory revisionists have claimed the high ground. In redress, Christine Gerrard charts anti-Walpolean Whiggery's appeal to the processes of national imagination, to which it was carried—through the patronage and public persona of Frederick, Prince

of Wales, here restored to real significance—by the mass of uncanonical writing, performance, and architecture that belligerently merged the classical republican tradition with Saxon, Norse, and Britanno-Celtic myth-history.

The patriot Whigs looked beyond insider satire and neo-Harringtonian nostalgia to an epic of Protestant monarchy untrammelled by priestcraft. This, as Ruth Smith shows in *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (1995), became the context of the composer's cultural dominance. Meanwhile, Aaron Hill, Handelian librettist and disciple of Scipione Maffei, the reformer of Italian drama, campaigned with James Thomson, Britannia's Scottish nursing-father, for a risorgimento in English arts and learning and a school of national theater that would embrace not just the West End but also the pioneering middle-class dramas of George Lillo. Set in the age of the Armada and the Jacobean betrayal of Sir Walter Raleigh, these pointed up the selective neo-Elizabethanism of the opposition. In this game of parallels, first haunted by the ghost ship of Admiral Hosier, left by a pusillanimous ministry to rot without orders on the mosquito coast in 1727, and then inflamed to the point of ill-prepared war by Captain Jenkins's mutilated ear, patriot Whigs finessed Queen Elizabeth's own convertibility to Walpolean apologetic by identifying with the "forward" Protestantism of Spenser, Essex, and James I's eldest son, Prince Henry (Frederick *antevivus*), against the devious prudence of the Cecils. *The Idea of a Patriot King* first circulated privately in 1738–1739 as tactical accompaniment to its author's projected opposition coalition of Stowe, Leicester House, and the Hanoverian Tories, leaving the Jacobite option as a last resort. As part of "an existing cult of Hanoverian princely mythmaking" (p. 194), however, its pedigree, through Anne as honorary Patriot Queen Mum and Elizabeth as Astraea, was already as long as the ancient constitution was old.

Was the future all plaids and garters? Alexander Pope never came fully into the coalition. Close though he was to its Anglo-Scottish younger generation, his mistrust of princes who turned out to be "the sons of Kings" (p. 83) and distaste for the proto-jingoism of patriot gothic proved too strong. Gods and prophets would have aided the hero of "Brutus," Pope's own unwritten epic on the history of civil government. Others would soon be treating the same theme very differently, based on the comparative history of the Scottish moralists. It was surely this, not just the neutralization of literature by patriotism's post-Walpolean disarray and the broad-bottom indolence of the later 1740s, which altered the cultural environment to which the gothic bequest was transmitted. Gerrard delays the change to the 1750s. One wonders. Provoked by the inadequacy of English political discourse in the patriot period, David Hume, "dead-born" as an experimental moralist in 1738–1739, was returning to life by 1742 as the polite essayist of a more cosmopolitan Whiggism detached from the rhetoric of vulgar

prejudice. *The Idea of a Patriot King* finally saw the light of day in 1749, a year after the tenth part of Hume's *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* had dealt the decisive probabilistic blow to the rationality of miracles as proofs of religious truth. Yet just as Hume's culminating irony, the miraculous true believer, expresses the continuing enigma of faith, so Henry St. John's "standing miracles" (p. 187) remains as apposite to the imagination of leadership and nation today as it was to the quasi-presidential role of the Hanoverian crown. In federal-committee English, Canada's once French national anthem commands "True Patriot Love" in all that puzzled homeland's sons and hails "the True North strong and free." Knowing what he now does, this transplanted Briton will never hear it quite the same again.

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KNUD HAAKONSSSEN, editor. *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. (Ideas in Context, number 41.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 348. \$59.95.

The Enlightenment, as a historical concept, is in danger of losing its cohesion. Classical expressions, summed up in the title of Peter Gay's *Rise of Modern Paganism* (1966), pictured it as a moment of emancipation, a result of the establishment of secular perspectives and disciplines, and a necessary part of mankind's rejection of religious orthodoxy. As such, the Enlightenment was a universal language and the leading agent in what Gay called "the pursuit of modernity." It is this confidence in a homogeneous, secularizing, international project that has been undermined by research revealing that the "universal" model was largely derived from, and fitted most closely, the French experience. Historians have since emphasised how the phenomena covered by the term "Enlightenment" differed profoundly from country to country, a development first captured in Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich, eds., *The Enlightenment in National Context* (1981). Others have stressed the wide prevalence, puzzling survival, and intellectual dynamism of those institutions and bodies of doctrine from which the movement was supposed to have emancipated the West. Still others have shown a High Enlightenment compromised by its appetite for low life. If there was no single movement, and if it was not swiftly and enthusiastically received as such, the concept of the Enlightenment itself now seems at risk.

Yet it is, of course, a concept too central to lose. Various strategies have been devised to retrieve it, and especially to preserve its viability for the history of philosophy, where its normative function is most marked. One strategy is to accept diversity, to subdivide the Enlightenment into categories and claim that the richer phenomenon thus revealed was the parent of pluralism rather than of secularism (J. G. A. Pocock

has even discerned a "Conservative Enlightenment"). Knud Haakonssen's important edited collection embodies a different strategy, one that takes seriously what historians of eighteenth-century religion have been saying for some time: in England the catalyst was not the *philosophe* but the Dissenter; and in England, Dissent was not a high road to atheism. Dispensing with the idea of secularization is therefore the price of retaining a cohesive and purposive Enlightenment.

In consequence, the Enlightenment is now being sought in the writings of English Dissenters (and, to some degree, in the writings of their Scottish, Northern Irish, and colonial American coreligionists). The world of international Deism—the milieu of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and their French admirers—is not what it was. Academic attention now often focuses on denominationally rooted figures who never appeared at all in the index of *The Rise of Modern Paganism*: Richard Baxter, Thomas Belsham, Edmund Calamy, John Disney, Philip Doddridge, Thomas Emlyn, Samuel Heywood, John Jebb, Andrew Kippis, Nathaniel Lardner, Theophilus Lindsey, Capel Lofft, John Peirce, Richard Price, John Towill Rutt, and Joshua Toulmin.

This scholarly and carefully argued book collects twelve essays focusing on the phenomenon of "Rational Dissent," variously defined. Two (by John Gascoigne and John Seed) are revised versions of earlier articles that have kept their place in the canon. Also featured is the work of R. K. Webb, M. A. Stewart, Martin Fitzpatrick, David L. Wykes, Wilfrid Prest, A. M. C. Waterman, Alan Saunders, and Iain McCalman. These scholars' reinstatement of religion in the historiography of the Enlightenment is correct and important. Dissent was not synonymous with atheism. The problem with this account is that Dissent was not necessarily synonymous with many modern causes in the realm of social reform either, and any attention to orthodox Dissent tends to move it away from what many scholars wish to see as Enlightenment projects. As Seed shows, affluent Dissenters poured contempt on the "profligacy," "vice," and "licentiousness" of the common people: they still held to subordination when it came to their own servants. Joseph Priestley's hostility to Edmund Burke's argument that the poor had a divine right to poor relief and his rejection of French citizenship on the grounds of the French Revolution's godlessness point to different possibilities.

There are alternative scenarios even of the role of Nonconformity. In one, eighteenth-century Dissent was not the father of English tolerance: like Dissent in Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the American colonies, it was sure in its own analysis, strident in its rhetoric, and intolerant in its insistence on its own points of ecclesiastical polity. In this view, Dissent pointed forward to the fragmented and intolerant "plural society" of the twentieth century. Although not examined in this volume, such alternative interpretations may emerge as the scholarship in this volume is

brought to bear on existing accounts of the Enlightenment.

Readers may be confused by terms whose boundaries are not clearly defined: Enlightened Dissent, Rational Dissent, rational religion. Sometimes discussion switches between "Dissenters" and "Rational Dissenters" without explanation. Haakonssen argues that "rational religion" was "a *modus vivendi* in the broad field between High Church Anglicanism, orthodox or evangelical Dissent and deism," (p. 5) but it is not clear that this idea is substantiated by the contributors. Waterman shows that the theological heterodoxy that distinguished Rational Dissenters from other Dissenters undermined the premises of a hierarchical society. Rational Dissenters were rational in following their doctrines through to their logical conclusions, not in preferring a tolerant centrist position. They rightly saw that their heterodoxy led to the rejection of "the entire establishment package," "the grand scheme of subordination" (p. 194). Where this leaves the majority of Dissenters is unclear.

In his introduction to the volume, Haakonssen accepts the thesis of a plurality of Enlightenments: "The question is whether [the Dissenters'] Enlightenment had more in common with the conservative one from whose clerical establishment they dissented or with the radical one that eventually emerged on the Continent" (p. 4). Unfortunately, the contributors rarely address this question explicitly. If the theme of the book were Dissent, a balance of articles twelve to one toward Dissenters rather than Anglicans would be appropriate, but in a book on the Enlightenment, the same might not hold. If Dissenters fluctuated between five and ten percent of the population of England in the eighteenth century, some of the answers to the problem of the religious origins of the Enlightenment are likely to be found in the ideas of the Anglican majority (many Dissenting intellectuals began as Anglicans). Calvinism was rejected first and centrally by the Church of England; Arminianism and natural science were hallmarks of late seventeenth-century Anglicanism.

There was nothing more "modern" about Dissent than about Anglicanism. Gascoigne notes that "the forms of thought we associate with the Enlightenment—an emphasis on the role of reason, on the possibilities of progress and human improvement—could be used by both the defenders as well as the opponents of the established order" (p. 222). Even if the Enlightenment correlates most strongly with heterodoxy, the chief source of eighteenth-century Arian theology before Price was not a Dissenter but an Anglican, Samuel Clarke. The Socinians who left the Church of England to create the Unitarian movement do not hold the key to every lock. The answers to these promising questions about the Enlightenment will only become clearer when we have studies of erudition and sophistication equal to those in this volume addressed to the great bulk of the population.

Does Haakonssen's strategy for rescuing the En-

lightenment succeed? It has to be said that, after the introduction, the concept soon gets lost, and we are left with a series of developments in English and Irish Nonconformity that, although interesting enough in themselves, are not a full answer to the problem set. Apart from Haakonssen's characteristically able introduction, the canonical literature on the Enlightenment is conspicuously absent. What we have is a valuable collection of essays about Dissent with indications of its wider consequences. Perhaps this is appropriate. Here as elsewhere, the more we know about early modern thought (and especially about its religious preoccupations), the more the nineteenth-century terms of historical art fall noiselessly away.

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SUSAN C. LAWRENCE. *Charitable Knowledge: Hospital Pupils and Practitioners in Eighteenth-Century London*. (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 390. \$69.95.

This is a thorough and well-argued analysis of the development of hospital teaching in eighteenth-century London and its relationship to both the medical profession and medical knowledge. Susan C. Lawrence concludes that the formation of a broadly based medical community and its connections to teaching hospitals were "inseparable elements in the transition from early modern to modern Western medicine" (p. 336). At the beginning of the century, she argues, medical authority was diffused throughout English society, shared among university-trained physicians, barber-surgeons, apothecaries, wise women, and unlicensed empirics. It was disseminated not only by Latin medical texts but also by handwritten recipe books, and it was taught not only by universities but by individual masters, private study, and haphazard lectures. Modern medical authority, by contrast, depends on a standardized medical accreditation system that centers on the teaching hospital, a specified course of study, examinations, and established medical institutions. I believe she may overestimate the uncontested nature of modern medical authority.

Lawrence shows how the transition to hospital-centered authority depended on the entrepreneurial efforts of hospital staff members. These men served without pay, ostensibly donating their time and skills so that London's hospitals could offer inexpensive care to the city's poor. Once ensconced in the hospitals, the medical staff admitted increasing numbers of paying students to "walk the wards" and learn from observation. Medical staff members also drew on their hospital experiences to provide lectures to groups of medical students; gradually these moved from rented rooms into the hospitals themselves, and the hospitals became medical schools.

Over the course of the century, this "free" service to city charities proved to be very lucrative for the doctors, who found that they could sell not only their

knowledge, built up from years of experience with large numbers of patients, but also their access to the patients themselves, which brought in a steady income from student fees. Moreover, hospital service provided a cachet that attracted wealthy private patients; hospital teaching gave doctors a reputation among the large number of younger doctors who had attended their lectures; and hospital experience provided at least an important foundation for the medical and scientific publishing that further enhanced a doctor's reputation with his peers and the public.

In one of the more interesting threads of argument in the book, Lawrence shows how hospital staff members used a variety of strategies to enhance their social standing, from forming clubs and societies to engaging in a program of "safe science." The latter meant pursuing topics that promised to give a doctor a reputation as a gentleman of science without raising any controversial theological, moral, or interpretive issues. In particular, doctors were fond of the case history.

Lawrence shows how these case histories and other reports not only described the patient but also enabled the narrator to present himself as well-connected, competent, and successful at observing the professional etiquette that governed consultations and joint investigations. She points out that doctors often had social reasons to display and hence to discuss their well-born patients, which provides some counter to the claim that doctors habitually "objectified" their poor charity patients while allowing wealthy private patients greater autonomy and privacy. She might have included the entertaining attack on John Coakley Lettson, "The Character of Dr. Wriggle, or the Art of Rising in Physic" reproduced in James Johnston Abraham's *Lettson* (1933), which skewers many of these stratagems.

All readers will find in Lawrence's book a carefully thought-out, well-documented, and thoroughly researched work that is likely to become the standard in its field. Lawrence is fair to her evidence throughout, although this sometimes slows the pace of argument to a crawl.

In a work of this quality, length, and complexity, in which literally hundreds of individuals are named, it is frustrating to find no bibliography and a woefully inadequate index. The latter fails to include many important people mentioned in the text, such as William Hamilton and Thomas Beddoes. Failure to index the very extensive footnotes not only makes it difficult to locate key parts of the argument but, in conjunction with the lack of a bibliography, makes it hard to locate references to works and authors cited in the text. Readers who intend to use Lawrence's book and not merely to read it through are advised to keep a pencil in hand.

This is a book that historians in related fields will find reliable and useful and that no historian working in the fields that it covers, such as eighteenth-century

philanthropy, professionalization, education, and medicine, will want to be without.

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DONALD WINCH. *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750–1834*. (Ideas in Context, number 39.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 428. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$22.95.

In 1753, Samuel Johnson wrote of a "secret concatenation" linking the great and the mean. Donald Winch translates this observation into the topic of how riches are related to poverty and studies how this subject was treated in Great Britain during the period between Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and the Poor Law Reform Act of 1834.

In so doing, Winch vastly expands on his earlier book, *Adam Smith's Politics* (1978). He ranges from Smith through Edmund Burke to Thomas Malthus, crowding his scene with such figures as David Hume, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Richard Price, William Godwin, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Robert Southey, all handled with great insight. In fact, Winch's real starting point is Bernard de Mandeville and the debate over whether luxury was vice or virtue. This debate is soon overtaken, however, by Smith's emphasis on the division of labor, the possibility of increased production, and the prospect of enhanced consumption on the part of ordinary people.

Still, the problem of riches and poverty remains to be played out in new forms. During the period under discussion, as Winch reminds us, England was shifting from being a predominantly agricultural nation to being a manufacturing one. It was in the early years of this change that Smith sought to construct a science for the legislator, of which one part was to be economics. (Indeed, there is an irony in that Smith's *political* economy was turned by some of his followers into an abstract economics, heralding the neoclassical economics of today; such are the unintended consequences of intellectual history.)

Smith's successors, in fact, had to confront a new world, especially after 1789. "Economic" questions such as the problem of able-bodied laborers on poor relief, the true dimensions of the standard of living, and the new conceptual challenges of population and rent became inextricably confounded with "political" issues of moral decline, patriotism, religion, and party strife. What became clear was that the end of feudalism at the hands of the commercial state, while bringing with it in England the beginning of modern liberty under the rule of law, still left the enduring issue of the relationship of rich and poor. Dependency might be at an end; deference of a different sort stepped into its place. Moreover, one might argue further that the concept of the poor, previously seen as created by God, had been supplanted by the concept of poverty, a man-made economic condition. So at least

thought Southey, who, in his pseudonymous *Letters from England* (1807), was, according to Winch, "one of the first to attribute the increasing misery of the poor to the manufacturing system" (p. 324).

Winch's strategy in dealing with this complex set of issues is to focus on the texts of the leading discussants and to place them in the political-social context of their author's time. In doing so, he situates them knowledgeably in the Whig-Tory divisions of the period, distinguishing sharply the authorial intent from subsequent reputation and later perceptions of each writer's message.

In extraordinarily nuanced fashion, Winch describes the complicated relations and connections between various thinkers, how they responded to one another, how they changed their own views, and what was the trajectory of their thoughts over time. Burke and Smith, for example, *may* have agreed on the American Revolution, on free trade (though, as Winch argues, in fact, Burke's economics was not really like Smith's), and possibly even on the early events of 1789; but they differed over primogeniture, man's capability for improvement, and other matters. Malthus and David Ricardo certainly held different views over the value-free, mathematical nature of economics and the possibility of glut, but they were lifelong friends, amicably agreeing about many other subjects. One of the nicest touches in Winch's book is his interpretation of Malthus as a much more progressive thinker than usually depicted.

It is hard to convey the learned detail and the wealth of ideas in this book. It is avowedly an intellectual history, proceeding from individual authors and their texts to the intellectual and cultural contexts that allow us better to understand their intentions. In this, it differs from, say, Gertrude Himmelfarb's *The Idea of Poverty* (1983), which is more of a social history. Winch's book is a demanding, scholarly work. It is not for browsers, but it amply repays close reading on what are still pressing problems: the relations of rich and poor, and the nature of the economic science that attempts to understand and to prescribe for these relations. This is, in short, a brilliant exposition and analysis.

It is also, in its way, an unargumentative rebuttal of certain postmodernist positions, especially that which disdains attention to authorial intent. Winch certainly embraces the social construction view of science, in this case economics. He deals, however, with actual people in an actual society, carefully constructing historically the meaning of their endeavors to grapple with real problems as they saw them. Clearly tolerant, "enlightened," and urbane himself—his heroes are Smith and Malthus with their avowal of "prudential wisdom"—Winch has less sympathy, although some, for the utopian leanings of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and, by implication, the

reactionary postmodern anti-utopianism of our own millennially poised time.

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DROR WAHRMAN. *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780–1840*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 428. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$22.95.

During the last twenty years, social historians of Britain have increasingly investigated the middle class. Especially when studying the nineteenth century, these historians have favored thematically wide-ranging case studies of provincial urban areas. Yet British middle-class history has not been immune from self-scrutiny concerning its assumptions and methods. Among other issues, historians have debated the extent, speed, and social consequences of the Industrial Revolution; the coherence of the middle class in the face of "gentrifying" influences; the relative importance of London-based and provincial elites; the claims of the "public sphere" and of cultural history; the role of gender; and the meanings of class itself.

Dror Wahrman, in his important study of the political representation of the British middle class in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is acutely aware of such complexities. In attempting to answer the question of "how, why and when did the British come to *believe* that they lived in a society centered around a 'middle class'?" (p. 1), he rejects the assumption that this development was a semi-automatic result of underlying economic and social factors such as rapid industrialization and urbanization. Instead, Wahrman stresses "the degree of freedom which . . . exists in the space between social reality and its representation" (p. 6). Accordingly, Wahrman emphasizes the shifting balance of politics in explaining the discontinuous process by which, between 1780 and 1840, "the middle class" went from being an obscure to a pivotal concept in Britain's politics and intellectual life. During the 1790s, middling citizens were found on both sides of the domestic controversy surrounding the French Revolution. Yet for reasons of political expediency the concept was embraced by opposition rather than pro-government forces, leaving the impression that the middle class was "prone to political innovation and agitation" (p. 152). In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the term—at first dormant—returned in a new guise when conservative politicians and intellectuals claimed middle-class allegiance as they reacted to resurgent constitutional radicalism. Then, from the early 1820s, the concept of the middle class became critical to the political turmoil over the scope of the parliamentary electorate and the distribution of seats that led to the Great Reform Act of 1832. Perceiving the middle class to be a new but also a substantial and dependable part of society, the political elite could comprehensively enfranchise it without fundamentally disturbing the constitution. By

the mid-1830s, the central importance of the middle class was assumed not only by diverse politicians but also by writers such as Thomas Babington Macaulay, who created "a persistent image haunting the historiography of modern Britain, that of an emergent 'middle class'" (p. 1).

Wahrman's nuanced argumentation is buttressed by subtle scrutiny of a large number of primary sources, drawn from commentators as varied as the neo-conservative Robert Southey and the radical John Wade. Wahrman provides a chapter on the middle-class concept in the home, but he is especially effective in analyzing public affairs, particularly the process by which authors such as Thomas Malthus shifted their treatment of the middle class in reaction to changing political circumstances. Wahrman reinforces his case with superb contemporary illustrations and excellent comparative sections on France and the United States.

Wahrman convincingly demonstrates how changes in politics played a key role in giving currency to the term "middle class" in national political and intellectual circles. Yet, as the author recognizes, this significant set of insights needs to be viewed in a broader context. For example, Wahrman ascribes secondary importance to a rapidly accelerating (though belated) awareness, after the end of the Napoleonic wars, of economic and social changes that made the middle-class concept increasingly plausible to national elites. Such structural factors might have loomed even larger had Wahrman examined in detail the changing size, occupational structures, wealth configurations, and associational patterns of the people that leading politicians and journalists had in mind when they used the term "middle class." Also, although he indicates the often-neglected importance of national politics to the broader society, Wahrman devotes relatively little attention to the local and regional levels, the foci of much early and mid-nineteenth-century political activity. For British society as a whole, these largely provincial contexts arguably had as much influence as Parliament and national periodicals in determining the political and social meanings of "middle class" and "working class" and of rival distinctions such as that between "men of substance" and "small ratepayers." With regard to the chronological context of the study, Wahrman provides a post-1840 epilogue as well as extensive references to the eighteenth century. Yet, perhaps because the book is situated at least as much in intellectual as in political history, it provides much firmer guidance on how authors such as Friedrich Engels and John Richard Green depicted the middle class than on the Victorian political fortunes of the concept.

These comments relate to the periphery rather than to the core of the book's arguments, which merit the attention of any historian with even a minor interest in the British middle class. Indeed, Wahrman has produced a study valuable not only for its intriguing thesis about the developing British use of the concept but also for its overall approach. Rejecting linguistic as

well as socioeconomic determinism while grappling with politics in a practical yet sophisticated way, the author steers an exemplary course between the exclusively empirical and the overly theoretical approaches to social history. Historians generally can profit from Wahrman's impressively executed reminder of "the power of representation itself" (p. 60) and, therefore, of the contingent nature of the categories employed both by scholars and their subjects.

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PHILIP HARLING. *The Waning of "Old Corruption": The Politics of Economical Reform in Britain, 1779–1846*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. vii, 307. \$70.00.

Few historians these days dispute the proposition that a bourgeois revolution failed to come off in nineteenth-century British politics, despite high levels of industrialization and urbanization. Yet, while there is broad agreement that a largely landed elite continued to dominate political power until the end of the Victorian era, sharp controversies continue about the reasons for, as well as the exact nature, timing, and degree of, elite survival. It is a major strength of Philip Harling's study that he situates his own revisionist interpretation deftly in relationship to the complex historiography of the topic, contesting portions of the terrain with such scholars as Linda Colley, E. P. Thompson, and W. D. Rubinstein. A further strength is that he has managed to restore wholeness to the period 1780 to 1850 by concentrating on the long campaign to end fiscal corruption and waste.

William Pitt the Younger casts a long shadow over the process discussed in this book. Becoming prime minister in 1784, he quickly won high marks from reformers throughout the country for his personal probity and dedication to fiscally responsible government (following the extravagance and mismanagement of the American war). Harling suggests that Pittite reform might have succeeded much earlier in undermining the radicals' rallying cry of rooting out corruption but for two factors: the enormous growth of government expenditures after the start of war against revolutionary France in 1793, and Pitt's inability or unwillingness to rein in the cupidity of his own supporters. The lavishing of offices, pensions, and contracts on political supporters and friends caused a rapid growth of popular radicalism.

There was more than outdoor opposition, however; a growing number of MPs—especially William Wilberforce and other Evangelicals—demanded frugal, honest government. They thus espoused an ethos that was close to that of Pitt himself. Harling sees the successful parliamentary censure motion against Henry Dundas for corruption in 1805 as a watershed. The Committee on Public Expenditures in the House of Commons cast a glaring light on sinecures and various "irregular emoluments" during the remainder of the war. The

resulting reforms were significant. Unregulated sinecures, for example, which cost £200,000 in 1810, had by the mid-1830s been pared to a mere £17,000.

While the severe economic dislocations following victory over Napoleon in 1815 caused further growth of radicalism, Harling points out that the reforming impulse within government circles was also quite active. Although he agrees with earlier accounts that the pace quickened after the reconstitution of the Liverpool ministry in 1822, he insists that it was not merely that Peel, Huskisson, Canning, and the others were "pragmatic" or "Liberal" Tories but that they were determined to preserve elite power. Pitt is shown to have had the same overriding concern, thus highlighting another crucial element of continuity with the earlier period. The further dramatic pruning of offices, pensions, sinecures, and taxes in the 1820s helped usher in cheap government and good government, the two characteristics (out of five) of the mid-nineteenth century state that Harling emphasizes in this study. The other three—sound money, laissez-faire, and free trade—are also discussed here, and it becomes clear that the ethos and structure of government by 1830 were already much as they would be in 1850.

This might suggest that the Whig reforms of the 1830s have been overblown, but Harling considers the "decade of reform" crucial. The Whigs, who inherited a government from Wellington in which expenses and revenues had already been pared to the bone, insisted on further retrenchment. The major tax cuts they carried required them to borrow heavily, jeopardizing the sound money principle and raising questions about their ability to govern. Their simultaneous insistence on expanding the scope of government in such areas as factories, poor law, public health, police, and education both engaged and enraged the masses, raising further concerns. Thus it was that the reformed electorate turned once again to the Tories.

For Harling, the Tory ministry of the 1840s represents the final consolidation of the principle of honest, frugal government. Peel and his fellow ministers were no longer acting partly to quiet outdoor criticism but simply because it was the right thing to do. The "right thing to do" at this juncture included raising taxes, and the quiet acceptance of Peel's income tax shows that the ethos of good government had expanded well beyond the corridors of power. The same ethos ensured the repeal of the Corn Laws, but as in all other measures, the desire to preserve elite dominance was paramount. The popular praise of Peel, even by radicals, and the dropping of "Old Corruption" from the list of radical charges after his death in 1850, indicate the effectiveness of such policies.

This well-researched, well-written, and persuasive account of the financial reform movement in Britain between 1780 and 1830 breaks important new ground. Harling succeeds admirably in demonstrating the centrality of these reforms to the evolution of the British state. He succeeds less well in realizing another aim: "to span the unfortunate communication gap that has

long separated historians of 'low' and 'high' politics" (p. 261). Despite Harling's efforts to present a nuanced, complex account of radicalism, a caricatured view sometimes takes over. Radicals often appear simply wrongheaded and gullible in believing corruption to be so much more sweeping than it was. This is, after all, a "high politics" account and therefore not able on its own to bridge the gap with "low politics." Harling's government ministers seem to have been such an honorable, decent, and hard-working lot that it might be difficult for those unacquainted with the history of popular radicalism to understand why there was such a clamor for sweeping political and social reform.

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PANIKOS PANAYI. *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815–1914*. New York: Berg. 1995. Pp. xx, 301.

Because nineteenth-century Britain was a country of net emigration rather than immigration, its historians tended to ignore the arrival of newcomers from the continent and the empire, at least until recently. Panikos Panayi belongs to a cohort of social historians working to redress this neglect and retrieve immigration from historiographical marginalization. A specialist in the history of German immigration, Panayi casts his net widely in this volume, surveying migration from the German states in the "long" nineteenth century, from the end of the Napoleonic wars to the start of World War I.

Panayi's account, which draws on archival material in both Germany and Britain, as well as a broad range of secondary literature, is encyclopedic in character and scope. It finds room for both the famous (Nathan Rothschild, Frederick Engels, Max Müller) and the unknown (clerks, waiters, butchers, governesses, sugar bakers). It opens with a background chapter on pre-nineteenth-century immigration stretching back to the Roman period and moving forward to the Hanoverian influx of the eighteenth century. It then takes up in the three following chapters the complex of "pushes" and "pulls" that uprooted immigrants; their geographical distribution and occupational, age, and gender profiles; and the ethnic institutions they created both to meet their immediate needs and to insure their collective survival. The final chapter surveys the hostility that immigrants encountered, which was mild for most of the period, becoming acute only at its end, when political and economic tensions with Germany generated widespread Germanophobia (a topic on which Panayi has written at length elsewhere).

Like an encyclopedia, this book is stronger on description and documentation than critical analysis. Too often, it fails to interrogate the abundance of detailed information it presents, asking how it illuminates or enriches our understanding of broader pat-

terns of immigrant and British history. For example, in his chapter on associational life and the search for ethnic solidarity, Panayi details the growth of German-language publications, especially newspapers, in nineteenth-century Britain. He has much to say about their editors, coverage, editorial stance, and runs, which were often short, but little about their readership and their influence within the immigrant community. This omission is particularly glaring because his own evidence about the failure rate of these publications seems to suggest that their intended audience was more interested in reading an English-language than German-language newspaper, that is, in adjusting to their new environment and absorbing its culture rather than preserving their own. In general, Panayi's treatment of immigrant acculturation and integration is weak. We learn little about the survival of German-language culture over several generations in families that arrived at the start of the period. Were immigrants who arrived before mid-century absorbed, or did they retain a distinct ethnic profile, resisting or rejecting social integration? This question, of course, is linked to the nature of the reception (warm, indifferent, or hostile) that the newcomers met. Although Panayi's account of British attitudes toward Germans is excellent, drawing to a large extent on his earlier work, he shows little interest in the question of day-to-day social relations between immigrants and their descendants, on the one hand, and the native-born Britons whom they met in the workplace, on the street, and in other informal social settings, on the other.

This book is also marred by a number of errors and even, in a few cases, real howlers. We learn, for example, that the American Civil War began in 1860 (p. 45); that the 150 German refugees in London in 1850 represented "over eleven per cent" of the total German metropolitan population of 10,237 persons (p. 80; the correct figure is 1.46 percent); that there was a community of poor German Jews in the East End of London in the 1880s (p. 85); that "open hostility" existed during the early nineteenth century between German Jewish immigrants and English-born Jews because the former supported Reform Judaism while the latter backed middle-of-the-road Orthodoxy (pp. 169–70); that Augustus Melmotte, the grasping swindler at the center of Anthony Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (1875) is a German Jew (p. 245), when, in fact, as readers who have made it to the end of this sprawling novel know, he is an Irishman, son of a New York coiner by the name of Melmody. In a volume that will probably become the standard work on the subject, there is no place for errors like these.

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RAPHAEL SAMUEL. *Theatres of Memory*. Volume 1, *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. New York: Verso. 1994. Pp. xiv, 479. \$34.95.

Contemporary British historians are doubly indebted to the late Raphael Samuel: he was an outstanding historian of the industrial revolution and of London's East End, and he was an impresario *extraordinaire* of history outside the academy. This book, the first of two volumes on history and memory, defends history as a democratic practice, a form of social knowledge. This is in keeping with Samuel's long-standing commitment to People's history, to a social history of laboring men and women whose practitioners are the engaged populace at large. Disdainful of professional history as "an esoteric form of knowledge" (p. 3), Samuel encouraged the presentation of history in popular sites such as pubs, trade union halls, women's centers, and old music halls.

In this book, Samuel extends his cultural range to encompass the mass media and material culture as sites of "living history" (p. 149). He is particularly keen to show how they mobilize fantasy, desire, and pleasure—new categories in Samuel's interpretive lexicon—to serve diverse political agendas. Five contemporary sites where history has been "reanimated" are examined: retrochic and retrofitting, heritage, museums, old photographs, and costume drama. In all five cases, Samuel finds a compelling engagement with history and a complex "double coding" of meanings (pp. 130, 131). He attacks left-wing critics of the heritage industry like Patrick Wright who dismiss conservatism and "heritage" as "reactionary chic" and backward-looking. Conservationism, Samuel insists, is not inherently right or left wing; it is subject to "starting reversals over a very limited period" (p. 307). A historical practice like heritage, he insists, is less an event than a process, less the self-conscious strategy of a farseeing elite than the result of sea changes in public attitudes (p. 167).

Samuel is loathe to offer his own political evaluation of these sea changes. Occasionally, he does reveal his preference for certain trends in "living history" over others. Take, for example, his discussion of retrochic and retrofitting. Retrofitting, or the return to "traditional" design and materials in the built environment, strives for "instant oldness" and attempts to conceal "the evidence of modernity" (p. 71). In contrast, retrochic, which began life as "anti-fashion," "elevates yesterday's castoff into antique clothes and vintage wear" and "plays with the idea of the period look while remaining determinedly of the here-and-now" (p. 87). Samuel clearly favors retrochic over retrofitting, precisely because it is "unsentimental" about the past and untroubled by the cult of authenticity (pp. 111, 112).

In a section on "Old Photographs," Samuel is critical of his own sentimental pursuit of the authentic past. Like other social historians of the 1960s, he tended to treat photographic studies of the Victorian poor as human documents that allow "us to become, literally, as well as metaphorically, eyewitnesses to the historical event" (p. 319). Now, he calls on historians to exercise more critical distance, to challenge the documentary status of old photographs, and to subject them to a

genre and formal analysis. We cannot, he warns us, expect photographs to tell their story directly, to be "transparent reflections of facts" (p. 329).

If "Old Photographs" calls on historians to adopt an interpretive rigor, so does the section on "Costume Drama." Two essays judge theatrical and screen adaptations of Charles Dickens's novels according to their historical authenticity: not the authenticity of set design and costuming, but the successful rendering of a Dickensian structure of feeling. In "Doing the Lambeth Walk," Samuel applies a similar standard to the West End revival of *Me and My Girl*, noting its failure to capture the texture of postwar sentiment. Whereas earlier chapters concentrated on the production of cultural artifacts as well as their dynamic reception, in these last chapters, Samuel emphasizes the rhetorical structuring of the cultural texts themselves and his own authoritative reading of them. Meanings do not seem to be as fluid as he earlier suggests; cultural texts offer more or less appropriate renditions of historical moments. Despite his insistence on history as democratic practice, he challenges the historian as cultural critic to produce an informed, authoritative historical account.

I will miss Samuel the impresario, but this book provides an enduring memento of an inspiring and creative historian. I look forward to the second volume in the series.

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ANNE MCCLINTOCK. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. xi, 449. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

This book by Anne McClintock is an ambitious addition to recent scholarship on empire gender and sexuality. It is magisterial in its scope, ranging from Victorian Britain and colonial South Africa to post-1948 South Africa. McClintock examines a variety of historical materials including photography, diaries, ethnographies, imperial novels, oral histories, soap advertisements, and performance poetry. She makes a number of interrelated arguments about the articulations among race, gender, and class; between the imperial metropole and its colonies; and between "family, sexuality and fantasy (the traditional realm of psychoanalysis) and the categories of labor, money and market (the traditional realm of political and economic history)" (p. 8). McClintock also offers a dizzying array of theoretical insights into such issues as the cult of domesticity, the social meaning of women's work, the use of the term "postcolonialism," the cultural forms of nationalism, the psychoanalytical concept of the fetish, and the genres of oral history and autobiography. Indeed, it is her book's audacious reach that makes both for its strengths—the exciting and thought-provoking quality of its contributions—and its weakness: the failure to deliver consistently on its many promises.

At the center of this daunting study lies an essentially historical argument about an "epochal shift" from "scientific racism" to "commodity racism" (p. 33) that took place in the culture of imperialism during the late nineteenth century. This shift, which was facilitated by the emergence in the second half of the nineteenth century of a variety of mass-produced "consumer spectacles," enabled Western imperialism to be mass-marketed on a hitherto unprecedented scale, both nationally and globally. It is the link that McClintock establishes between this mass-marketing of empire and the "Western reinvention of domesticity" that brings together the many different domains of her book: gender and empire; race, class, and sexuality; Victorian Britain and colonial South Africa; labor, money, and market; and family, sexuality, and fantasy. Building on recent scholarship on all these topics, McClintock offers a far-reaching argument for the incorporation of a "theory of gender power" into the study of imperialism. Her analysis, while recognizing gender as embedded in the experiences of race, class, and empire, demonstrates the centrality of domesticity to the "commodity racism" of the late nineteenth century.

The central theme of the book, indeed, is a demonstration of how, in the process of mass-marketing the empire, the Victorian middle-class home was made into "a space for the display of imperial spectacle and the reinvention of race," while the "colonies—in particular Africa—became theaters for exhibiting the Victorian cult of domesticity and the reinvention of gender" (p. 34). The book's first two (of three) sections illustrate the historical dimension of the connections themselves, which, as McClintock further suggests, were mediated through the exclusion and the denial of women's work. Women's "domestic" work as nannies, maidservants, and governesses or their labor as miners and prostitutes was a challenge to the middle-class cult of female domesticity. These women, therefore, came to be described in the language of racial and sexual deviance, representing an "anachronistic space" outside of the historical time of industrial modernity. Against this background, McClintock analyzes afresh the ambiguous relationship between Arthur Munby, a Victorian barrister, and his domestic servant/wife, Hannah Cullwick. Similarly, McClintock's examination of British soap advertisements in the late nineteenth century also occurs against the background of the "underevaluation of women's work in the domestic realm" and its simultaneous association with racial degeneracy (p. 208). The argument comes full circle with an analysis of the use of Victorian gender ideology in the representation of the colony and the colonized as "feminine." In the third and final section of her book, McClintock attempts to explore the implications of her historical argument in the present through an analysis of certain aspects of contemporary South African politics.

The book is at its best and most persuasive when it succeeds in combining theoretical acuity with empiri-

cal evidence and insightful speculation to present what is a bold and original agenda for the study of imperialism. Often, however, it falls short in its execution. Although it was designed quite self-consciously to bring more historical perspective to postcolonial literary theory, many a historian will be frustrated by its lack of sustained historical analysis and the speculative and unsubstantiated nature of some of the author's claims. Yet this remarkably suggestive book will prove productive for historians precisely because it has raised so many important questions, the answers to which lie in careful engagement with the historical material.

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LAWRENCE GOLDMAN. *Dons and Workers: Oxford and Adult Education since 1850*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 363. \$74.00.

The relationship of Oxford to adult education, especially for workers, has gone through several transformations since its origins in the reform controversies of the mid-nineteenth century. The adult education movement began with idealistic plans for class harmony, moved through self-conscious efforts toward working-class political empowerment, and has ended in a vocational emphasis on credentials and individual mobility. The subject touches on a number of politically sensitive issues, and Lawrence Goldman does, in general, an excellent job of carefully sifting evidence and reaching judicious conclusions.

The first phase of the movement was the "University Extension" lectures. This plan for extramural lectures in provincial cities by university lecturers originated in Cambridge but came to be dominated by Oxford by the turn of the century, due to the idealism of lecturers like T. H. Green and Arnold Toynbee and the administrative efficiency of Michael Sadler, the secretary of the Extramural Delegacy. This period has generally been criticized in comparison to the tutorial classes later established by the Workers' Educational Association (WEA). Goldman admits the problems that existed during this time, notably the lack of a systematic educational program and the fact that more middle-class women ("sealskins") than working men attended the lectures. He argues, however, that these ought not to blind us to the very real spiritual benefit derived by participants. Goldman also argues that the defects of the movement were attributable to the basic fact that each lecture series had to be financially self-supporting, paid for by the participants. Neither the colleges nor the state were willing to subsidize this venture.

A fundamental change of direction came in the Edwardian period with the establishment of the WEA and the prominence of Albert Mansbridge, a lower middle-class clerk of working-class background. Mans-

bridge and his academic allies, like Sidney Ball of St. John's and R. H. Tawney pressed the university for more advanced and systematic courses rather than mere large lectures to miscellaneous audiences. But while Tawney and Mansbridge were attempting to bring working-class students to Oxford, others were deeply suspicious that the result would simply be the "incorporation" of the workers and their assumption of Oxford's elitist values. Yet others, like some of the founders of Ruskin College, argued for a more class-conscious education, explicitly oriented toward political indoctrination.

Goldman directly confronts the view, argued most recently by Roger Fieldhouse, that the entire enterprise of the WEA and the tutorial classes was an exercise in "social control" whose purpose was to wean working-class leaders away from radicalism and to consolidate the domination of Oxford over working-class education. Goldman argues that there is no evidence that Fieldhouse's Marxist alternative had much popular support among working people. He suggests further that such a view devalues both the sincerity of sympathetic Oxford dons and the personal and political aspirations of working people. Goldman also argues, on the basis of a careful review of the evidence, that the famous confrontation in 1909 between Lord Curzon, the chancellor of the university, and Dennis Hird, the politically engaged principal of Ruskin College—a beloved set-piece of leftist historiography—probably never occurred and was fabricated later for political purposes by the Ruskin "strikers."

After World War I, Oxford established its Extramural Delegacy and, for the first time, officially recognized adult education as a part of its academic mission. The preeminence of Oxford in the movement diminished, however, as provincial universities started to take up its tasks in their own districts. Oxford's clientele changed during this period, too, from working men to teachers, clerks, and women. The educational program also changed, moving away from a predominance of economic and political subjects, to a curriculum closer to the regular university course. In the 1930s, however, the Depression and the rise of Fascism led to greater concentration on the background of current events in extramural courses. Goldman notes that one of the most significant aspects of the movement during this period was its effect on those Oxford intellectuals who were led toward Labour politics and socialism by their contact with working people through extramural lectures and tutorial classes (Hugh Gaitskill, Richard Crossman, the Longfords). During World War II, short courses, often on political subjects, were offered for soldiers, although many conservative officers viewed these efforts with suspicion as leftist propaganda. In this instance, Goldman cannot deny the left-wing politics of most lecturers, but he argues against the view that adult education played a significant role in Churchill's 1945 electoral defeat.

In many obvious ways, the role of Oxford in adult

education has been in crisis since 1945: the expansion of regular educational opportunity has siphoned off many of its best students, the establishment of new universities has curtailed Oxford's efforts to its immediate three counties, the changing labor market has eroded traditional working-class communities, and the growth of popular culture has undermined working-class consciousness. The result has been that adult education has tended to move away from its tradition of liberal education to raise the political consciousness of workers toward more vocational and career-oriented studies, often for members of the middle class. Goldman criticizes Raymond Williams's strictures on this trend, implying that gratitude and institutional loyalty ought to have prevented Williams, who wrote his most influential book *Culture and Society* (1958) while an Oxford extramural tutor, from attacking this change in policy. In this instance, Goldman's defense is unpersuasive; surely Williams's experience gave him precisely the perspective needed to lament this scrapping of the "Great Tradition" in English adult education.

The beginning of the Cold War in the late 1940s and early 1950s also precipitated a crisis in the Oxford Delegacy, as tutors who were Communist Party members were accused by both trade unionists and Conservatives of using adult education as a vehicle for political propaganda. Again Goldman disagrees with Fieldhouse, who has argued that the "purge" of these tutors and of Thomas Hodgkin, the secretary of the Delegacy, was analogous to American McCarthyism. Goldman sifts the evidence carefully and concludes that this charge cannot be sustained; that much of the blame must be placed on the crude and arrogant attitudes of the Communist tutors; and that the disciplinary actions of the Delegacy were careful, balanced, and hardly "ruthless."

Goldman concludes with an attempt to assess the achievement of the English tradition of adult education. He accepts that it never succeeded in its own goal of attracting a significant number of working-class men, but he argues that one should not undervalue its benefit to lower middle-class clerks and especially to women, both groups among the educationally "underprivileged" in England. Goldman also emphasizes the benefit that the dons themselves derived from their "mission" to the working class and the benefit that the labor movement derived from the idealistic support of these dons.

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BARBARA WINSLOW. *Sylvia Pankhurst: Sexual Politics and Political Activism*. Foreword by SHEILA ROWBOTHAM. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. xxviii, 236. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

I feel compassion for Barbara Winslow, who in the early 1970s, after completing research for a dissertation on Sylvia Pankhurst, made the wrenching decision

to drop out of academe and stay home to raise her children. As the years rolled by, a proliferation of books on the British suffrage movement and later socialist causes in which Pankhurst was involved have rolled off various presses. Now, more than twenty-five years later, Winslow has published her own book, an outgrowth of her recently completed dissertation.

The result of coming in so late to a field that has been so thoroughly plowed by others is that Winslow adds relatively little by way of new information to buttress her feminist heroine worship of Pankhurst. I am complimented by Winslow's paraphrase of my own description of Pankhurst in her introduction and by her following my division of Sylvia's life into early years, involvement in various causes in East London (including the founding of her suffrage movement there), and the foray into international communism. But I also disagree with much of Winslow's interpretation.

Among the questions that face any historian in writing a biography is that of how successful his or her subject was in achieving goals articulated or acted out? And, in that context, how was the subject viewed by her or his peers? Winslow claims successes for Pankhurst that simply cannot be substantiated by documentary evidence (beyond the latter's own considerable claims). Two examples will have to suffice in this short review. Jill Craigie (Mrs. Michael Foot), who attempted to work with Pankhurst on a suffrage play, found her consumed with ego and unwilling to share credit for women having won the vote at the end of the British campaign. Lord Brockway, who knew Pankhurst from her early days in East London and who was a card-carrying socialist and pacifist in those years, totally dismissed the idea that she made any significant contributions to either cause. With regard to Pankhurst's foray into international communism, the same could be said: the memoirs of her peers belittle Pankhurst or, worse, treat her as a victim of "infantile delusion," the label V. I. Lenin ascribed to her.

In reading Winslow's book, I wondered why she did not choose instead to write an explication of Pankhurst's hold on the New Left feminism that developed around the time Winslow began her research. Rather than a revisionist study that echoes Sylvia's own perceptions of her contributions to various causes, Winslow might have provided fascinating insights into the feminist mentality that is still held by the remnants of the New Left. She tells a good tale, and, although this partial biographical study is not accurate in terms of history, it is well written.

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DAVID FOWLER. *The First Teenagers: The Lifestyle of Young Wage-Earners in Interwar Britain*. (Woburn Education Series.) Portland, Ore.: Woburn Press, distributed by ISBS, Inc. 1995. Pp. x, 212. \$35.00.

This book provides a revisionist account of British youth culture. The traditional view has held that a distinctive teenage culture and the teenage affluence that made it possible was a phenomenon of the 1950s. David Fowler argues instead that these developments were products of the interwar period. In seeking to establish his thesis, Fowler examines the interwar labor market for young wage-earners, changes in teenage consumer trends, the growth of interwar commercial leisure opportunities, and the effect of these developments on interwar youth movements.

Historians have previously portrayed interwar youth as victims of high unemployment, trapped in dead-end jobs when they found work, lacking significant disposable income, and powerless to resist the adults who controlled their lives. But Fowler stresses the autonomy that youth exercised at work and at leisure. They often rejected the recommendations of adults in selecting jobs, by their own choice frequently changed jobs, and refused to become deferential workers when employed. Fowler views the 1937 nationwide apprentices' strike as especially important in establishing the latter point. Youth groups that reflected adult goals of service and character-building experienced significant membership declines as teenagers flocked to the cinema and the dance hall, where they had greater freedom from adult agendas.

The possibility of an interwar teen culture had been ruled out by Elizabeth Roberts (*A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890–1940* [1984]) and others, who have suggested that teenagers turned over their unopened wage packets to their mothers and received back for spending money an amount too small to provide the disposable income necessary for a commercialized teen culture. Fowler suggests that Roberts's data, drawn from a small sample of females from only three relatively small Lancashire towns, was atypical. Rather than being subordinated to the family's economic needs, Fowler claims, teenage wage-earners were an independent and relatively affluent group who often enjoyed a higher standard of living than their parents.

Fowler's portrait of affluent teenagers in the 1930s also challenges the traditional view of the Depression-induced poverty on the family economy. As late as 1938, seventy percent of all teenagers entered into full-time employment at age fourteen. Demand for juvenile labor increased as employers attempted to replace adults with less expensive workers, and this contributed to a substantial improvement in teenage wages. In contrast to previous studies, Fowler suggests that the 1920 extension of the National Insurance scheme made it unnecessary for unemployed parents to rely on the wages of their teenage children.

Fowler stresses that the dramatic expansion of interwar commercialized leisure was directed at teenage consumers. The interwar cinema was already relying on teenage audiences by the 1930s; even eighty percent of unemployed youth attended the cinema at least once a week. Magazines and dance halls also increas-

ingly aimed their services at the young wage-earner. Interwar cultural authorities believed that a youth culture was emerging and expressed alarm, since they considered it dangerous.

Fowler's book is an important study of interwar British youth, but it is less inclusive than the title implies. Although there is some interesting material on females, it is primarily about masculine culture, and the author does not explore the gender differences in youth culture. He also does not discuss domestic service, which remained one of the largest occupations for young females until World War II. While Fowler has added some material from other parts of Britain, the evidence that lies at the heart of the book is drawn from Manchester. Since that city was atypical in some respects, especially in having considerably lower juvenile unemployment during the 1930s than other cities (except London), Fowler's conclusions are not necessarily true for other parts of Britain. Although he intends to rescue working-class teenagers from the condescension of adults, the voices of the former are rarely heard in this book; most of the sources reflect the way teenagers were viewed by adults. This is especially surprising in light of Fowler's aspiration to do for interwar teenagers what E. P. Thompson did for the early nineteenth-century working class in *The Making of the English Working-Class* (1963).

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JOHN BAXENDALE and CHRIS PAWLING. *Narrating the Thirties: A Decade in the Making: 1930 to the Present*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. viii, 246. \$49.95.

Few would deny that the 1930s is one of the most written about and debated decades in modern British history. John Baxendale and Chris Pawling therefore assume readers well-versed in the main social, political, and cultural events of the period and proceed (after their opening chapter on theory) with seven chapters on how the 1930s have been interpreted during and since that period and why some of those interpretations took the forms they did. Most of the sources should be familiar to historians of the period, although the unifying themes of the last two chapters—the British mini-series *Pennies from Heaven* (1978) and the novel/movie *The Remains of the Day* (1989/1993)—may startle traditional political historians.

Each chapter addresses very different types of source material. Baxendale and Pawling make every effort to insure that the reader knows they believe that they are critiquing the “construction and reconstruction of historical memory” (p. 6), and their theories and definitions of how that reconstruction works take up most of the opening chapter. The strength of such an approach is that the authors cover a commendable breadth of material. The weakness, in this particular monograph, is that the reader has to supply most of the

ideas and issues that might unite the themes and issues presented in the individual chapters. Baxendale and Pawling critique the material they present but offer little to replace the interpretations they have taken apart and draw no conclusions about what their critiques might actually imply for future studies of the period. It is as if the final chapter is missing.

Chapters two, three, and four illustrate how the 1930s were presented by various British sources during the decade. Chapter two concentrates on domestic documentaries and Mass Observation, chapter three on J. B. Priestley, and chapter four on imperial documentaries and narratives. These chapters recapitulate one of the main social historiographical arguments on the period: was the 1930s a period of political activism against fascism and government economic policies, or were these activities limited to a few people? Baxendale and Pawling provide excellent synopses of film documentarians, Mass Observation, and some of the narratives of the period, but they leave the question of influence asked but unanswered. Only in the chapter on Priestley (dealing with his script for the 1934 movie *Sing as We Go*) do the authors even suggest a generalized overview of an aspect of the decade. They reject any "straight assertion or construction of a national consensus" (p. 78), however, even about this well-presented material.

Chapters five and six focus primarily on how historians have dealt with the 1930s between 1940 and circa 1975. These chapters discuss many of the most famous British works on the period and provide excellent critiques of them, while refusing openly to endorse or propose any particular approaches. Chapters seven and eight deal with 1930s themes as presented primarily in *Pennies from Heaven* and *The Remains of the Day*. These bring out the authors' main idea; that history "is not simply a given body of facts, which presents itself to us fully formed, but that it is also a construct and, hence, the product of present concerns as well as past events" (p. 168). Both chapters illustrate how the 1930s have been used as commentary on contemporary modern culture. The songs mimed in *Pennies from Heaven* both express the characters' inner feelings and are designed to play off the modern viewers' familiarity with the conventions of movie musicals. The authors suggest the possibility that the creators of the mini-series were reacting to changes in Britain that would lead to Margaret Thatcher's coming to power the year after it was shown. *The Remains of the Day* is partially seen as a critique of the Thatcher government's conservative values. Both the novel and the film easily link those values to elements in the Conservative Party and county leaders who not only supported appeasement but searched for stronger ties with Nazi Germany.

This is not a book for scholars new to the study of 1930s Britain. Those who know the sources well may find that this work challenges their assumptions about the period and its historiography. Those interested in linking social, cultural, and political history have in this

monograph an approach that, whether they accept or reject it, must be understood.

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ALASTAIR MACLACHLAN. *The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary England: An Essay on the Fabrication of Seventeenth-Century History*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. viii, 431. \$39.95.

In some ways, this is an exasperating narrative. In part, the trouble is in the subject, which is at best a long sad story of frustration and failure; in part, it is in the viewpoint of the author, who vacillates uneasily between admiration and contempt for his *personae*; and, in part, it is in the style, which, despite some occasional flashes and good humor, is often awkward in its effort to pack too much information into each sentence and moves too slowly and ponderously toward its conclusion. Nevertheless, there is a perverse fascination in watching so many talented people manage to get everything so willfully and consistently wrong, and there is just enough suspense in this long narrative (which ends with a question mark) to coax us on. Just how will the Marxists and their friends accommodate themselves to the latest political setbacks and adjust their histories to "save the appearances"? Can their rivals and enemies do any better? What, if anything, will be the Marxist legacy? Alastair MacLachlan is aware that he will have two kinds of readers—the initiate and the professional outsider—and that he is unlikely to please either. He is right, but despite my reservations, I think that his book should be required reading for both audiences.

MacLachlan's story is about the way English Marxists "fabricated" seventeenth-century history, beginning in the 1930s, and then altered and adjusted their views with every turn of contemporary events, until the whole enterprise collapsed with the collapse of world communism in recent times. The central figure is Christopher Hill, whose works and tergiversations, are closely followed and criticized, right down to his recent biographies of John Milton and John Bunyan. MacLachlan finds serious fault with almost every one of Hill's works of this man he grudgingly admires and who once threatened "to flatten the opposition by sheer weight of pages and erudition." But we hear much also about his comrades-in-arms, Eric Hobsbawm, E. P. Thompson, Perry Anderson, C. B. Macpherson, Raymond Williams, and so on, each of whose views and works are briefly described and placed in the unfolding story. The author provides a rich context, first with the debates within Marxist circles—particularly the Communist Party's "Historians Group," which flourished between 1946–1956—but also in the pressures of contemporary English history and world events and finally in the voices of the opposition and the academic establishment (revisionists such as Conrad Russell and Tories such as

Jonathan Clark). Joseph Stalin and Margaret Thatcher turn out to be more important than Lawrence Stone and J. H. Hexter, but all are woven together in a dense tapestry that attempts to provide a setting and furnish an explanation for Hill and his allies. The story is determinedly British, although the background is set in France and the Soviet Union, and there is an occasional nod to an American and at least one passing mention of Edward Bernstein.

Is this the way it happened? It is not clear from MacLachlan's conclusion that he would insist on it. One reason (or symptom) that he offers for the collapse of Marxist historiography seems to be the rise of its skeptical successor, postmodern criticism, which MacLachlan considers in a last chapter entitled "Revolution as Text and Discourse." MacLachlan is typically even-handed and ambivalent. He is not much taken with the idea that each revision of the past merely succeeds the last or improves on it. He allows a modest comeback for the Whigs and their socialist allies, though he has no wish to revive either G. M. Trevelyan or R. H. Tawney. (He might have taken a hint from the applause still granted to S. R. Gardiner by all sides, though he is unable to offer a plausible explanation for the anomaly.) He justifies the Marxists only conditionally. "If historical writing is irreducibly opaque and relational; if historical writing is as much a branch of 'rhetoric' as 'philosophy,' concerned as much with representation as with 'discovery'; if the 'objective' historian is an undesirable will-o'-the-wisp, and . . . there is nothing wholly outside interpretation, then the work of the English Marxist historians may continue to have an interest and an appeal." It will certainly not be (as the Marxists always insisted) because they knew the past better or could validate a revolutionary politics in the present. It was, he concludes a little lamely, simply because they opened up new areas for research and conjecture.

Apparently, MacLachlan would like to have it both ways: to accept both the ordinary method of academic historiography with its implicit insistence on the distinction between truth and error and its hope for an improvement or accumulation of knowledge and the radical relativism of some postmodern critics. If the result is necessarily equivocal, at least it is generous, and the book deserves praise for its attempt to get the story of British Marxist historiography right, while showing how woefully wrong it was—though perhaps inadvertently useful anyway. Even Hexter, who so memorably (and for some of us, definitively) disposed of the historiography of Christopher Hill in an essay that MacLachlan applauds, might have been pleased with this paradoxical conclusion.

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PAUL W. T. KINGSTON. *Britain and the Politics of Modernization in the Middle East, 1945–1958*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies Series, number 4.) New

York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 191. \$54.95.

This book by Paul W. T. Kingston examines the history of the British Middle East Office (BMEO), headquartered initially in Cairo, during the critical years when the intersection of decolonization and cold war generated a global race for position and prestige throughout the former zones of empire. Western nations, mesmerized by the "positivistic notion" of applying technical expertise to mitigate structural economic weaknesses and win friends in the Third World, moved weightily into the "development" arena. The Soviets, of course, offered a model equally embedded in modernity, one that appealed to new nations bent on rapid growth and self-reliance.

Kingston's primary concern is to demonstrate that BMEO officials, who often operated as an independent arm of British foreign policy, pieced together in the field a style and mode of "development" that was superior to the unrealistic plans launched by both the United Nations and the U.S. government. He focuses on BMEO activities in Iran, Iraq, and Jordan and briefly notes the impact of events in Palestine. Kingston shows that the BMEO was forced by England's faltering economy and the onslaught of muscular competition to adopt a low-key, flexible approach toward development assistance, one that favored a "statist" tendency (working when possible within existing bureaucracies for top-down reform) and demonstrated a penchant for smaller-scale, shorter-term projects that pointed toward long-range stability coupled with gradual societal change. Although Ernest Bevin had dreams of regional development on a far broader scale, the BMEO's work well suited Prime Minister Clement Attlee's goal of transforming empire into a cooperative commonwealth. That the BMEO was not successful, argues Kingston, does not deny its importance as an alternative model for delivering good advice and rational goals.

In Iran, the British found a regime ostensibly much interested in long-range planning but crippled by bureaucratic intrigue and the political struggle between the Shah and the Majlis as well as rising popular discontent. Iraqi elites failed to pursue an effective reform program despite dramatically increased oil revenues, preferring a shaky political status quo. In both nations, American officials actively challenged BMEO legitimacy. The Anglo-American "clash" was quite palpable, intensified by the latter's "excessive and ultimately counter-productive emphasis on technically perfect and oversophisticated projects": efforts that could not be sustained by local revenues and expertise once Point Four technicians closed up shop and went home (p. 122). In Jordan, the British faced political fragmentation exacerbated in 1948 by the arrival of 800,000 Palestinian refugees in the aftermath of warfare. As Amman's strategic importance grew, there was virtually no infrastructure on which to build a development program (not surprising for an artificial

country that no one had ever been sure was economically viable). Looking closely at the BMEQ's work in forestry, irrigation development, and rural credit, Kingston can point to success only in the revitalization of farmers' cooperatives in Jordan, a task no other major power would have undertaken.

The obligatory criticism of monographs is that they do not cross enough geopolitical boundaries, leap far enough across the discursive landscape, or snare superb souvenirs. True, Kingston does not consider Britain's overall strategic concerns in the eastern Mediterranean. He ignores the development efforts of the British military administration in Cyrenaica that matched, in many ways, the experience of the BMEQ. Arab nationalism is treated rather like an elemental force, ebbing and flowing for no particular reason. Hence, this is not the kind of study one might expect from William Roger Louis or Albert Hourani. But Kingston states clearly his limited goal; and within the confines of this very readable book about tedious policy debates, he probes a very important issue. The BMEQ's patient and painstaking efforts came to little as England tumbled into the basket of second-rate powers dependent on U.S. resources and goodwill, more noticeably after the Suez Crisis of 1956. Yet, BMEQ's mission and mode of operation offer useful reference points for the continuing debate over the character and meaning of Third World "development."

SCOTT L. BILLS

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JOHN W. YOUNG. *Winston Churchill's Last Campaign: Britain and the Cold War 1951-5*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 358. \$72.00.

This book examines in exhaustive detail Winston Churchill's failed attempt to arrange a summit conference with the Soviet Union as a way of lessening Cold War tensions. Thoroughly researched in British, American, and French archives, John W. Young's study will certainly prove definitive.

Churchill came to office for the last time in October 1951, when he was already seventy-seven years old and in declining health. Fearful that Cold War tensions could lead to nuclear war and eager to leave a final historical legacy, he strove unceasingly during his last administration to create a policy of what he came to call "easement," his version of what the Soviets called "peaceful coexistence." On the assumption that improved contacts with the Soviets would be both a safer and more effective way to contain communism, Churchill sought "to replace the Cold War with a more traditional balance of power relationship supplemented by Summit diplomacy" (p. 40).

Churchill's many attempts to arrange a summit conference, however, all came to naught. Most of the Foreign Office, including Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, opposed Churchill's efforts to relive his wartime

meetings with Joseph Stalin and Franklin D. Roosevelt. They preferred to stick to more limited diplomatic contacts. American policy makers, more committed to an ideological view of the Soviet Union as an evil empire, also had no desire to enter into negotiations. Moreover, both Foreign Office and State Department officials feared that any settlement with the Soviet Union would create a unified, neutral Germany, an outcome they strongly opposed but that Churchill supported at one point. Nor did the Soviets themselves show much inclination to meet. They had their own suspicions of the West in general and of Churchill in particular.

Young concludes that "greatness may be found in imposing failure as well as towering success and, if [Churchill's] search for a Summit must be counted a failure, it does not necessarily detract from his reputation as one of the greatest twentieth-century statesmen" (p. 341). Certainly, Churchill deserves credit for being, as Young puts it, a "forefather of détente" (p. 321), a leader with a "clear and intelligent policy for resolving the Cold War which was ahead of its time" (p. 327). But in other aspects, the story that Young meticulously relates hardly adds to Churchill's reputation, as Young himself makes abundantly clear.

Stubborn and vain, Churchill wanted a summit as much for his own glory as for the cause of peace. At times either devious or high-handed, he ignored his cabinet members when attempting to arrange policies that required their approval. Increasingly debilitated, he neglected to read the briefs of his own civil servants, a failing that accounts for what Young calls his "ignorance, even of vital problems, and his reliance on intuition or plain wishful thinking" (p. 336). And after his stroke in 1953, his "direction of the government became frighteningly ineffective" (p. 328).

In fact, aside from his understanding of the need for what would later be called détente, Churchill remained out of touch with political realities. When Dwight D. Eisenhower proposed a commitment to end all of European imperial rule after twenty-five years, Churchill replied that he remained "sceptical about universal suffrage for hottentots" (p. 288). Eager to reprise his wartime triumphs, Churchill thought that Stalin was a man of peace with whom he could negotiate. While rejecting closer ties to Europe, he misread the United States, whose leaders were never willing to accept his plans to create an Anglo-American partnership to lead the Western world. At the same time, he consistently insulted the French, whose cooperation was vital to the Western alliance. Churchill never understood Western plans to create a European Defense Community or his own inconsistency in simultaneously supporting Konrad Adenauer and a neutral, reunited Germany. Like most British policy makers, he overestimated the continued vitality both of Britain and of the Empire-Commonwealth. In his calculations, Europe was the least of Britain's concerns.

Thus, it seems arguable that Churchill's prescient

support for détente grew precisely out of the fact that he remained at heart a nineteenth-century imperialist. Because of this, he was able to regard the Soviet Union as another imperial system, one that he was willing to acknowledge and negotiate with. He even sympathized with Soviet repression of the East German uprising of 1953 on the grounds that the Red Army had the right to enforce martial law in order "to prevent anarchy" (p. 178).

It is one of the strengths of Young's excellent, careful study that readers will be able to draw differing conclusions about Churchill's final moment on the historical stage.

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ALAN JAMES. *Britain and the Congo Crisis, 1960–63*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. xxi, 219.

The standard account of British involvement in Africa pivots on Harold Macmillan's declaration in 1960 that a "wind of change" was sweeping the continent. This confirmed Britain's withdrawal as an imperial presence and the emergence of "independent" states. As with most standard accounts, it is more mythological than real. Formal decolonization was never incompatible with the extension of an informal British presence, both for economic gain and for the continued projection of Great Power status.

Alan James's study admirably challenges the myth by examining the complexity of London's involvement in the first stages of the dispute over Congolese independence. He outlines a range of British concerns, not all of them complementary. As a recent imperial power dealing with the colony of another European state, the British government was torn between sympathy for Belgium's predicament and the need to appeal to anticolonial opinion in Africa and Asia. There was a concern, at least superficially, about Soviet intervention turning the Congo into "an arena of cold war competition" (p. 60). The initial desire to support United Nations action gave way to opposition when such action affected Congolese politicians favored by the West. Questions over the wisdom of the United States position competed with the pressure to project an Anglo-American alliance. There were also the economic interests of British companies like Tanganyika Concessions, Unilever, and the British-American Tobacco Company to consider.

Placing the British role in a broader context yields further dividends. James, the author of *The Politics of Peacekeeping* (1969) and *Peacekeeping in International Politics* (1990), is at his best when analyzing the effects of United Nations operations in the Congo. He spends less time on the influence of U.S. policy, even though he sees it as decisive in ending the initial phase of the dispute, but he does transcend the standard caricature of Washington's crusade against Patrice Lumumba and promotion of Joseph Mobutu.

James's achievement proves to be his downfall,

however, for his conclusions do not do justice to his multi-faceted approach. Faced with the maze of British objectives, not to mention the labyrinthine maneuvers within the government and civil service, James is overwhelmed. He asserts that "In Britain's eyes, 'law and order' was the most basic Congolese requirement" (p. 29); however, he never considers what form "law and order" should have taken. A law and order dictated by the United Nations was not necessarily acceptable; neither was a law and order overseen by Belgian authorities or by Lumumba. "Law and order" cannot explain Britain's confused position throughout the crisis on the issue of Katanga secession.

The focus on law and order also results in a glaring omission. James's evidence shows a concern with law and order for whites by whites. Thus, in July 1960, Britain strongly represented to Belgian officials that "in the last resort the Belgian Government would instruct their troops to intervene to save the lives of the white population irrespective of any obligations they might have entered into with Congolese Government about the use of these troops" (p. 40). The Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, wrote a year later that "The basic trouble in these primitive areas of Africa is that directly the white officers are removed from the police and the army there is no discipline and no loyalty to authority" (p. 29). There is little evidence of concern for self-determination and law and order for the majority of the Congolese population.

James's analytical problem is most apparent in his conclusion. Instead of evaluating the British approach to the many concerns that he has identified, James embarks on a tangential discourse about Britain as a Great Power in the 1960s. He offers no consideration of British policy in the Congo but wanders into tired (and inaccurate) clichés about the Macmillan-Kennedy relationship and an orthodox recitation of British decline.

James is to be credited for opening up a new perspective on the tensions of a government that, in trying to hold on to global influence, was caught up in a tangle of actors and concerns. There are, however, no straightforward resolutions of the British approach. As Patrick Dean, Britain's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, noted about the diplomatic complexities, "Although we avowedly support the United Nations effort, we really do not want it to succeed too well" (p. 78).

SCOTT LUCAS
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PAUL BEW. *Ideology and the Irish Question: Ulster Unionism and Irish Nationalism, 1912–1916*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 165. \$32.00.

Paul Bew is the author and co-author of a number of revisionist Marxist works suggesting that the ideological bases of unionism and nationalism in Ireland derive from uneven economic development. Thus the

problems of the Northern Irish state are due to its lack of economic, social, and political reform more than any repressive ideology. In this book, Bew seeks to resurrect what he sees as a reformist tradition in Irish nationalism by "rescuing" the nationalist constitutionalism of John Redmond. The goal is to show that "Redmondism" engaged in a creative discourse with Unionism and afforded it a set of legitimate concerns that would have to be recognized in any settlement of the Ulster crisis of 1912–1916. In the process, Redmond moved away from seeing unionism as mere Orangeism and espoused a constitutionally tolerant nationalism that was eclipsed by the revolutionary nationalism of the Easter Rising.

The work begins with a reexamination of the Ulster crisis. Bew suggests that the Redmond party's membership was sufficiently diverse to afford its leader ample experience in dealing with varied opinions, and he finds similar characteristics in unionism and Edward Carson. Unionism emerges as a legitimate set of political concerns given to unfortunate sectarian eruptions. Bew maintains that, despite such tendencies, mainstream unionism embraced egalitarian notions contrary to the charges of later historians who have represented it as a kind of "proto-fascist" movement. He finds that unionist ideological values sat well within the reformist tradition of the day. Bew also examines the movement of figures such as Winston Churchill toward unionist sympathy, the Solemn League and Covenant, the creation of Irish paramilitaries, and, finally, "the project of Redmondism," that is, Redmond's attempted accommodation of unionist concerns (p. 144).

Bew sheds some new light on these matters and further improves Redmond's reputation, but there is little here that is radically new. The author offers more than a few overly ingenious interpretations of the quotations he cites as evidence. Furthermore, the title of his book is deceptive, as it explores less the formation of unionist and nationalist ideologies than it does the interplay of events and personalities and how these compelled Redmond, Carson, and the British government to move to what seemed to be the middle ground. Bew holds that this position was lost to the revolutionaries, and both nationalists and unionists embraced violence.

In the end, Redmondism's defeat requires explanation and Bew provides none; he does not render Redmondism a coherent ideology and fails to explain its inadequacies. Challenged by Pádraig Pearse's and James Connolly's more coherent republican nationalism, Redmondism evaporated in the court of public opinion and at the ballot box because it was unintelligible. The critical reader cannot escape the sense that this rescue of Redmond, a man of distinct and admirable virtues and even of some ideas, goes beyond what can be sustained in order to argue that Redmondism has answers for Ireland today.

SEÁN FARRELL MORAN
Oakland University

MADELEINE LAZARD. *Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme*. Paris: Fayard. 1995. Pp. 409. 150 fr.

This engagingly written volume is an introduction to the life and work of the sixteenth-century memoirist Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme. Madeleine Lazard succeeds admirably in simultaneously addressing three subjects: the life of the author, the context of his works, and the literary and historical value of those works.

Brantôme (1542?–1614) was a younger son of a well-connected noble family from Périgord. He had a career in arms and at the Valois court, through which he witnessed the turmoil of the later sixteenth century. After a riding accident left him a semi-invalid in his forties, he retired to Périgord and began writing in earnest the various memoirs about noble ladies and great captains for which he is known.

Lazard declares it her goal to rehabilitate Brantôme. His work on the "gallant" ladies of the court (sometimes called the Kinsey Report of the sixteenth century) has been misunderstood, and focusing on it has obscured his other works. Lazard places both Brantôme and his works squarely in the context of the aristocratic society of the age. Beginning with a chapter on noble values in the sixteenth century, she weaves her very rich understanding of contemporary noble culture throughout the volume. Brantôme wrote as a member of a society still bound by local and personal ties more than loyalty to country or monarch: one where family honor and personal aggrandizement were legitimate goals and women as well as men were important political players and sustainers of noble values and culture. Lazard's reevaluation of Brantôme's work thoughtfully discusses issues of sexuality and, more broadly, allows a vision of the centrality of noble women in aristocratic life to emerge.

Lazard draws from and briefly comments on the secondary literature on Brantôme. Her work seems aimed at the French lay reader as well as at scholars, however, so detailed consideration of historiography is not her point. Her intended audience may also explain Lazard's failure to refer to scholarly works other than those by French scholars when discussing, for example, the financial situation of the nobility or the impact of the military revolution. But these are quibbles regarding a book as rewarding and as useful as this one. Lazard's portrait of noble society, whatever its limitations, is richly nuanced, and she brings to bear her vast erudition concerning literature of the period in order to analyze Brantôme's corpus. Her prose is accessible and engaging; she is particularly to be commended for so dexterously weaving in Brantôme's own words without resorting to tedious long quotations. This work, in my view, can supersede Ludovic Lalanne's *Brantôme, sa vie et ses écrits* (1896) as the place to begin a study of Brantôme.

KRISTEN B. NEUSCHEL
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GEOFFREY TREASURE. *Mazarin: The Crisis of Absolutism in France*. New York: Routledge. 1996. Pp. xv, 413. \$39.95.

The dramatic life of Giulio Mazarini, Cardinal Mazarin, is the stuff of history. Born in modest circumstances in Italy, he became the client first of the Colonna and then of the Barberini, important Roman families. As a papal diplomat, his negotiating skills attracted the attention of the great Cardinal Richelieu, first minister of France, who designated him as his successor. Mazarin inherited both a long and costly international war and Richelieu's so called "governmental revolution," institutional changes aimed at extorting funding from a reluctant and war-weary population. Buttressed by his relationship with the regent, Anne of Austria, he was able to withstand the personal and political attacks of the Fronde and to bring the Habsburg-Bourbon struggle to a glorious conclusion that sealed French hegemony in Europe. In the process, he shaped the new regime of Louis XIV, both in practice and personnel, even as he feathered his own nest, becoming one of the richest men in France.

Certainly Mazarin was, as Geoffrey Treasure argues, one who changed the course of history. He well deserves this modern biography, the first in English since 1903. Admitting that Mazarin is an elusive subject who rarely set his personality to paper, Treasure avoids an overtly psychological study, contenting himself with describing the cardinal's actions within the context of the times. The result is both a biography and a complex history of France, indeed of Europe, during this period. Relying on printed primary sources (the standard memoirs of the period and printed correspondence, particularly Adolphe Chéruel's nine-volume edition, *Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin pendant son ministère* [1872–1906]) as well as the work of recent British, American, and French scholars, Treasure provides a solid synthesis of current scholarly research on the French governmental, economic, and social system. He falls short in areas such as diplomacy, where not much recent work has been done, and theory, such as the vexed definition of absolutism. Thus, his description of international affairs is competent, if not particularly new. Chapter twelve, "Royal Absolutism: Theories and Traditions," skirts the exciting work of historians in the 1980s, including Roger Mettam, who has questioned the very term absolutism.

Nonetheless, the work has many merits. Treasure succeeds in establishing Mazarin as a powerful and energetic statesman, too long eclipsed by Richelieu and too often seen as merely duplicitous, manipulative, or, worse, Machiavellian. Part of this traditional portrayal is due to Mazarin's status as a foreigner and his role as a royal confidant, but Treasure clearly establishes Mazarin as a tremendously talented, hard-working politician and diplomat who overcame tremendous odds to assert monarchical power in the mid-seventeenth century. This is no hagiography, how-

ever; Treasure does not hesitate to point out Mazarin's political mistakes, particularly his missteps during the tumultuous events of the Fronde. Treasure also provides a balanced portrayal of Mazarin's life, depicting him as art collector, connoisseur, bon vivant, and even conventional Catholic as well as statesman. Despite a tendency to detail, Treasure succeeds in clearly presenting the larger geopolitical issues of the period. Finally, as the product of a mature scholar, the book offers judicious assessments of the period. Treasure is also particularly good at providing character sketches of minor actors.

The book is designed for a wide readership including generalists as well as specialists. The narrative is factual and readable, but the generalist may be buried by the wealth of detail and the scholar frustrated by the lack of documentation. The sixty-eight pages of notes are mostly biographical references to the numerous names in the text rather than a guide to sources. Quotations have no footnotes. The specialist's only recourse is the nine-page bibliography. Since Treasure has made no attempt at archival research, scholars will find few surprises in his pages. Nonetheless, this synthesis should remain the standard English-language biography of Mazarin for years to come.

DOUGLAS CLARK BAXTER
Ohio University

DALE K. VAN KLEY. *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 390. \$35.00.

Dale K. Van Kley's new book reclaims the central role played by religious controversies in preparing the way for the French Revolution. In the process, he explains why, after a century of resurgent secularism and eventual revolutionary republicanism, the desire to reinvent the French polity foundered on issues of church and state that went back to the very origins of the monarchy. This puzzling paradox was long ago explored by such giants of intellectual history as Edgar Quinet, Daniel Mornet, and R. R. Palmer, all of whom Van Kley duly acknowledges. In returning to the subject, however, he once again shows the merits of going *deux pas en arrière* in order to forward our understanding of some of the enduring continuities linking the Old Regime to the modern era.

By religion, Van Kley mainly means ecclesiology, particularly as expressed in occasional literature, learned tomes, and legal briefs. Although figuring in debates over the proper organization of the church and its relationship with civil society, forms of religious sensibility and expression are only examined implicitly in this study. Even so, Van Kley powerfully reminds us that much of the political history of premodern France (indeed Europe) revolved around the tangled issues of faith and obedience first prompted by Jesus's call for his followers to render unto Caesar what was his. But there was the rub, since defining the ruler's preroga-

tives in questions of faith has never enjoyed anything approaching a consensus. In France, the very success of the monarchy in asserting its authority over the Gallican church and its *temporalité* continually generated backlashes, not only from Rome but also from groups in the French clergy, judges in the *parlements*, and occasionally even lowlier members of the faithful. Although aware of this *longue durée*, Van Kley reasonably begins with the victory of royal Gallicanism over Calvinist and Catholic League attempts during the Wars of Religion to dissolve what each (albeit for very different reasons) thought to be the false boundary between church and civil society. This victory established the essential conceptual and, in time, institutional foundations of "sacred absolutism," which became consolidated by Louis XIV in the 1680s and 1690s and thereafter persisted (though ever more wobbly) until the end of the Old Regime. The notion of royal accountability to God alone, although politically powerful, lacked the kind of theological certainty necessary for it not to be questioned. Here the catalytic role of Jansenism came into play, for this movement—about which Van Kley has written so brilliantly elsewhere—kept alive criticisms of *la religion royale* that eventually triggered the monarchy's implosion during the eighteenth century. Most of the book meticulously reconstructs the attendant ecclesiastical disputes and scandals sparked by the crown's campaign to stamp out Jansenism, particularly after the papacy issued *Unigenitus* in 1713. These hoary debates over grace and free will, the two swords, and so on, although often dismissed by philosophes as out of place in the century of light, nevertheless transformed political perceptions and alignments in ways that led directly to 1789.

Changes occurred at two basic levels. Like Jeffrey Merrick, Van Kley sees in these debates the "conceptual dismantling" of sacred absolutism that, fed by rising anticlericalism and scandals at court, steadily turned public opinion against the royal Gallican establishment. Especially corrosive was the monarchy's tendency to use bureaucratic compromise and tacit disavowals of supposedly inviolate royal policy to solve what contestants viewed as matters of moral principle. No one, of course, was ever satisfied by such ploys, and so the debates festered, with the result that, at first implicitly and then in a rush after 1789, the august properties long associated with the royal polity and person were transferred to the nation. Along with them came, in transmuted form, the acrimonious, unresolved arguments over church-state relations. These found new life in the National Assembly's decision to revamp the Gallican church in the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*; a document that, as Van Kley demonstrates, had long been anticipated in earlier disputes over ecclesiology.

Related to this evolution and then revolution in church-state relations is a subtle analysis of the accompanying "party" alignments at court, in the episcopacy and sovereign law courts, and the emerging press. Van

Kley follows this shifting landscape of partisan positions from the 1720s to the 1790s, carefully evaluating the issues and persons involved in the public debates occasioned by, for example, the refusal-of-sacraments controversy (1720s-1730s), the Damiens Affair (1750s-1760s), the Maupeou reforms (1770s), and, finally, the upheavals that came after 1789. As he makes clear, the newer, more ideological politics of the French Revolution can be traced almost genealogically back to competing ecclesiologies whose origins were older than the monarchy itself.

This brief review does scant justice to Van Kley's richly suggestive treatment of the religious origins of the French Revolution. Scholars and students alike will profit enormously from its erudition and insight. Should Yale University Press consider issuing a paperback edition (and it should), it must do a more careful job of copyediting to eliminate the numerous typos and minor errors that mar what is a major contribution to the field.

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Altoona

DENA GOODMAN. *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 338.

The term political culture has gained legitimacy; it is now time to suggest sociological culture as appropriate to characterize the principal features of this book by Dena Goodman. Not about ideas and not about politics (though maneuvers to have books suppressed are certainly political), the book analyzes the social and cultural comportments of the learned in the decade of the *Encyclopédie*. The philosophes, their readers, and fellow republicans of letters not only joined the salons in the 1750s but coopted them in order to spread their ideas through a distinct mode of polite social interaction.

The old republic of letters had been more donnish than *honnête*, more disputatious than polite. Conversation, with its neo-Platonic and courtly origins, had long been thought of not only as socially desirable but as a means for advancing knowledge and achieving cultural transcendence. For the philosophes, it was the ideal instrument for advancing reform and the conversion of ever larger numbers to Enlightenment thought. A new sense of progress forged what had hitherto been occasional and inchoate into a social and political movement.

Goodman's aim is to show how important the salons, and particularly the *salonnières* were for the creation of the distinct sociological culture of the Enlightenment. She has brilliantly discerned the deeply masculinist social and discursive habits of both eighteenth-century learned culture and of those who have written about it ever since. The idea that the presence of a woman (not women) may be an inspirer of creativity and modify male behavior in favor of gentleness is a perennial

theme in Western culture. What Baldassare Castiglione and Giovanni della Casa had proposed in the sixteenth century would become, in the eighteenth, a distinct repudiation of the masculinist discourse of theological training and university philosophy. Along with the ideals of harmony and non-aggressive discourse, a woman in her salon represented much more than gendered furniture. Her own learning, questions, and interventions to end disputes constituted indispensable features of the Enlightenment for Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert.

The philosophe did indeed seek to retain and extend the ideal of harmony of thought and comportment inherited and somewhat secularized from the Christian humanists of the sixteenth century. And Goodman is right to stress the still fundamentally oral character of the constituent parts of eighteenth-century learned culture. Since the Middle Ages (one can even think of prominent early Christian examples), letters themselves were usually read aloud to friends by their pious and learned recipients, making them not only literary masterpieces on occasion but inspiration for creative reflection. Reading a letter as an individual and keeping it secret was probably quite infrequent, found only in specific political settings such as the Italian chancelleries. It is doubtful that printing altered the philosophes' attitudes toward reform through nonaggressive discourse and manners. Voltaire dipped his pen in satiric ink all along and never showed signs of acceding to the polite sensibilities of the salons. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's masculinist thought and André Morellet's attack on Ferdinando Galiani pierced the bubble of a salon sociological culture *en douceur*. Galiani characterized his opponent as Panurge, not an overly nasty description but not a flattering one either. Goodman does not comment on this (Panurge is not in the index), yet it may be a clue to why the salon philosophes had trouble recognizing civic engagement when it appeared right in front of them. Panurge's role was only pedagogically civic, not intensely participatory the way Morellet's was. The salon philosophes seem to have had trouble accepting the rough and tumble of what might be referred to as the public.

Goodman notes that the salon philosophes sought to create their own readership or following, which they referred to as a public, perhaps as the public. But was d'Alembert's real dream any more than to create an elite of thinkers and state servants who would eventually have moral and social engineering powers? The vicarious participation of readers in salon conversation through reading was no doubt larger than anything Castiglione ever imagined, but the philosophes' idea of public remained quite similar to what it had been in the theater and semi-secret protest literature of Louis XIV's reign. Harmony within that public was certainly an aim of the salon-centered Enlightenment. When that literalist autodidact reader of the ancients, Rousseau, argued that philosophy flourished in a male environment and that there was something distinctly masculine about ancient republicanism, however, he

had no trouble finding readers. D'Alembert, too, glimpsed something of gender and its relation to social behavior when he lamented the weakening of French as a language, something which he ascribed to the rise of royal power. Weakness and femininity were in some way related in his mind in a proto-despotic regime.

Were the republicans of letters still what they had been in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: that is, the same pedantic, bespotted, bespectacled, frequently celibate, and usually cassocked old selves? Had the academic foundations of the mid-seventeenth century and the synthesis of courtly and learned life during the Regency of Louis XV brought them closer in thought and manners to the more courtly, would-be aristocratic, and polite men of letters, who had long since made themselves quite distinct from the republicans of letters? Diderot's *Regrets sur ma vieille robe de chambre* (1772) takes on more than casual significance here. There was a change in life style, and the salons feminized the manners and the spaces that were eventually described in literature. Goodman leaves the differences between writers and republicans of letters unexplored, but she should not be criticized for this because it is really not her subject. D'Alembert saw the difference. In his *Essai sur la société des gens de lettres* (1754), he refers to the learned as lost somewhere in the past, which suggests that for the non-French republicans of letters, learning still had much more cultural force than it did for the philosophes. Learning itself was changing, with perhaps less emendating and translating being done after 1730 than before. And Parisian republicans of letters had more of an eye for reputation, and commercially grounded reputation at that, than their colleagues in Naples and Königsberg.

Goodman is to be congratulated for having written this learned, thoughtful, and paradigmatic book. Our understanding not only of the Enlightenment but also of the social and cultural foundations of its discourse has been much advanced.

OREST RANUM

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MALCOLM CROOK. *Elections in the French Revolution: An Apprenticeship in Democracy, 1789–1799*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 221. \$54.95.

Malcolm Crook's study of elections in the French Revolution reveals much about an important component of the revolutionary political experiment of the 1790s: the developing relationship among voting, politics, and citizenship. His effort to analyze this phenomenon is complicated by poor electoral records, a general dearth of reliable statistics, a voting procedure that denied the average citizen a voice in the secondary assemblies, and the reluctance of both government and the public to encourage declared candidacies and political parties. To overcome these limitations, Crook undertakes an intensive examination of the electoral records of seventeen departments and eight munici-

palities, supplementing his own research with secondary studies of other localities.

Maintaining something of the mentality of the old regime, revolutionary leaders established severely limited electoral rights for the average citizen. For example, the requirements that all voters pay direct taxes or own property and that elections take place in primary and secondary assemblies remained in effect for most of the 1790s. Although the French may have had the most democratic franchise in the eighteenth century, political leaders retained a fear of the common man actually choosing his own representatives. Crook reaffirms the traditional estimate that revolutionary electoral regulations in 1791 and 1795 disenfranchised at least one-third of the adult male population.

An examination of participation in the primary assemblies demonstrates that even most of those eligible did not vote. The highest level of participation, in many cases well over fifty percent, came in the local elections of 1790, but participation fell to twenty percent or less within a year. A number of factors account for this decline. Primary assemblies were organized by canton, not parish, which often necessitated considerable travel for many voters. The assembly meetings could drag on for days, and attendance could vary greatly during the course of deliberations. Many voters in areas hostile to particular revolutionary reforms refused to vote when forced to take a civic oath or to serve in the national guard. In such circumstances, those wealthy enough to be chosen electors and with the leisure to remain in attendance for several days could dominate the primary assemblies. After the suffrage was extended to passive citizens in 1792, participation remained low among the poor, even in Paris. Nevertheless, the referendum on the Constitution of 1793 yielded a national turnout of thirty percent, one of the highest of the decade.

Those anxious to influence an electoral outcome made various efforts to motivate citizens to vote. As early as 1791, local Jacobin clubs attempted to stimulate participation favorable to good patriots; royalist agents worked to turn out their supporters for the legislative elections of 1797; and the provincial press began, under the Directory, to advocate the election of specific individuals who were, for the first time, permitted to declare their candidacy. In addition to its infamous electoral *coups d'état*, the Directory itself initiated various techniques to manage the outcome of elections. When primary assemblies seemed to be dominated by royalists, the opposition would frequently withdraw (with official encouragement) and create a rival assembly to challenge the legitimacy of those elected. The Directory also began appointing a *commissaire central*, a precursor to the Napoleonic prefect, in each department to facilitate the election of candidates favorable to the government.

This well-researched study largely reiterates the findings of Patrice Gueniffey's *Le nombre et la raison: La Révolution française et les élections* (1993), but Crook examines a more diverse set of departments and

provides a more insightful analysis of the electoral politics of the Directory. The only study of its kind in English, this work constitutes an important contribution to the current literature on the political history of the French Revolution.

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DIDIER TERRIER. *Les deux âges de la proto-industrie: Les tisserands du Cambrésis et du Saint-Quentinois, 1730–1880*. (Recherches d'histoire et de sciences sociales/ Studies in History and the Social Sciences, number 64.) Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1996. Pp. 311. 150 fr.

Didier Terrier's masterful account of the social and economic history of textile production in the outworking regions attached to Valenciennes, Cambrai, and Saint-Quentin is one of a growing number of studies (including, recently, Tessie Liu's *The Weaver's Knot: The Contradictions of Class Struggles and Family Solidarity in Western France, 1750–1914* [1994] and my own *Life and Death in Industrial Languedoc, 1700–1920* [1995]) that bridge the political watershed of the French Revolution and the alleged economic one of "the rise of modern industry." Like Liu, Terrier conclusively demonstrates the ongoing (and massive) significance of rural weaving as the backbone of the fine light-cloth industry that shifted from mainly linen-based products to cotton in the nineteenth century. His central theoretical concern is to test Franklin Mendels's protoindustrial paradigm, and, like so many other studies, Terrier's finds such an array of experiences—even from village to nearby village—that any generalization about either the notion of "proto" or of "industrialization" is very difficult. What he does show, however, is that hand-loom rural weaving remained competitive well into the nineteenth century, as urban merchant-manufacturers and rural workers undertook a range of adjustments that made this region yet another example of the viability of small-scale production in the "machine age." A short review cannot begin to do justice to the depth and fascination of Terrier's research findings, so I shall concentrate on his most original contribution: the finely-tuned analysis of how such survival was possible.

By 1730, the region had established its reputation in fine linens ("cambric" in English), two-thirds of which were marketed internationally, and had diversified into cotton muslins and mixed gauzes as well as expanded the line of linens. Under an increasingly lax regulatory regime, competitive pressures sent merchants (or rather their brokers) into the countryside as a host of *mulquinières* (fine-linen weavers) sprang up in villages. Their skills at craft and entrepreneurship showed how easily peasants—at least those from the better-off families—could adapt their energies to industry (the key point of Liana Vardi's here rather under-cited *Loom and the Land* [1993]), and a veritable Emilia-Romagna blossomed. Ultimate authority

over the system remained in the hands of the townsmen. It was a true *Kaufsystem*, however, as even bleaching and finishing were outsourced by the *négo-ciants*. As was the case in most textile regions of France, late old regime decline gave way to revolutionary collapse; only with restructuring and a shift to new product lines under the relative protection and promotional initiatives provided by the empire did revitalization occur.

But it occurred without massive movement of the workforce into urban "factory" industry. To be sure, Saint-Quentin became one of the most vigorous villes-champignons in France, but largely on the strength of the urban concentration of sectors of the cotton industry such as mechanized spinning and finishing. The heart of the industry remained in the countryside, where thousands of hand-loom weaving households stayed competitive well after they might have otherwise been displaced by mechanical looms. They did so at the price of "proletarianization": the constant decline, over the course of the nineteenth century, of their status as independent entrepreneurs. In many respects, Terrier's book is the obverse of the story told by William Reddy in *The Rise of Market Culture* (1984) and a cautionary tale, perhaps, for those who enthuse about the benefits of small-scale production for the small-scale producer. Increasingly, the lot of the weaver, however excellent his product, was piece-wage work for a single employer at declining rates. Clearly the will to remain in one's community of birth, despite it all, was enormous. How was it possible?

Terrier cites a variety of factors. Many villagers in this region managed to purchase land from the sales of the *biens nationaux* during the revolution and thus possessed assets that allowed them to hedge against declining income from their industrial work. Moreover, the rapid emergence of commercial agriculture (especially sugarbeet cultivation) provided vital seasonal employment for weavers and their families. And those families declined in size: a Malthusian adjustment reduced the number of mouths to feed. At the same time, the weaver populations remained largely "uninfected" by the radicalism of the day, scrupulously avoiding collective action and unionization while figuring among the strongest supporters of neo-Bonapartism. (More discussion of their politics would have been welcome as would an analysis of the relationship of the region's industrial fortunes to state policy during the Second Empire.)

The *prud'hommale* courts of labor arbitration (established by the first Napoleon) proved effective in settling and defusing disputes. Terrier's research here is brilliant and demonstrates how well-placed is Alain Cottureau's confidence in these documents as sources of working-class history. Terrier notes that one area of potential research remained "inaccessible" to him: the internal family dynamics of protoindustrial survival. It is a shame that he does not seem aware of Liu's work, for it is precisely her argument that the growing exploitation of women's wage-work, especially that of

daughters remaining at home well into their adulthood, made the otherwise disastrous reduction of hand-loom weavers' remuneration in the Choletais sustainable and their continuing activity possible. Surely this, too, needs consideration as a factor in the north.

Survival, in any case, was not easy. In his most original research, Terrier shows that, under the surface, his region seethed with petty resentments and daily personal conflicts. Using rarely examined records of the *juges de paix* (the lowest level court in France), he finds a blizzard of litigation over debts, personal conflicts, insults, fights, and petty theft, a whole landscape of animosity that he characterizes, in tying it to conservative politics, as a culture of "resignation." Things finally started to fall apart about 1880, as the old guard limped on toward hand-loom oblivion while the young headed for the textile cities of the north. Some sort of other politics must have been brewing in this world of resentment, for those same migrants help to make the latter the "promised land of Guesdism." Although Terrier does not research this phenomenon (he certainly has already done enough!), the problem of the relationship between rural or small-town political cultures and those of urban centers is high on the agenda of our attempt to understand modernization. That Terrier makes us think seriously about it is yet another tribute to his superb book.

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LEORA AUSLANDER. *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 24.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 495. \$40.00.

This book is a significant and provocative study of how furniture represented and helped to constitute French politics and society from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth century. Leora Auslander's analysis of the changing meanings of furniture persuasively demonstrates the integral relationship between the large-scale transformations associated with the transition from an aristocratic to a mass society and the artifacts and aesthetics of everyday life.

The book is divided into three parts, each analyzing a key historical period as a "stylistic regime." For all three periods, Auslander carefully traces shifts in the meaning of furniture within interlocking processes of production, distribution, and consumption. In so doing, she also analyzes the actions and concerns of an extraordinary array of actors, including kings; furniture makers; distributors and advertisers; "taste professionals"; and consumers. During the "courtly stylistic regime," which ended with the French Revolution's destruction of absolutism, aristocrats displayed their power and strength through sumptuous and rare objects, and the crown sought to control who made, sold, and had access to such objects as part of the projection and maintenance of its power. The culture of produc-

tion undergirding this political and stylistic regime vested knowledge and craft sense in skilled (male) artisans who were dedicated to making beautiful things. From the revolution to the 1880s, as new systems of political and social representation evolved in the wake of absolutism's demise, a "transitional stylistic regime" emerged. The political uses of furniture gave way to social ones; in the absence of a dominant style, taste became constitutive of social status. The acquisition of class-appropriate commodities and the display of good taste—a new culture of consumption—became a crucial means for constructing a collective bourgeois identity. For skilled furniture workers, on the other hand, transformations in older cultures of production meant the deterioration of labor conditions, notions of skill, and desire to make beautiful objects. Aesthetics was becoming linked to femininity, an association due in part to the increasing influence of taste professionals who made it their business to dispense advice on class-specific and gender-appropriate aesthetic knowledge.

The subsequent "bourgeois stylistic regime" is the heart of the book. From the 1880s through the interwar period, the bourgeois (and republican) political consolidation of state power included domination of society as well. Class-appropriate, tasteful consumption was, Auslander asserts, crucial to the simultaneous generation of social distinctions and bourgeois power. Domestic space had public as well as private meanings. The governing style in furniture, historicist pastiche (new reproductions of old regime styles), marked off bourgeois interiors from those of other social groups and represented the bourgeoisie as heirs to France's historical patrimony. Bourgeois women's tasteful and savvy acquisition of furniture and domestic goods worked to constitute family and class solidarities, express their gendered self-identities, and represent the nation ("Frenchness") in the realm of the everyday. Taste professionals and distributors sought to educate bourgeois women as tasteful consumers of "French" styles, yet, as Auslander observes, a paradox remained. How could taste be "French," and hence a means of assimilation into the nation, at the same time that dominant groups used it to maintain social difference? The proliferation of new forms of distribution, an increase in the variety of goods and the velocity of their exchange, and the final erosion of the culture of production all further constructed the "new commercial world" that was the context for the bourgeois stylistic regime. The book concludes with a brief epilogue describing the "mass stylistic regime" that emerged from the mid-twentieth century.

This is a rich and densely argued study. Auslander's major contribution is her delineation of the extensive and complex historical processes by which consumer goods came to represent and consolidate power and identity. In particular, we learn how furniture moved from being a symbolically rich but fairly static means of representing royal power to become actively constitutive of new class, familial, national, and personal

identities. As with any work of such breadth, some aspects will be controversial. For example, Auslander claims that the *fin de siècle* was "not a period of mass, but of bourgeois, consumption" (p. 256) of furniture, and that only in the twentieth century did working-class people gain access to consumer-based systems of identity, subjectivity, and power. Studies of other consumer goods and practices (such as clothing, household items, and leisure pursuits), as well as of working-class consumer movements, argue for the onset of mass consumption by working-class consumers much earlier. This book's wealth of detail and ambitious scope may mean that some readers find it difficult to keep focused on the overall argument, despite Auslander's useful introductions to each section. In the end, however, it is precisely the intellectual rigor with which her argument cuts across analytical categories that are often treated as discrete (for example production, distribution, and consumption) that makes it so pathbreaking. This is unquestionably an important book, deserving careful attention and a wide readership.

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NICHOLAS PAPAYANIS. *Horse-Drawn Cabs and Omnibuses in Paris: The Idea of Circulation and the Business of Public Transit*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 217. \$49.50.

Studies of nineteenth-century cities used to be mainly about buildings or about people. They were static affairs, stressing the reclusion of the poor in inaccessible slums, the arrogant enclaves of the rich, and the remote, indifferent suburbs. In the last ten years, transport and mobility have come to the fore, identifying choice and variety within a city of multiple facets. This is a welcome development, although it largely excludes the poor, who normally expected to walk, not ride. It also poses the problem of linking transport provision to building, property management, and demography. The classic association between new transport lines and the growth of population needs to be greatly enriched before a dynamic picture can emerge in detail.

Parisian transport in the nineteenth century has a special attraction for historians. As the most populous city on the continent of Europe, Paris was in the vanguard of change, a setter of fashions rather than a follower. Most of its problems were serious enough to provide a foretaste of things to come throughout the urban world, while their investigation and measurement provide a rich body of data. Parisian solutions, moreover, were almost all primary innovations, with even London, twice the size of Paris and much the richer city, more often the policy emulator than the creator.

As the world leader in cabs and omnibuses throughout the nineteenth century, Paris has already attracted historians to the study of what had become a highly

regulated service by the end of the Second Empire in 1870. Nicholas Papayanis has already published *The Coachmen of Nineteenth-Century Paris: Service Workers and Class Consciousness* (1993). This was mainly a work of social history, concentrating on the workforce in an industry of long hours and low pay. In his new book, Papayanis is interested in the relationship of transport to the form and life of the city, with omnibuses joining the cabs from the 1820s as objects of regulation. With his main focus on the Second Empire, Papayanis links transport, building, and investment capital. Thanks, in particular, to the Péreire brothers' interest in mergers, he is able to show how strategic investment in the modernization of Paris was linked to the growth of capitalism in a modernizing France.

Papayanis traces the emergence of modern traffic patterns in Paris to the seventeenth century. Mature theories of traffic movement followed in the eighteenth century with the writings of Nicolas Delamare and others on "police" questions and those of architects and surveyors such as Edme Verniquet on streets and street networks. In the early nineteenth century, the comte de Chabrol, prefect of the Seine, pursued a series of inquiries into the workings of Paris, creating a rich statistical base. In 1817, Chabrol regulated the number of cabs in order to reduce congestion and the danger of accidents. In 1828, after a successful omnibus experiment in Nantes had spread to other cities, the prefect of police authorized a reliable firm to operate in Paris, and additional firms soon followed. This story is well known, but Papayanis points out that much bigger cab firms, like Des Citadines, were emerging by the 1830s. Regulation and consolidation leaped forward in the 1850s, with Baron Haussmann determined to ensure that his expensive new streets were complemented by efficient (albeit privately owned) systems of public transport. Péreire involvement in new housing as well as in transport makes this very clear. Papayanis also pursues the scholarly and political debate over the city's changing layout and physical structure, which revived as the railways reached Paris in the 1840s and 1850s.

Although the author examines a number of issues after 1870, he recognizes that the Parisian transport structure changed little under the Third Republic. Rightly, he points out that the *Metro* followed the arterial routes established under the Second Empire. Tunneling under the carriageway reduced compensation to private owners and was an effective strategy. Haussmann's city of dynamic change had become a very rigid system by the early twentieth century, however. Papayanis sketches this ironic sequel well enough but the full story can still best be found in Norma Evenson's *Paris: A Century of Change, 1878-1978* (1979). Taken together, these two books provide an outstanding overview of the history of Paris transport.

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ALAN GRUBB. *The Politics of Pessimism: Albert de Broglie and Conservative Politics in the Early Third Republic*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 427. \$55.00.

Alan Grubb has written a political biography of the nineteenth-century French conservative, Albert de Broglie. Political biography is, by the author's own admission, unbalanced compared to "normal" biography, in the sense that the former concentrates on a person's years of political prominence and the latter on an extended treatment of private as well as public matters. Perhaps Grubb neglected the fuller biography because of a singular dearth of sources of a personal, family, or intimate nature. But whatever the reason, the book is unbalanced, in that it devotes thirty-one pages to Broglie's first fifty years and seventeen pages to the final twenty-two years, with three hundred pages of the text covering the seven years of life sandwiched in between.

Admittedly, these were important years (1871-1877). For France, they brought the collapse of the Second Empire, the last serious attempt to restore the legitimate monarchy, and the founding of the Third Republic. Broglie played a prominent role in the sequence of events. He began the period as an elected deputy to the National Assembly of 1871, only to accept Adolphe Thiers's proffered post of French ambassador to the Court of Saint James. Returning to France, he participated in the conservative-monarchist intrigues that brought down Thiers and became chief minister in Marshall MacMahon's *septennat*, which succeeded the Thiers government after the monarchist restoration campaign ended in the comte de Chambord's "white flag" fiasco. Broglie played a subdued role in the negotiations that led to passage of the Constitution of 1875, which gave a legal foundation to the Republic. He reemerged in the aftermath of the elections of 1876 to lead the last conservative campaign to preserve the dominance of the notables over French political life. This campaign's failure occasioned his retreat from politics.

Grubb portrays Broglie throughout as a liberal, a man of reason at odds with illiberal and unreasonable men. Moreover, the unreasonable ones were not the republicans. Broglie disliked them, but he disliked the legitimists even more. Grubb claims that Broglie raised no obstacle to Chambord's restoration in 1873. That may have technically been true, but neither did he support that restoration. In fact, Broglie was temperamentally very much at odds with the pretender and his followers. As a liberal and an Orleanist, Broglie admired the British Monarchy, which subjected the king to the dictates of an aristocratic Parliament. Broglie insisted that Chambord accept this Whig view of the monarchy as a condition for his restoration. For Chambord, however, establishing preconditions for the restoration denied the very essence of legitimacy. Faced with such a recalcitrant pretender, Broglie tried

to find ways to preserve the notables' control over France without a king.

The issues were profound. Without the restoration of the monarchy, legitimists contended, neither the church nor the social order in which the traditional notables held sway could hope to survive. Like the ultramontane Catholics so many of them were, they were pessimistic about human nature. In this respect, they were not anachronistic but thoroughly modern men to whom none of the twentieth century's mass killings and exterminations would have been a surprise. Was Broglie the more reasonable person? Not in the sense that his policies were more apt to succeed. He tried them and they failed. Yet he did go quietly when there were those who counseled a military coup to counter the republican victory at the polls. By accepting defeat, Broglie spared his country the violence of a civil war. The Republican victory expressed the wishes of main-street France, and Broglie's retreat into peaceful political obscurity after the *Seize Mai* crisis was both prudent and a service to the nation.

Grubb's analysis is straightforward and traditional. It does not reveal any startling new information about French politics, nor does it handle material in any methodologically innovative way, but it reminds even those for whom this is familiar ground of the important issues that agitated Frenchmen so very much at the beginning of the Third Republic.

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LAURENT GAMBAROTTO. *Foi et patrie: La prédication du protestantisme français pendant la Première Guerre mondiale*. Foreword by André Encrevé. (Histoire et société, number 33.) Geneva, Switzerland: Labor et Fides. 1996. Pp. vii, 466.

The Protestant minority in nineteenth century France—two percent of the population for most of the century, closer to 1.8 percent after the loss of Alsace—occupied a vulnerable position despite their contributions to the shaping of modern France. From the anti-Protestant pogrom during the White Terror of 1815–1816 to the revival of anti-Protestantism in *fin-de-siècle* French nationalism, Protestants might reach the highest positions in the land, but the shades of St. Bartholomew still watched the celebration. Protestant vulnerability increased in wartime, especially when the enemy was predominantly Protestant Germany. In August 1870, the prefect of the Haut-Rhin wrote back to Paris that Alsatian Protestants were welcoming Germans with open arms; *Le Figaro* reported that Protestant temples in the Cévennes were holding special collections to aid the Prussian wounded. And Protestants like Gabriel Monod, the future founder of the *Revue historique*, who dared to serve in an ambulance at the front were slandered with the allegation that they chose humanitarian service so that they would not have to kill Germans. Thus, the subject of

French Protestantism during World War I is both an important and a delicate subject.

Laurent Gambarotto tackled this subject in his doctoral thesis and has now published an abridged (500 pages) version of that thesis in this book, a valuable work to those interested in French Protestantism and an informative one for those interested in the war. As his subtitle indicates, Gambarotto studies Protestant sermons delivered during the war. He chose only sermons in the Calvinist Reformed Church (whose members comprised approximately eighty-five percent of French Protestants in 1914), excluding the Lutheran population concentrated in the pays de Montbéliard and the miniscule congregations of French Methodists or Baptists. He used sermons that were actually delivered in church during the war and were subsequently published, giving him a total of 669 *predications*. Gambarotto gives the reader a good sense of the nuances within the Reformed Church, and he uses sources from both the orthodox (or evangelical) majority, such as Pastors Charles Babut of Nîmes and Jean Lafon of Le Havre, and the liberal (and heavily Parisian) minority, such as Pastor Wilfred Monod. His methodology draws on the social sciences rather than the literary criticism currently fashionable in North America: this is a study based on content analysis.

Gambarotto convincingly shows that Protestants demonstrated an "indefectible patriotism" (p. 153) during the war. The vast majority of French Protestants had an strong attachment to the Third Republic: they had played an important role in its creation, and they saw it as a regime that would protect them. Protestants rushed to join the *union sacrée*, and Gambarotto found ninety-six sermons and nearly 15,000 words on this theme. There was more talk of "a noble and ardent passion, that of the bullet-torn flag" (p. 75) than of the Prince of Peace. Protestants, traditionally on the left in French politics, often became *plus patriotique que le patriotes*, but the price was high. When the church joined civil society's war, the church acquired a portion of its war guilt. As the sensitive Wilfred Monod acknowledged in his sermon on November 17, 1918, "we have all taken part in the sinister corvée" (p. 406).

Gambarotto does a meticulous job of tracing a variety of themes in wartime sermons. He found thirty-five sermons that discussed the role of women in the war: praising their work with refugees or the wounded, recognizing that women constituted "a second line of defense" (p. 385) through their essential war work, and depicting them as valiant guardians of the home. Pastors, like the historians who have followed them, discussed obvious themes such as the war guilt of the central powers, the return of Alsace and Lorraine, and the terms of the Versailles Treaty, but Gambarotto reaches farther to add numerous religious themes, such as the rise of ecumenical Christianity.

The result is a book that reflects the high honors that his thesis won.

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SUSAN W. FRIEDMAN. *Marc Bloch, Sociology and Geography: Encountering Changing Disciplines*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 24.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 258. \$54.95.

Focusing on historian Marc Bloch in the encounter of history, geography, and sociology between 1900 and 1940, Susan W. Friedman's book complements a number of works on the interaction in France between specific fields of knowledge or between one or more fields of knowledge and society writ large. These include William R. Keylor's *Academy and Community: The Foundation of the French Historical Community* (1975), Christophe Charle's *Naissance des "intellectuels," 1880–1900* (1990), Fritz Ringer's *Fields of Knowledge: French Academic Culture in Comparative Perspective, 1890–1920* (1992), Diane Rubenstein's *What's Left: The École Normale Supérieure and the Right* (1990), Tony Judt's *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944–1956* (1992), and Allan Stoekl's *Agonies of the Intellectual: Commitment, Subjectivity, and the Performative in the Twentieth-Century French Tradition* (1992).

At the "Nouvelle Sorbonne," where the status of history was enhanced by the foundation, in 1899, of the Société d'Histoire Moderne and *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, history took on the role of stern critic of thinkers refusing commitment to "the rational method" (p. 29). In *La méthode historique appliquée aux sciences sociales* (1901), Charles Seignobos argued that social phenomena are reducible to individual phenomena and that social history cannot be understood without political history. The institutionally marginal *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (1900) of Henri Berr, a teacher at the Lycée Henri IV, defined its mission as working toward the convergence of "the diverse historical sciences" under the leadership of history (p. 32).

Such views provoked the disciplinary "debate of 1903" among sociologists, historians, and geographers, which continued until 1908 and was complicated by the affirmation among intellectuals of letters and other critics of hegemonic institutionalized modes of expression of a so-called "generation of 1905." Formed mainly outside the framework of the disciplinary debate swayed by the ideas of Henri Bergson, Henri Massis, and Alfred de Tarde (son of Gabriel Tarde), the "generation of 1905" was critical of scientism, "positivism," anticlericalism, and socialism—practices with which many of the participants in the disciplinary debate identified. By regarding himself as a "Dreyfusard," for example, Bloch, a member of the entering class of 1904 at the École Normale Supérieure (ENS),

dissociated himself from the "generation of 1905." Reinforcing the conflicts of ideas, moreover, was a competition for scarce resources: namely, teaching appointments for the debaters and their students.

François Simiand, member of the ENS entering class of 1893, librarian at the Ministry of Commerce, and candidate for the doctorate at the Faculty of Law, launched the 1903 debate with an attack on historians for undervaluing economic history and overvaluing "contingency," for their lack of a conceptual framework, and for their subservience to three "idols" (p. 44): the political, the individual, and the chronological. Sociologist Émile Durkheim (ENS entering class of 1879) claimed the right of leadership in the social sciences for sociology. Urging cooperation between history and sociology but rejecting Simiand's and Durkheim's view that social phenomena may be explained only by other social phenomena, economic historian Paul Mantoux declared himself in favor of a modified version—a mix of the individual and social—of Gabriel Tarde, to whom Friedman regrettably devotes but one paragraph (p. 46). Marc Bloch was a student of both Durkheim and Seignobos. One of the few comments he made on the ongoing debate—in a 1906 notebook—was that the notion of "phenomenon" ought to replace that of "event," since the latter can be understood only after it has been transformed by analysis.

Obliquely directed at Friedrich Ratzel's "Anthropogeographie," which was the chief source of inspiration of Paul Vidal de la Blache's *géographie humaine*, the real target of Durkheim's attack was Vidal's Ratzelian concept of "terrestrial unity" and the process of *enchaînement*. In that process, routes of communication bring together a diversity of soils, landscapes, and *genres de vie*, reconciling the vision of national unity with a vision of the "personality" of every local "country." Admitting geography only as one factor among many, Durkheim stressed the need to focus on social morphology.

After a year as a graduate student in Germany and a three-year appointment as resident fellow at the Fondation Thiers (1909–1912), where he nourished an interest in religion and language, Bloch distanced himself from all Vidalian conceptions save the idea of *genres de vie*. Redefined as ways and styles of life, the latter became for Bloch the glue of class formation and identity, one of his continuing interests, along with "civilizations" and "generations."

Off to war after two years as a lycée professor, Bloch was named in 1919 to the new French University of Strasbourg in Alsace, which France attempted to turn into a showpiece to rival the former German university there that had, until 1914, possessed the largest university library in the world. Talented professors were appointed to chair the new institutes and centers: Bloch in medieval studies, Lucien Febvre in Reformation and Renaissance, Maurice Halbwachs (a Durkheimian) in sociology. On the other hand, geography—especially Vidalian geography, which one might have

expected to be part of the show in a contested frontier province—was poorly represented. By the mid-1920s, moreover, funds grew scarce, interest in continuing the experiment flagged, and professors began to seek other posts. Febvre's appointment to the Collège de France in 1933 and Bloch's to a chair in economic history at the Sorbonne in 1936 facilitated their task of running the Paris-centered *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, which they had founded in 1929.

Friedman takes note of Bloch's readiness, in his last major historical work, *La société féodale* (1939–1940), to compare European and Japanese feudalism (p. 157). She overlooks, however, that by doing so he engaged in the very act for which he criticized Sir James Frazer: typological comparison across territorially noncontiguous geopolitical and linguistic spaces (which she discusses, pp. 113, 122–23, 157). Why did Bloch fail to compare “Romano-Germanic” with Slavo-Byzantine or Muslim feudalism? Could the reason for his neglect of the Slavo-Byzantine world have been, as Byzantinist Evelyn Patlagean suggests (“Europe, seigneurie, féodalité: Marc Bloch et les limites orientales d'un espace de comparaison,” in Hartmut Atsma and André Burguière, eds., *Marc Bloch aujourd'hui: Histoire comparée et sciences sociales* [1990], pp. 279–98), his exception of that world from a Europe that he and other European intellectuals associated with Romano-Germanic colonization—with the diffusion of Romano-Germanic *genres de vie*?

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JEFFREY MERRICK and BRYANT T. RAGAN, JR., editors. *Homosexuality in Modern France*. (Studies in the History of Sexuality.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 253. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

Gay, lesbian, and “queer” studies have been an important focus of literary and cultural theory for nearly a decade. Yet with few exceptions, the stigma attached to the study of modern homosexuality by historians has discouraged the kind of labor undertaken in other disciplines (except among non-professional historians and some courageous members of the academy). Moreover, the history of homosexuality since the Enlightenment has been perceived, rightly or wrongly, to be associated with and inspired by Michel Foucault, whose qualifications as a historian were often the subject of as much debate as the content and method of his work. As the introduction of this fine book points out, historians have been “outpublished” (p. 4) by their colleagues in other disciplines, and French historians have lagged behind their counterparts in Western European and American gay history, in part because of a traditional historiographical emphasis on state formation. Happily, this collection, edited by Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr., begins to fill the gap and may inspire future studies akin to the monographs on homosexual subcultures recently published by historians.

The essays in this collection trace the history of male and female homosexuality in France from the revolution to the interwar years. The historical narrative ends appropriately with Robert Nye's wonderfully unpredictable insistence on returning Foucault to his place in French homosexual history, reminding us pointedly of the price we have paid in neglecting this rich field. Merrick and Ragan have included articles that are chronologically and conceptually wide-ranging and sensitive to the intersections of sexuality, class, and gender. Some authors focus on how elites represented homosexuality and to what end, and others have rummaged in archival sources to portray homosexual life under different regimes. In spite of their diversity, all contributions address the changing relationship between gender and sexuality as well as the gradual emergence of (homo)sexual identity and the medical construction of homosexuals as a distinct group of people. Whether they focus on gay and lesbian lives or elite anti-homosexual representations, all the contributors analyze the ways in which homosexuality became a privileged symbol of social disorder in diverse contexts: during the revolution, under the July Monarchy, and throughout the Third Republic.

Unlike other Western cultures, France had no explicit anti-sodomy law. As Michael Sibal demonstrates, that law was abolished in 1791 as part of a more general process of secularization that swept away penal sanctions against blasphemy, heresy, and witchcraft. Anti-gay sentiment was not embedded in law again until 1942, under Vichy, and that statute was abolished in 1982. Instead, citizens were subject to punishment only for violating prohibitions against public sex and indecency. As Ragan and Merrick contend in different ways, fairly large gay male (“sodomitical”) subcultures were already highly developed in eighteenth-century France and enjoyed some measure of toleration, even as they were also often the object of satires directed against court adversaries and political enemies. The most dramatic use of homosexuality as a metaphor for moral decline is perhaps represented by depictions of Marie-Antoinette. In an extension of recent accounts of revolutionary pamphlets directed against the queen, Elizabeth Colwell argues that charges of “tribadism” were leveled primarily at aristocratic women and “severed elite women from former positions of influence” (p. 65).

Although private, consensual, same-sex relations were technically legal, successive governments nevertheless harassed, entrapped, and punished gay men (except for the well-heeled). Victoria Thompson and William Peniston argue persuasively that homosexuality was increasingly linked to criminality both by the police responsible for regulating public morality and by high and low-brow authors. In these contexts, homosexuality represented the dangerous blurring of class categories at a time when bourgeois hierarchies were being consolidated. Finally, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Franco-German rivalry and population “decline” inspired natalist anx-

ieties and increased surveillance of sexual dissidents, medical men invented the “invert,” thus defining an entire group of people by their sexual inclinations and pathologizing them in the process. As Vernon Rosario argues, the French created a confused category of inversion that was “*physiological* as concerns its nature but *social* in its causes” (p. 168). Martha Hanna demonstrates that the invention of these identifiable, putatively effeminate men was inextricably linked to natalist fantasies in which sterile homosexuals challenged the very concept of national duty.

In this context, lesbians, especially working-class women, remained visible but invisible, according to Francesca Canadé Sautman, whose essay underscores a persistent theme throughout this book: the presence of lesbians as either specters of moral apocalypse or as “unthreatening.” The editors’ effort to include sexually dissident women in this collection—when histories of homosexuality are so often histories of men—is commendable. At the same time, they might have provided some conceptual framework for analyzing how gender difference produced distinct forms of homosexual identity for men and women. The essays on women are almost exclusively on the imagined threat (or lack of it) posed by lesbians; even Sautman’s piece relies largely on sources whose descriptions are fantasmic. Given the virtual obsession with the figure of the lesbian in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century France, this question will eventually loom large in research on French sexuality. For now, this book is the best and most accessible effort yet to tell many stories about both men and women that are central to understanding the relationship between homosexuality and politics.

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MARGARET COLLINS WEITZ. *Sisters in the Resistance: How Women Fought to Free France, 1940–1945*. New York: Wiley. 1995. Pp. xviii, 350. \$30.00.

Ever since Jean Moulin parachuted into occupied France to draw the spontaneously generated Resistance groups into a coherent movement, the question of how far the French were actually involved in “liberating themselves” has been hotly debated. Were bona fide resisters limited to those who actually participated in organized resistance networks? Or was merely to wish for an Allied victory, circumvent official rationing through the black market, or give Wehrmacht soldiers on leave in Paris bad directions to the Gare de l’Est enough to qualify? As Margaret Collins Weitz notes, the question was rapidly politicized as the Resistance became part of the “Gaullist myth,” a mechanism “to try to reestablish France’s prominence as a world power and ensure harmony in the country.” Thus, to single out the contribution of women to a historical phenomenon, the very definition of which is a subject of controversy, is a courageous undertaking indeed.

The French Resistance may be studied as a political

movement, as do Richard Sweet, Daniel Cordier, and Philippe Buton, or as a military and intelligence instrument as do M.R.D. Foot and Arthur Layton Funk. Weitz’s book takes inspiration from and complements that of Henri Nougès, especially his *Vie quotidienne des résistants*, by offering an overview of the Resistance as a political choice and as a way of life. Whereas Nougès saw women as those who “wait at home,” Weitz is more concerned with female activists. She tracks the decision of a few high-profile women such as Danielle Mitterrand or the historian Annie Kriegel to join the Resistance networks, the difficulties of finding acceptance in this brotherhood, and the horror of arrest, torture, and deportation.

Women were a “considerable presence in virtually all Resistance organizations.” But because the frontiers of what constitutes “Resistance” are so difficult to define, it is unclear both how many women we are talking about, and how far one can draw general conclusions about the role of women in the Resistance from the interviews of a few activists. Indeed, how far can one even speak of a Resistance “sisterhood,” when early resisters of both sexes made choices based on political disposition or had the choice forced on them because they were Jewish? Men might have been more likely to be drawn into the Resistance through friendships or out of a spirit of adventure. Nougès makes the point that, with the exception of those young men forced to choose between STO and the *maquis* from February 1943, the option of joining the Resistance was opened to those with few attachments and little to lose, those who, as d’Astier de la Vignerie explained in *The Sorrow and the Pity*, were “black sheep.” And even young men compelled into the *maquis* by STO invariably implicated some of the women in their families in some sort of Resistance complicity.

Women were certainly short-changed in the postwar distribution of decorations allocated through the old-boy network. But is it fair to say that the role of women in the Resistance received insufficient attention? The prominence of women in early networks like those at the Musée de l’Homme and Marie-Madeline Fourcade’s “Alliance” has been noted by historians. Nougès pointed out that the women who “wait at home” performed a profoundly important service. After all, even Mao argued that no *maquis* can survive without a base. Weitz restates the point that it was French women who provided that base for the Resistance. Hollywood invariably included a bereted heroine in Resistance films, if only to add a romantic touch to the story line. Yes, there were “gender roles” imposed on them. Women were used primarily as couriers or as parts of escape and evasion networks, occasionally to gather intelligence, and only rarely on sabotage and ambush missions. The widespread attitude that “war is a man’s affair” is certainly one explanation for the relative scarcity of French women under arms. But how many women—or men, for that matter—readily volunteered to perform the more muscular tasks? In fact, one had to be slightly mad, or

extremely naïve, to take up arms in an enterprise whose casualty rate probably approached that of Verdun in 1916. Anise Postel-Vinay told Weitz that it was "ridiculous" to assign her to "missions of a military nature," because she had no idea of what she was doing. This was a complaint leveled by the Allies at the Resistance generally, few of whose members were properly trained. But that said, might not this allocation of roles by gender also constitute a pragmatic response to a situation where young men out and about ran a high risk of a *vérification d'identité*, the first step on a one-way trip to Dachau?

Weitz notes that women in Italy and Greece, perhaps also during the Algerian rebellion of 1954–1962, actually played a larger role in the Resistance movements of their nations than did French women. She might also have added Yugoslavia and Russia. How does one explain the apparent paradox of women resisters given a less prominent role in a relatively advanced nation like France, especially if the invoking of "gender difference" by male resisters was the main impediment to broader female participation in the Resistance (p. 288)?

Did women make better resisters than men? Some of Weitz's "sisters" seem to think so; women were more adaptable to the clandestine life, less constrained by gender roles that inclined their male colleagues to quarrel over issues of politics and leadership, although why this would be an advantage in a supremely political organization like the Resistance is unclear. Women resisters were more sensitive, vigilant, and alert, "displayed an astonishing of spirit and imagination," were more likely to be on time, less likely to take needless risks to prove their courage or to break under torture. These opinions may be correct. Unfortunately, none of them are supported by the interviews, only a few of which focus on what women resisters actually did.

Weitz is on firmer ground when she argues that participation in the Resistance did little to advance women's rights in France. True, French women were accorded the vote at the war's end, but the momentum for this reform predated the war: "While women had been active in attempting to liberate their country, there had been no real role reversals." The latter, Weitz asserts, had to await the events of May 1968.

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FRANCISCO BETHENCOURT. *L'inquisition à l'époque moderne: Espagne, Italie, Portugal, XV^e-XIX^e siècle*. Paris: Fayard. 1995. Pp. 539. 195 fr.

In this long, fact-filled, and thoughtful book, Francisco Bethencourt offers his readers an in-depth analysis of the three great Mediterranean Inquisitions of the early modern period. In spite of the similarities in their procedures and obvious dependence on the forms and traditions established by the medieval Inquisition, the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian tribunals differed

markedly in their objectives and relationship to the societies in which they operated. Both the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions were founded to deal with the problem of religious backsliding by converted Jews, who formed a substantial and important part of the population. Yet, in the Spanish case, the Inquisition soon broadened its focus as the major practitioners of quasi-Judaism among the *conversos* were eliminated through fear, emigration, or physical extinction. The Portuguese tribunal, however, retained an almost obsessive involvement with the converted Jews or New Christians; judaizing accounted for more than eighty percent of the number of cases tried in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Coimbra and Evora tribunals. Even in the Lisbon tribunal, which controlled Portugal's Atlantic possessions with their diverse population, judaizing accounted for sixty-eight percent of the cases tried during the period 1540–1629. The several Italian tribunals, on the other hand, were clearly linked with the Counter-Reformation attempt to stem the tide of the Protestant movement, and the bulk of their cases in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries concerned various types of Protestants and proto-Protestants.

Bethencourt makes the point that the three tribunals differed markedly in the degree to which they became integrated into the social and institutional framework of their respective societies. This level of integration may be seen in the recruitment of lay assistants (*familiares* or *crocesignati*) from among local elites and, most significantly, in the degree of resistance encountered by late eighteenth-century rulers when they attempted to close down their tribunals. By any measure, it was the Spanish Inquisition that gained the most support from the wider society. Despite early protests from the crown of Aragon, the Spanish tribunal became a respected part of the institutional framework of the monarchy and was looked to by all classes as an indispensable bulwark against heterodoxy. Even after a substantial portion of Spain's political elite had turned against the Inquisition, it took a foreigner, Napoleon Bonaparte, to begin the process that led to its final abolition in 1834. In Italy, on the other hand, where the several tribunals tended to be seen as foreign (under papal control), abolition was relatively simple and elicited no public protest. In Portugal, the institution had become so demoralized by the early nineteenth century that an Inquisitor who was present when the decree of abolition was being proposed at the Cortes of 1821 admitted that it continued to exist only as the consequence of moral lapses that "hold back the process of human understanding" (p. 427).

Bethencourt develops his account in a series of chapters mixing chronological and topical approaches. These chapters deal with the forms of organization and methods of activity of the three tribunals. Bethencourt avoids any discussion of the cases themselves on the grounds that they provide little information about inquisitorial procedure and mainly give information on the victims. Such assertions about the incredibly rich

case files of the Inquisition will bring a smile to the lips of any who have worked with them.

Throughout, it is obvious that Bethencourt knows more about the Portuguese tribunal than he does about either the Italian or Spanish. This lack of knowledge is perhaps most evident in his discussion of the "purity of blood" statutes by which honorable corporations like military orders or universities sought to bar individuals of Jewish ancestry. Bethencourt's assertion that the Inquisition always supported the statutes and that they were applied largely unchanged until the nineteenth century fails to take account of recent research demonstrating that the Inquisition eagerly accepted converted Jews into the ranks of its *familiares*. As far as the Inquisition's unyielding support of the statutes is concerned, it is worth bearing in mind that it was an Inquisitor, probably Juan Roco Campofrio, whose memorial to Philip IV influenced the reform decree of 1623.

Apart from these occasional lapses, Bethencourt's account benefits from a comparative approach, especially where the available bibliography is sufficient. This is particularly true in his fine discussion of the *Auto de Fe* and his chapter on the abolition of the tribunals. On the whole, Bethencourt is to be congratulated for his bold attempt at a synthesis even though, as he himself admits, only the Spanish Inquisition has been adequately studied to date.

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DAURIL ALDEN. *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xxxi, 707. \$75.00.

Dauril Alden's book is an enterprise in itself. Twenty years in the making, it chronicles the activities of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Empire. It is a huge undertaking, wide in scope and deep in documentation, and, the author warns us, only the first of two volumes. As a work that chooses the imperial perspective for its organization and analysis, it establishes a new standard.

In 689 pages of text, appendixes, and reference matter, Alden guides his readers through the rise of the Portuguese Empire in Africa, Asia, and America under Aviz rulers, the period of forced union with Spain, and the first century of the Braganza dynasty. Along the way we glimpse Africa, Arabia, India, the Spice Islands, Brazil, Indochina, Japan, and China through Jesuit eyes and actions. It is a grand tour with a masterful guide. What we miss is any understanding of why the people of these many lands would be attracted to men in black garb, urging them to save souls that they were often unaware they had.

As Alden insinuates but never states unequivocally, there is a remarkable coincidence between the rise and decline of Portugal and its Jesuit assistancy. Both achieved remarkable success in the sixteenth century,

expanding the influence of Europe on the littorals of Africa, Asia, and South America. These achievements proved evanescent, however, as in the next century the Portuguese hold on its empire weakened in the face of Dutch and English rivals, and Jesuit influence in Asia and Africa diminished with the closure of its missions in Japan and Africa. In fact, I found the interplay between church and state a bit confusing. There is a tendency to conflate Portugal, its empire, and the Jesuits into a union, one and indivisible, that the author may not have intended. Alden argues persuasively, however, that the Society of Jesus played a very special role in the empire, as advisors of the powerful, apostles to the infidels, and players in what was truly a worldwide economy.

On occasion the perspective shifts. As the preface promises, and chapter eleven delivers, Alden provides a collective biography of the Jesuit priests and brothers. He finds a group characterized by youthful entry into the Society, by European Portuguese birth, and by nationalistic and Eurocentric tendencies. The high degree of European Portuguese participation, as much as ninety percent in the Brazilian vice-province of Maranhão, stands in contrast to the findings of other recent studies, as Alden acknowledges but does not explain. What he does insist on, and rightly so, I think, is that despite the intentions of the Society's founders and the reputation that the Jesuits gained in the early modern period, there is no basis for the characterization of the Society of Jesus as a single organism. Orders issued in Rome were not necessarily carried out in the same way throughout the world. In fact, there was a great deal of friction among the large national jurisdictions (assistancies), between the educational and missionary arms of provinces, and between individual members of the order.

For various reasons—Alden names spiritual and academic preparation, an affinity for influencing the rich and powerful, and perceived success in the material world as three prominent factors—the Society of Jesus became a controversial religious order wherever it established itself. Try as he does, Alden cannot escape the need to judge this Jesuit experience. Attempted evenhandedness does not always disguise a tendency to attribute criticism to envy. Alden admires the Jesuits, and while his sympathy is understandable, it sometimes leads to prolix narration, as if in support of a cause. What I carried away from this work is that the Lusitanian Jesuits, for whatever reason, managed (or were managed) to get into everything: political intrigue, warfare, debatable theology, sugar plantations, slave labor, the silk trade, and coconut production. While neither Mammon nor domination may have been the Society's intent, the diverse activities that Alden chronicles go a long way toward explaining contemporary skepticism.

Those of us who dabble in ecclesiastical history owe Alden a debt of gratitude. He makes the complexities of the Society's organization and argot accessible by interpreting and glossing an extensive ecclesiastical

literature. The third section of the book lays out the duties and relations between generals, assistants, provincials, and other administrators. It also defines, in theoretical and working terms, how Jesuit fiscal officers performed their duties; stressfully, the author asserts. Also admirable is Alden's insistence on using primary materials wherever possible. Although his coverage of South Asian and Far Eastern events derives from secondary literature, treatment of Portuguese imperial sources, largely in their originals, shows a real dedication to the historian's craft.

As the eastern empire slips from Portugal's grip and the kingdom concentrates more on its American colony, this first volume concludes, but not without a great deal of adumbration. By 1750, the Jesuits had lost many former missions in Africa and Asia and much of their influence with the Portuguese crown. Ironically, they had also become lightning rods for dissatisfaction with some facets of royal policy. With the ascendancy of the Marques of Pombal imminent, Alden leaves us with appetites whetted for the volume to come.

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LUCIA FELICI. *Tra riforma ed eresia: La giovinezza di Martin Borrhaus (1499-1528)*. (Studi e testi per la storia religiosa del Cinquecento, number 6.) Florence: Olschki. 1995. Pp. ix, 326.

The name Martin Borrhaus is not one that leaps spontaneously to mind in surveying the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, nor does it figure in the index of many histories of that multifaceted movement, but one predictable result of the publication of Lucia Felici's valuable book is that this oversight is likely to be redressed in the decades to come.

Born in Stuttgart in 1499, Borrhaus (or Cellarius, as he was also known) died sixty-five years later a renowned professor of the University of Basel. He settled in the city of Erasmus in 1536, the year the Dutch humanist died; was appointed to the chair of Rhetoric in 1541; in 1546 succeeded Andreas Karlstadt as Professor of Old Testament Studies; and died of the plague there in the year of Calvin's death. During those sedentary decades, Borrhaus wrote "ponderosi commentari biblici" (p. 114), which may still be consulted in older university libraries.

But Felici's book is not about the erudite Basel professor and his "*vasta opera esegetica*" (p. 118). It is concerned with the adventurous first twenty-nine years of his life and the reconstruction of his youthful religious evolution. This is a meticulous piece of research, well documented and lucidly written. Borrhaus's *curriculum vitae* and the development of his theological opinions have not been altogether easy to construct, given the paucity of documentation for his early career. His autobiography, written in 1559 and

published here in an appendix, provides the connective threat of Felici's narrative.

Throughout the formative period of his life, Borrhaus displayed the felicitous knack of always being in the right place at the right time to experience the Radical Reformation to the full. Having studied at Tübingen and Ingolstadt, he arrived at Wittenberg in 1521, where his reading of the absent Martin Luther was decisive in making him a Protestant; here he met the Zwickau Prophets and became their disciple. In 1524, he moved to Zurich and came under the influence of the Grebel Circle. In both cities, he was involved with the early stirrings of Anabaptism. In retreat at Balga on the Baltic in 1525, he wrote his first theological work, *In evangelium Nicodemi* (here published in an appendix for the first time). Late in 1526, he reached the secure refuge of Strasbourg and began to mesh with Wolfgang Capito and Martin Bucer.

His views on God's sovereignty and election were by now rigid in the extreme; Felici highlights "*la propria ferrea concezione predestinazionista*" (p. 122). Borrhaus expounded these views in *De operibus Dei* (1527). A commendable analysis of this most challenging of his writings is provided in chapter five and its full text is reproduced in an appendix. Its importance is probably greater than has been realized hitherto, for it can justly be claimed that it is the Protestant Reformation's earliest systematic exposition of the doctrine of predestination, while the chiliastic speculations of its conclusion may have had an imponderable influence on the radical left.

Felici's book is titled accurately: to the end of his life, Borrhaus trod the tightrope between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, championing Marcus Stübner against Luther, defending the right of Michael Servetus to be heard, and befriending the visionary Anabaptist David Joris. In that age when expressing eccentric opinions among fellow Protestants could incur the death penalty (as Felix Mantz discovered when Ulrich Zwingli had him judicially drowned in the river Limmat in 1527), such radical brinksmanship was risky, if not foolhardy, but Borrhaus seemed to delight in flirting with heresy. His views on baptism, toleration, Old Testament "figurality," and the deity of Christ may have raised orthodox eyebrows in Wittenberg and Zurich, but for all his suspect doctrine, Borrhaus was a man of genuine spirituality. Capito hailed him as "*homo Dei praecipuoque praeditus spiritu*," and Felici records "*il suo orientamento fortemente spiritualistico*" (p. 74).

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MIRIAM USHER CHRISMAN. *Conflicting Visions of Reform: German Lay Propaganda Pamphlets, 1519-1530*. (Studies in German Histories.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1996. Pp. xiii. 288. \$60.00.

Miriam Usher Chrisman's latest book expands upon her interest in the printed sources of sixteenth-century religion. As its title suggests, this study focuses on the contested nature of reform in the first decade of the evangelical movement. Chrisman examines early Reformation pamphlets, and her book thus joins a large and often distinguished body of scholarship. Historians such as Steven Ozment have used the *Flugschriften* to fix the appeal and reception of Martin Luther's ideas among the people. Others have tried to broaden this essentially "top-down" approach. In *Lay Theology in the Reformation* (1986), Paul Russell analyzed pamphlets to construct a portrait of a lay theology that early on diverged significantly from the learned ideas of Luther or Ulrich Zwingli. And, finally, a number of studies have relied on these texts to determine the prevalence and relative role that certain evangelical ideas (such as anticlericalism, the attack on late medieval worship, or justification by faith) played in pamphlet literature.

Chrisman's approach is different and demonstrates wisdom acquired in a lifetime of research in the early modern empire. Her study examines 300 pamphlets printed between 1519 and 1530. Rather than search for a common religious culture that fueled early evangelicalism or for common themes like anticlericalism, Chrisman reconstructs a complex web of often discordant ideas about reform. Her study groups the pamphlets according to the social strata from which they issued, and by thus isolating the works according to their origins, she documents the presence of a number of competing reform programs. These "visions of reform," she argues, derived from the very complexities of the early modern society of orders. The approach is a welcome corrective, particularly to studies that read the Reformation pamphlet as an early product of mass media culture or as a vehicle of "public opinion." Chrisman's book catalogues the bewildering variety of ideas and programs that coexisted in a society that had not one "public" but many.

The Gospels may have provided a common veneer to the evangelicalism of the 1520s, but underneath that movement was one in which imperial knights, nobles, urban patricians, civil servants, and artisans interpreted the Gospel message from differing vantage points. "The result," Chrisman observes, "was a series of simultaneous revolutions, occurring at the same time, but separate" (p. 227). Her readings of these tracts, grouped in chapters that explore a particular group's grievances and aims, document deep fractures. The imperial knights, for instance, understood the Gospel's message in terms of ancient, feudal loyalties to their land, families, and peasants. The urban world was foreign, and its artisans, city councilors, and merchants were not to be trusted. As they listened to Luther's anticlerical message, the knights transformed it into a call to purify the Christian community of the corrupting influences of the higher clergy. The revolt they initiated against several bishops and archbishops during 1522–1523 isolated them from other reforming

elements in the empire. As they seized church property and violently attacked members of the clerical establishment, they lost support from both those above and below them in the social structure.

An important legacy of this first, inchoate attempt at reform persisted in the countryside: the leaven of the evangelical preaching that the knights had introduced to their estates. In the years following 1521, minor civil servants, teachers, and military men rose to express their dissatisfaction and to formulate revolutionary programs as well. They viewed themselves as intermediaries who might reconcile the differences between the higher and lower orders of society. Inspired by a powerful anti-Roman sentiment, these minor functionaries advocated the abandonment of cities and a return to a primitive agrarian communalism. In these communities, "godly law" would replace the flawed conventions of human society. Among all the groups she examines, Chrisman argues that these writers were unique in defining change not from the perspective of their own needs and desires, but from the standpoint of a profound concern for the entire community. Some eventually served as leaders in the Peasants' War, but as a group they advocated radical aims that were not to be realized at the time.

Most of the remaining groups of pamphleteers that Chrisman examines were drawn from the various ranks of urban society. Her analysis reveals the lack of common evangelical ground, even in the cities. Artisans, for example, may have comprehended the Gospels' message as a revolutionary call to reform, but the reforms they envisioned aided those who worked with their hands, both in the towns and the countryside. Although their attempts to forge an alliance with the urban poor and the peasantry failed, they nevertheless articulated a dream of a new society cleansed of the distinctions of status and wealth. This same critique often inspired magisterial reformers to write pamphlets as well. Magisterial propagandists labored to discipline and control reform. Inspired by a humanism punctuated with strains of Christian stoicism and Augustinianism, the urban political classes sought to stem radical change, insisting instead that the Gospels' purpose was to uphold order and purify the church. For political authorities, the Gospels enjoined caring for the "common good," a command that required them to provide for the deserving poor. At the same time, these reformers continually intoned that Christian discipline implied a human society firmly subjected to the laws of God.

The value of Chrisman's thorough analysis of these positions is undeniable. So, too, is the book's bibliography with its inclusion of precise edition information and provenance. Some may quibble about the lack of analysis concerning the pamphlets' reception, but in recent years many studies have recreated the readership for these kinds of cheap, ephemeral texts. A new analysis of these themes would now appear unwarranted. Chrisman's work reveals evangelical printing as a serious business, sometimes a deadly serious busi-

ness. It shows, moreover, that the authorship and readership of the thin Reformation pamphlets were larger and more diverse than has often been imagined.

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C. SCOTT DIXON. *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528–1603*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 231. \$49.95.

C. Scott Dixon has produced a very competent study of the first century of Lutheranism in the rural parishes of a modest Franconian principality of about 60,000 inhabitants. Starting with a detailed chronology of popular and official introduction of the evangelical faith during the 1520s, he then takes us on a systematic tour of legal and other institutional changes, the role and “success” of rural clerics in carrying out reforms, and lay reactions to all of the above. There is much to commend in this monograph. Dixon obviously has a firm grip on his archival sources and is likewise conversant in the latest historiography of the Reformation. As a local study in the European dissertation tradition, the book helps fill a gap in our knowledge of Lutheran reforms outside of the urban context. Dixon also attempts to assess his findings within the larger—albeit fairly exhausted—context of “the Reformation’s success or failure.” Not that we are ever in any suspense about the author’s conclusion on this count, since he frequently reminds us throughout the journey that “as a campaign to enforce discipline and morality, the Reformation failed” (p. 126). Still, by the time we depart Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach eighty pages later, we will readily agree that the Reformation left the margravate’s parishioners largely “untouched, and their habits unchanged” (p. 207). What is less clear, despite the accumulation of a variety of anecdotal evidence, is why exactly this was so.

Much of the difficulty might be traced to Dixon’s continuing reliance on an antagonistic elite-popular model of social change. His evidence of countless lay-clerical conflicts likewise supports the idea of a Reformation imposed “from above” or, in this case, resisted “from below.” There was clearly no love lost between many reform-minded—and generally impoverished—pastors and their often independent parishioners in rural Germany (or anywhere, for that matter). Yet should we really be surprised that “the pastor was evaluated according to the norms or standards of village custom and expectations” (p. 77)? Surely this tautological explanation of lay resentment demands some deeper analysis: were these the same personality conflicts typical of any era, or did the Reformation somehow introduce a new dimension? Were these tensions more ideological or political or some mixture of the two unique to a rural German setting? To be fair, Dixon does attempt to address these issues in the face of considerable evidentiary constraints, but the

dominant two-tiered model of peasant acceptance or rejection inevitably closes off more interesting avenues for exploration. Rather than simply relearn that popular rituals and magical beliefs persisted in the post-Reformation countryside, we might like to know which aspects of these were most resilient and why. Dixon is much better on conflicts over authority—among villagers, pastors, and governmental officials—than he is at this type of cultural analysis. This is a shame, since he certainly has uncovered the necessary raw material, especially the fascinating (and underutilized) tale of a persecuted cunning woman, which I hope he will expand into a more analytical article on cultural syncretism.

In short, this methodical work has a curiously dated feel to it, both in terms of the “elite-popular” dualism and the meticulous thick description of the rural clergy. Dixon succeeds admirably within these parameters, providing what one can only hope is the final nail in the coffin of the “success of the Reformation” debate. He has mastered a spectrum of difficult sources and produced a very readable narrative. We can undoubtedly look forward to equally high-caliber scholarship from him in the future, within even more challenging parameters.

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W. DAVID MYERS. *“Poor, Sinning Folk”: Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 230. \$35.00.

Since the Roman Catholic Church first required its members to confess their sins annually to a priest, Catholics have relied on the “seal of secrecy” that keeps their confessors’ lips closed. Without this seal, auricular confession could never have functioned; with it, scholars can never know for certain what passed between penitents and priests in the long history of the rite. Thomas Tentler thought he could overhear this intimate conversation by reading the instructional literature written for confessors (*Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* [1977]), and other historians have followed him in this approach. W. David Myers has chosen a different path of indirection: his book examines the sacrament of penance “from the outside in” (p. 5) “as a ritual process” (p. 9). The key to understanding the sacrament, according to Myers, is knowing when and where it took place, how frequently, and under what circumstances. These factors shaped the sacrament more, he argues, than “the concerns of pastoral theology” (p. 7).

Covering Germany from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century, Myers finds that confession underwent a dramatic change. Whatever theologians taught, in the late Middle Ages most of the laity confessed once a year, during Lent, as part of a larger penitential process in which the entire community engaged. The ritual took place in a setting that afforded scant privacy and lasted bare minutes. With an

examination of conscience that was “perfunctory at best” (p. 96), the rite could not have functioned principally either to provide pastoral care or to impose social discipline; rather, it served to purify the Christian, to ready him or her for the reception of Christ’s body at Communion, which immediately followed. Such a seasonal public rite could not have generated the widespread spiritual anxiety attributed to it by some scholars.

Thus the situation remained in Catholic Germany until after the Council of Trent. Then began a reform of the rite that made it frequent, private, and genuinely intimate, but still not anxiety-provoking. By its very frequency, and by the simple method taught to ensure a thorough enumeration of sins, confession became routine. The system “enabled lay people to manage sin and guilt effectively” (p. 198). As the examination of conscience became a regular part of Christian life, “Lent . . . was internalized and became a permanent condition of the conscience” (p. 193).

Myers’s conclusions place the author squarely in one camp of an ongoing debate about confession. He rejects the findings of Thomas Tentler and Steven Ozment (*The Reformation in the Cities* [1975]), as well as those of Jean Delumeau in *Sin and Fear* (1990); he supports the main arguments of John Bossy (*Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* [1985]) and Lawrence Duggan (*Fear and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* [1984]). Inexplicably, Myers fails to signal his debt to Bossy, whose method, too, he largely adopts. On the Counter-Reformation, Myers throws his full support behind the widely accepted paradigms of confession-alization and social discipline. The question is how well Myers’s evidence supports his conclusions.

For the late medieval period, Myers relies primarily on synodal statutes. Their complaints about prevailing practices are indeed revealing, but Myers is wrong to assume that their commands were always followed by action on the ground. This assumption undermines some of Myers’s strongest assertions, as, for example, when he says that the church “actively enforced” the requirement of annual confession (p. 33). Jacques Toussaert, for one, has suggested that many in Flanders were able to evade this requirement (*Le sentiment religieux en Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge* [1963]). At other times, Myers’s heavy reliance on secondary literature leaves the evidentiary base for a point simply unclear.

For mid-sixteenth century practice, Myers is able to draw on visitation reports, which he skillfully mines. They allow him to establish some fascinating points, such as the lack of any correlation (yet) between frequency of confession and loyalty to Catholicism. Preference for a more Protestant type of confession ritual seems to have been widespread, even among loyal Catholics; peasants in particular seem to have resisted the demand that they detail their individual sins (a finding whose implications Myers might have explored more fully). To treat the Counter-Reformation, Myers plumbs a wide variety of sources, among

the best of which are diocesan liturgical manuals or *Rituale*. To establish the new frequency of confession and its new role in guiding the individual conscience, however, Myers relies on prescriptive sources, chiefly manuals for confessors and for confessants. Only in the conclusion, as if by way of epilogue, does he offer any hard data to show that rates of confession actually increased in accord with church teaching. Even here, the data offered is fragmentary and counterbalanced by other evidence suggesting that popular practice changed little through the seventeenth century.

None of this is to say that Myers is wrong—parts of his story are quite compelling—but that he has not proven his case. This is a short book, but even so, one-ninth of it treats material that Myers himself has declared extraneous: the theology of penance. In the remaining 180 pages, Myers attempts to cover all of Catholic Germany (concentrating on Bavaria, Salzburg, Passau, and Austria) over a long period. Moreover, it is curious in a book that approaches confession “from the outside in” to find scant treatment of the restitutions and satisfactions that went along with the confession proper. Myers’s ambition should be applauded; through its story, his book offers the entire religious history of the period in a nutshell. Its method is ingenious, its material fascinating, and its sources impressively varied. As a vehicle to make an argument about the character of Catholic confession, however, it could have been better designed.

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JEFFREY CHIPPS SMITH. *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520–1580: Art in an Age of Uncertainty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 425. \$65.00.

Jeffrey Chipps Smith’s book is not only the first work on the subject available in English; it is, quite simply, the only work on the subject and therefore essential reading for those interested in the cultural productions of the sixteenth century. At 500+ pages, it is encyclopedic, graced with copious illustrations and documentation far richer than immediately apparent in the bibliography (cf. however, p. 419, presumably attributable to the press), as well as with surprisingly comprehensive vitae of forty-four sculptors.

In contrast to the historian of Luther’s “German nation” who, turning aside to look at the sculpture produced 1520–1580, is apt to consider it iconographically, in relation to the problem of *Konfessionalisierung*, the art historian Smith considers these works primarily in terms of stylistic innovation, seeking to rescue what has been regarded as “a void or emptiness” in the history of sculpture by defining it as a stylistic period (p. 7).

Even in this age of interdisciplinarity, and however unimportant it may be to those of us who do not call ourselves “art historians,” there is a history to be told of developments within “Kunst”—within style and

technique—that is unrelated or only tangentially related to our concerns. There is equally a history to the art historian's eschewal of a periodization rooted in the confessional upheaval we historians tend to highlight. On the eve of WWI, the German art historian Georg Dehio published an agenda-setting essay positing a "crisis" or decline in German art after Albrecht Dürer and tracing the decline to two sources: the increasing corruption of German art by the "Italian style" and the rise of Protestantism.

No longer concerned with the "purity" of a German style, art historians at the end of the twentieth century are nevertheless understandably more concerned with style and quality than historians whose interest usually lies in iconographic issues. As indicated by his subtitle, Smith is well aware of the potential impact of religious, political, and economic upheaval on sculptural production. Nevertheless, he justifies the period—and his label for it—not in terms of the interaction between these factors and the iconographic choices made by artists and their patrons (the ground on which historical and art historical interests are most likely to overlap) but rather in terms of the sculptors' "revitaliz[ation of] their *kunst*, with its critical mix of craft and knowledge" (p. 361). "The Later Renaissance" of his title refers to style, albeit to a style visible not only to the art historian's "eye," but also to patrons who demanded sculptures "auf ain New lustige manir" or in the "Welsch" (=Italian) style (p. 7).

Smith devotes six of his ten chapters to sculpture for explicitly religious contexts, contrasting the sculptures produced for Lutheran and Catholic patrons. Nevertheless, the scholars on whom he relies for his understanding of the impact of the Reformation on art tend (with the exception of Carl Christensen and Bob Scribner) to focus on the views of the iconophobes. Although much of the art discussed was commissioned by "Lutherans," little of Smith's attention is directed either to the views and iconographic preferences of Luther (whom he depicts as only slowly pulling away from Karlstadt's iconoclasm) or to the distinctions between Luther's views and the views of the feuding groups who considered themselves Luther's heirs.

In contrast to Michael Baxandall's case studies of the intersections of style, subject, piety, and *Geistesgeschichte* in Italian painting and in German limewood sculptures, Smith's case studies are but a small part of his larger attempt to define a period stylistically. As a result, the Nine Worthies of Nuremberg's Schöner Brunnen from the fourteenth century and the Worthies carved by Albert von Soest two centuries later for the council chamber in Lüneburg differ in Smith's account primarily in location and style. Like the Italian style itself, Smith's approach sweeps all in its wake; the reader of this survey may find it difficult to discern the impact of rather striking differences in the religious perspectives and political positions of the patrons in the works themselves, or of recent scholarship on these subjects on Smith's analysis.

It is therefore ironic that, in the end, Smith's

periodization itself appears to confirm the second of Dehio's conclusions; the "Later Renaissance" ends in 1580 not for stylistic reasons, but because "the advent of the Counter-Reformation" had by then forged "a renewed sense of Catholic identity . . . [and] a remarkable resurgence of religious and, it turns out, secular art" (pp. 7–8).

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ANDREAS WÜRLER. *Unruhen und Öffentlichkeit: Städtische und ländliche Protestbewegungen im 18. Jahrhundert*. (Frühneuzeit-Forschungen, number 1.) Tübingen: Bibliotheca Academica. 1995. Pp. 393. DM 98.

This stimulating, extraordinarily well-researched book on the history of democratic politics ought to have considerable cross-disciplinary appeal. The starting point for Andreas Würler is Habermasian radical democratic theory: specifically, Jürgen Habermas's account of the formation of a bourgeois public sphere within, but apart from and critical of, the institutional framework of monarchical absolutism. Concerned less with historical accuracy and much more with providing norms for rudderless late twentieth-century societies, Habermas invoked communication and participation to guide us safely past the Charybdis of state control and the Scylla of capitalist exploitation. Discursive democracy, centuries in the making, remains totally unfettered, generating its own values, continually reproducing itself.

One clear problem with Habermas's account was his cavalier dismissal of any plebeian contribution to an emerging public sphere. For most of the eighteenth century, in his view, a "plebeian sphere" was derivative, operating in the shadow of the bourgeoisie and adapting itself to bourgeois institutions until 1789, when "the masses" exploded onto the historical stage. Würler's task is to rescue common people from the enormous condescension of Habermas, en route to providing a spirited, suggestive critique of elitist "trickle down" models of political development.

Würler draws on eleven disturbances, both rural and urban, which occurred in southwestern Germany and the Swiss Confederation between 1691 and 1784. The motives in these affairs are familiar enough. Protesters demanded greater transparency from resident authorities in matters relating to traditional contractual rights and taxation (Kempten); greater local autonomy from a nonresident ruler (Toggenburg); greater accountability from aloof, unresponsive patricians (Frankfurt am Main, Zürich); the release of poachers from the agents of Habsburg authority (Freiburg im Breisgau); and, generally, the publication of privileged "secret" documents. Participants included artisans as well as social marginals such as cotters, students, and women. Widely reported in the press throughout the continent, and beyond, these events generated a great deal of commentary. They were, in fact, episodes in the formation of a public

sphere, examples of Habermasian communicative action and embryonic discursive democracy.

Two important trends of historical scholarship devoted to the analysis of political modernization are cleverly fused in this book: the democratic potential, first, of *bourgeois* politicizing and, second, of *popular* social protest and collective action, especially for the period 1789–1849. Würgler shows that both of these large, complex processes were actually complementary. A plebeian public sphere antedates the French Revolution and was not simply handmaid to the bourgeoisie. Long before political rights and freedoms were acquired in France, the citizens of Frankfurt, Freiburg, Zürich, and other German and Swiss jurisdictions were already in possession of such rights. Würgler argues that the structural development of a public sphere ought to be viewed as an “ensemble of continuities, mixed forms, exchanges and coincidences” (p. 260). It should not be seen dialectically as a reaction to absolutism but rather historically as persistence, revitalization, transformation through the elements of a *communal* and *popular* public sphere transmitted through the medium of protest.

Protest helped define the contours of bourgeois political consciousness. The means (various forms of symbolic action) employed to counter absolutism were drawn largely from popular experience, while bourgeois critics themselves also tapped into a lower-class tactical repertoire. In short, in this part of Central Europe at least, acculturation in the political realm was reciprocal, flowing from the bottom up as well as from the top down. That is one of this book's conclusions. A second emphasizes continuity rather than rupture. Confirming a position staked out some years ago by the Swiss historian, Peter Blickle, Würgler points to the existence of longer-range continuities between medieval communalism and modern democracy. A third conclusion situates popular protest squarely in the vanguard of those forces that worked to erode absolute government.

This book requires a sequel, as there is much here which remains to be worked through. For example, Habermasian discursive democracy is prescriptive: it is a normative model that exists nowhere in the modern world. The attempt to reconstruct or flesh out its historical antecedents raises intriguing questions about the need to remain faithful to the empirical record. Würgler appears to be aware of the problem when he notes in his discussion of continuities that certain undemocratic traditions (the political exclusion of Jews and women, for example) were passed forward from eighteenth-century communalism to nineteenth-century constitutionalism. But this, surely, is just the tip of the iceberg, for there were certainly many more customs from the distant past, whether bourgeois or plebeian, which vitiated democratic ideals, discursive or otherwise. Perhaps we need to begin with a more modest understanding of what modern Europeans actually achieved before we expostulate at length on how they achieved it. These comments aside, Würgler

has contributed significantly to a debate that is as perplexing as it is challenging.

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RICHARD J. EVANS. *Rituals of Retribution: Capital Punishment in Germany 1600–1987*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xxxii, 1014. \$65.00.

Fifty-six Americans were executed in 1995; another three thousand now wait on death row for a final decision about their fate. Contemporary executions, carried out in antiseptic chambers behind prison walls, seem vastly different from the raucous spectacles that occurred throughout early modern Europe. But executions are always attended by ceremonies that reflect society's values: for us, these ceremonies are secular, judicial, professionally administered, and technologically mediated; for our ancestors, they were religious, communal, public, and directly experienced. Without some kind of “ritual of retribution,” executions would lack the legitimacy they obviously require. Richard J. Evans's important study of capital punishment provides us with a rich historical account of the continuities and changes in these rituals through four centuries of German history.

Evans begins with the early modern “theater of cruelty,” in which convicted criminals were subjected to elaborate and often excruciatingly painful public punishments. Contrary to those scholars who view these executions as spontaneous, carnivalesque expressions of popular enthusiasm, Evans emphasizes their highly ritualized and formal character. From the meal shared by judge, executioner, and the condemned to the clergyman's benediction before the final blow, traditional executions expressed not only retribution, but also communal solidarity and, whenever possible, reconciliation and redemption. This is why the executed person's blood was so highly valued for its medicinal power. When the cultural values and social relationships underlying these rituals weakened, public executions began to seem needlessly cruel and potentially disruptive. In the eighteenth century, German governments abolished torture; in the nineteenth, they moved executions out of public spaces. At the same time, the number of executions declined and the movement toward abolition picked up support.

Interwoven with Evans's analysis of executions, crime, and the judicial system is the story of the campaign to end capital punishment in Germany. By the 1840s, abolitionism had acquired considerable public support, including that of scholars like Carl Mittermaier, whose research called into question capital punishment's ability to deter crime. Abolished during the revolution of 1848–1849, executions returned in the reactionary 1850s, became rare between 1860 and the 1880s, and then increased again during the reign of William II. The movement for abolition acquired new momentum during the Weimar Republic but triumphed only after the horrors of Nazism dis-

credited executions. Capital punishment was abolished in the Federal Republic's constitution and finally abandoned by the German Democratic Republic in 1987.

As Evans points out, the ebb and flow of executions corresponded roughly to the fortunes of the reform impulse in German politics, declining during progressive political eras and increasing during times of reaction and repression. But his account of capital punishment does not fit neatly with some of our conventional assumptions about Germany's inherent illiberalism: not only was the movement to abolish capital punishment stronger in Germany than in England, France, or the United States, but German governments—with the obvious and significant exception of the Nazis—were also substantially less eager to execute their citizens. During the first half of the nineteenth century, for example, sixty times more people were executed in England and Wales than in Prussia (pp. 228–29). Public executions continued to be held in France until 1939. And, of course, capital punishment remains popular (although relatively rare in comparison to the number of those convicted of capital crimes) in the United States.

Declaring himself to be “theoretically as well as methodologically eclectic” (p. xiii), Evans points to three sets of theories that provide a framework for his analysis: Michel Foucault's critical criminology, Norbert Elias's concept of a civilizing process, and Philippe Ariès's study of changing attitudes toward death. In the first part of his book, Evans engages these theories critically and productively by testing their ideas against the empirical evidence he has assembled. In Evans's treatment of the period after 1800, however, the ideas of Foucault, Elias, and Ariès drop from sight and only reappear again in the brief conclusion. The reader is left wondering if Evans is unwilling or unable to apply these ideas beyond the early modern period for which they were originally formulated.

Considering the range and scope of this book, there are few slips. Executions for mutiny and other crimes were by no means “commonplace” in the British and American armies during World War II (p. 741); the British executed a handful of mutinous troops, the Americans only one. Occasionally Evans overinterprets his material. I am not convinced that “capital punishment provided the insecure middle classes with an outlet for their aggression” (p. 370). But these are minor blemishes on a truly monumental work. Evans displays an extraordinary command of the literature on crime and punishment, not only in Germany but in the rest of Europe and beyond; equally important, his work is based on archival research covering several regions and ranging over nearly four hundred years. It would be regrettable if the book's formidable length deprived Evans of the readers that the quality of his scholarship and the significance of his subject clearly deserve.

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DAVID SORKIN. *Moses Mendelssohn and the Religious Enlightenment*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xxv, 214. \$40.00.

David Sorkin, whose *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780–1840* (1987) was an innovative look at a much-studied topic, has now tackled another such subject: the writings of Moses Mendelssohn, the first major thinker of the Jewish Enlightenment. Less broad-ranging than his first work, this short volume similarly undertakes to revise the conventional view. Through a close reading of key passages from Mendelssohn's works on Jewish topics, Sorkin paints a picture of a Mendelssohn who is consistent in his conservative views. Unlike most students of Mendelssohn, who deal mainly with his German-language writings, Sorkin concentrates heavily, but by no means exclusively, on the philosopher's Hebrew-language works. Mendelssohn's writings on more general topics unrelated to Judaism are dealt with only in passing.

Sorkin analyzes Mendelssohn within a double context. The first is the conservative religious Enlightenment (a subject that recent scholars have found to be at least as characteristic of the era as the better-known, radical Diderot-Voltaire school). The second is a view of “baroque Judaism” (the closed, Talmud-and-Kabbala-based culture of pre-Enlightenment Ashkenazic Jewry) as an aberration from a long tradition of Jewish interaction with non-Jewish cultures. Mendelssohn's rationalism is depicted as restorative of a more typical “Andalusian” Jewish approach rather than as an innovative break with tradition.

Sorkin's arguments for a restorative Mendelssohn inspired both by a moderate Enlightenment and by the medieval Jewish “Andalusian tradition of pietist rationalism” have much to recommend them. Still, there are some weaknesses. Given Sorkin's evident familiarity with the “Christian Enlightenment,” I am disappointed that he devotes so little space to a description of its main outlines and parallels to Mendelssohn's thought. Sorkin's main references to the “religious Enlightenment” are to Christian Wolff, whose strong influence on Mendelssohn has been discussed in detail by earlier scholars. More detailed analysis of the religious Enlightenment would have made this a stronger book (especially for scholars of Jewish intellectual history unfamiliar with the broader conservative Enlightenment phenomenon).

Sorkin's treatment of the “Andalusian tradition” raises a different issue. The textual evidence that Mendelssohn was closer to the more conservative medieval Jewish thinkers Yehuda Halevi and Nachmanides than to the Aristotelian rationalist Maimonides seems convincing enough. But what does it mean to say that an eighteenth-century thinker is “reviving” medieval ideas? The conditions of Mendelssohn's times were totally different than those of the medieval Islamic world. In the context of Mendelssohn's society, the “revival” of a medieval tradition could be radical indeed. Other radical intellectual

movements, like the Renaissance and Reformation, also claimed to be restoring the past but were, in fact, far from conservative.

Sorkin's analysis, following the chronology of Mendelssohn's major works, is almost totally restricted to a study of the philosopher's ideas. The book's longest chapter is devoted to Mendelssohn's Biblical exegesis. The changing social and political situation of Mendelssohn and his community is mentioned but given only secondary attention, downplaying the transformation of the Berlin Jewish community during Mendelssohn's day. The impact of the replacement of Yiddish by German, of proposals for legal emancipation, and of the growth of a generation who no longer observed Jewish traditions all receive less scrutiny than they deserve. Even if Sorkin is right that Mendelssohn did not change his basic principles, his later works were addressed to a transformed situation and therefore had a transformed historical importance.

This brings us to an underlying conundrum in all studies of the place of Mendelssohn in Jewish history. If Mendelssohn was really an intellectual conservative, why were so many of his supposed disciples so radical? Two schools of thought emerge in the most recent scholarship. Sorkin and the Israeli scholar Shmuel Feiner ("Mendelssohn and Mendelssohn's Disciples: A Re-examination," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* [1995]: 133–167) depict the disciples as preaching a radical doctrine far removed from the master's teachings. Allan Arkush (*Moses Mendelssohn and the Enlightenment* [1994]) takes a contrary position. He surmises that Mendelssohn was conscious of the flaws in his defense of tradition and that "it is at least conceivable that Mendelssohn was, at bottom . . . a pure Deist who was merely pretending . . . to be a believing Jew as well" (p. 260). It is impossible to settle this disagreement based on Mendelssohn's public writings alone. Much more attention must be given both to Mendelssohn's private writings and to evidence on the cultural and social context. Sorkin has done the reading public a service by reintroducing the Hebrew works of Mendelssohn to the debate, but a broader analysis will be needed if the question of Mendelssohn's "real" beliefs is ever to be settled.

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REINHARD ALINGS. *Monument und Nation: Das Bild vom Nationalstaat im Medium Denkmal; zum Verhältnis von Nation und Staat im deutschen Kaiserreich 1871–1918*. (Beiträge zur Kommunikationsgeschichte, number 4.) New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1996. Pp. xiv, 642. DM 298.

Reinhard Alings's book provides us with a satisfyingly thorough, perhaps even definitive, account of the national monuments of the German Kaiserreich. This is no minor achievement. The challenge lies not only in the sheer number of such monuments: by Alings's

careful reckonings, well over a thousand were erected between 1871 and 1914, an era of what contemporaries called "monument mania" (pp. 78, 87). Alings must also take into account the nearly as numerous analyses of monuments, symbols, and rituals of the nation-state that are our own epigonic tribute to the memorializing energies of the nineteenth century. He manages both tasks with an unusual combination of grace and doggedness. The book provides any number of useful services to the scholarly community: excellent discussions of the term "monument" (*Denkmal*), of the concept and reality of national monuments, and of the state of research on European monuments; illuminating analysis of quantitative material on the Kaiserreich; and detailed treatments of eleven "national-political" monuments representing a variety of times, places, styles, intentions, and effects. Alings attempts a complete portrait of the national-political monument as a phenomenon of its times, a testimony to the *Zeitgeist* in its aesthetic and its political complexity. In so doing, he tries to reformulate and thus move beyond Thomas Nipperdey's influential judgment on national monuments as a kind of impossibility, the inevitably inadequate representations of an undefinable national unity, the formulation of a "wish" or a "claim," not a reality (pp. 34–35). For Alings, Bismarck towers were not something that the political culture "fell back on" for lack of something better (as Gordon Craig suggested in *Germany* [1978], p. 56), nor were they sacrosanct, ultimately static, and dull bits of political pageantry. They, and the other types of monuments Alings investigates, were genuine examples of public discourse, subject to the same discussion and contestation, use and abuse, and exploitation and skepticism on artistic and political grounds as any other intervention in the public sphere. Alings treats his monuments as mass media, and if that approach forces him constantly to qualify the meanings he attaches to them, it does not leave him altogether without firm conclusions.

Alings demonstrates convincingly that the Kaiserreich was indeed a state that found its representational unity in monarchy and military, not constitution and people. No one is likely to doubt this judgment, nor should Alings be faulted for his restatement of a familiar argument. His attention to the people actually putting up the monuments allows him to argue that this *Reichsnation*, this monarchical and militaristic polity, was by the end of the century much more the ongoing creation of the "liberal and conservative Gross- und Kleinbürgertum" than it was the intransigent hanging-on of an "aristocratic-courtly and military class" (p. 601). If the monuments can indeed be taken as evidence of Joseph-Ernest Renan's "daily plebiscite," then the middle classes were voting yes. But this was affirmation with a difference. Whereas Alings sees in the earliest national-political monuments, such as the Berlin triumphal column of the 1870s (the *Siegessäule*), the depiction of a nation antagonistic to large segments of its own population

and still hostile to its defeated enemies, he finds the products of the second wave of construction in the 1890s both more mellow and more diverse. Monuments like the Munich peace column (the *Friedenssäule*) or the Niederwald *Germania* gestured toward a federative conception of the nation that included Catholics and valued the smaller states. Others emphasized progress, commerce, and prosperity rather than the sheer spectacle of military triumph. As the century turned, the depiction of the nation more and more relied on images of ethnic and cultural unity, on *Volkstum* rather than *Kaisertum*. And Bismarck towers and statues proved, somewhat surprisingly, far more popular representations of Germany's new ethnic consciousness than other forms of monumental art. Perhaps it would not be too much to conclude that the Prussian monarchy had less of a grip on the national psyche than scholars have thought, even before its devastating defeat during the Great War.

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GEOFF ELEY, editor. *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 522. \$59.50.

This edited volume has been a long time in coming. It originated in 1990, in a conference on “The Kaiserreich in the 1990s” whose organizers believed that the fall of the Berlin Wall heralded a reorientation in imperial German historiography. The book retains ambitions that are “certainly programmatic” (p. vii), but both its originality and its appeal have suffered during its long gestation. A majority of the essays have already appeared elsewhere in some form. The exuberance that was in evidence at the conference, reflecting the presentors’ confidence that the old historiography could not withstand the challenges of gender and discourse analysis, has likewise faded. During the first half of the 1990s, German scholars have produced monumental surveys of the Kaiserreich that rely on methodologies that the conference criticized.

Two essays by editor Geoff Eley outline the volume’s ambitions. “We have reached an important moment of historiographical transition. The established framing of the *Sonderweg*,” he announces in his introduction, “may have exhausted much of its usefulness” (p. 41). Eley himself is a practiced critic of this framing, among whose deficiencies he here stresses its focus on failed political development and the structural instability of the German Empire. In a second essay on “German History and the Contradictions of Modernity,” Eley pursues the attack to the theoretical foundations of this framing; particularly the uncritical embrace of modernization theory by Hans-Ulrich Wehler. Wehler’s invocation of a “set of abstract liberal-democratic desiderata” (p. 103) as the heuristic key to German misdevelopment has resulted, Eley argues, in a failure to appreciate either the political

modernity of the Kaiserreich or the pathologies of modernity itself. The object of the other essays in this volume is to “break the frame” of the established historiography and to explore the central dimensions of a new framing that is based on strides made in gender studies, post-Foucauldian analysis, and cultural studies.

The undertaking is important and praiseworthy. Its presentation, however, is hardly calculated to promote dialogue with scholars on the other side of the Atlantic. Eley is a powerful critic, and his strictures against Wehler and his colleagues have already resulted in a major reexamination of the whole question of imperial Germany’s *Bürgerlichkeit* (which, given the terms of the present debate, counts as an index of its modernity). In this volume, the attack on Wehler’s work resumes with little generosity toward the interpretive concessions that Eley himself helped to prompt. Many of the charges that inform the editor’s essays are baseless. Wehler himself can plead a willful misreading of the theoretical premises of his work. He can also plead the prematurity of the attack, for his massive *Gesellschaftsgeschichte* of the Kaiserreich is sensitive to many of the ambiguities at the heart of Eley’s criticism.

Although they are excellent pieces of scholarship in themselves, most of the essays that make up the volume cannot fulfill the editorial claims made on their behalf. They testify to the rich rewards of attending to gender, popular culture, language, and the history of experience. They do not, however, suggest a systematic alternative to a narrative of German exceptionalism, developmental pathology, or analysis of the material structures of society and politics. Mary Jo Maynes’s essay on childhood memories among German workers, which derives from her recent book on workers’ autobiographies in Germany and France, contains the volume’s only gesture to the kind of comparison that might begin to address the problem of German peculiarities. The most trenchant criticism of the developmental models that have informed the *Sonderweg* “complex” is Kathleen Canning’s essay, which first appeared in this journal several years ago. Canning shows convincingly how a central variant of modernization theory, the “levels-approach” to working-class formation in nineteenth-century Germany, systematically elides or misconstrues the roles and experiences of proletarian women. Her cautious conclusion calls for “neither the construction of a new model nor the revival of a historical narrative” but instead for “a rewearing of theory into historical research” (p. 140).

Other essays in the volume invite the conclusion that this effort at rewearing might be better described in metaphors of broadening and accommodation than of “breaking frame.” Jean Quataert’s essay on the history of gender in imperial Germany alludes to a “new interpretive climate in German women’s organizational history” (p. 52), while her survey of recent scholarship reveals that the idea of German exceptional development continues to thrive in this climate. Belinda Davis’s essay suggests how Jürgen Habermas’s

theory of the public sphere might be shorn of at least some of its gendered limitations to provide insight into the activism of women workers in wartime Berlin. George Steinmetz profitably invokes the idea of modernization to analyze the development of social policy in imperial Germany (an approach endorsed in the meantime by Wehler).

As they weave theory into historical research, the best essays in this volume suggest reasons for the tenacious hold of modernization theory on the historiography of modern Germany. This theory has provided a plausible "fit" for a great deal that has happened, and its advocates can appeal to a large body of empirical evidence. Canning's challenge is effective because it demonstrates the inability of a subvariant of this theory to address the full body of the evidence. Leaving the *Sonderweg*, however, requires the development of alternative theoretical routes that will yield more comprehensive or compelling conclusions. Several essays suggest the formidability of this challenge. In her analysis of disputes among several welfare organizations during and after World War I, Young-Sun Hong ventures conclusions about the "repoliticization of those conceptions of gender and family that had been relegated to the presumed 'private,' 'pre-political' sphere in the process of the *political-ideological* construction of the bourgeois family and civil society in the nineteenth century" (p. 352). Such conclusions reflect a theory of ideological construction of the social order, but their breathtaking abstraction smothers the narrow evidence on which they are based. Elisabeth Domansky's contribution to the volume raises similar problems. The theme of her bold essay is the "militarization of reproduction" and the subversion of the patriarchal family in Germany during World War I. Domansky's analysis plays out in the realm of "discursive strategies," as theory swallows itself. Because her essay disdains an appeal to empirical evidence, it leaves open the question of how, if at all, these strategies translated into social institutions or behavior.

To be fair to these last two scholars, they have engaged criticism of the *Sonderweg* "complex" at a basic level, at which the appeal to extradiscursive evidence is itself irrelevant if not inconceivable. Most of the essays in the volume have eschewed problems of this order. Instead, they have joined the argument at the level where it has languished for years, in debates over the multivalence of "modernity." Here, however, Wehler enjoys a great advantage, which has kept him innocent of the postmodern uncertainties that have driven methodological discussions in the United States. The disciple of Weber has defined "modernization" in a clear and productive way, which, for all the problems it entails, raises broad and interesting questions; and it has sustained an enormous research agenda. The record thus mocks the judgment of the

present volume that imperial Germany has no "history in place" (p. 39).

ROGER CHICKERING
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NOEL D. CARY. *The Path to Christian Democracy: German Catholics and the Party System from Windthorst to Adenauer*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 355. \$49.95.

This book is an original contribution to our knowledge and understanding of German political history from the time of Ludwig Windthorst, Otto von Bismarck's most formidable political opponent during the *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s, to that of Konrad Adenauer, West Germany's first post-World War II chancellor. Noel D. Cary explores the Roman Catholic origins of Christian Democracy, about which comparatively little is known in the English-speaking world. He also analyzes the achievement of political stability in the Bonn Republic, an almost equally overlooked subject in which much of the historiography remains preoccupied with explaining Germany's pre-1945 failures to establish a genuine democratic polity.

With skill and insight, Cary connects Germany's present-day political arrangements to the narrowly partisan tradition that these new arrangements supplanted. He carefully documents the efforts of reform-minded politicians from the old Catholic Center Party to break free from the constraints and limitations of minority-group politics and to form a more broadly based political movement. As early as 1906, German Catholic political leaders discussed the reform of the party system with an eye to diminishing the Center's sectarian image and attracting Protestant voters so as to expand the electoral base.

The failure of those reforming efforts, Cary concedes, left intact Germany's fragmented party landscape and contributed to the collapse of the Weimar Republic in 1933. But those early efforts and the four-decade long debate that accompanied them, he argues, were not without future consequences. After 1945, they became a potent force for changes in political techniques, social attitudes, and political values that led to the creation in 1949 of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Drawing its supporters from among Catholics and Protestants, employees and employers, farmers and sections of the urban middle classes, the CDU emerged as a popularly based party that fused disparate groups and interests into a non-denominational movement committed to Christian ethics and democratic institutions. This new "catch-all" party, according to Cary, transcended Germany's traditional barriers of religion and class, permitted German Catholics to escape from subcultural isolation, and contributed to the decline of those political *Weltanschauungen* whose ideological claims to authoritative truths had handicapped cooperation among the parties of pre-1933 Germany. Furthermore, Cary insists, the CDU integrated "those who needed to be

integrated—the cultural and political conservatives—into a durable liberal order” (p. viii). Even the Social Democrats, he implies, were obliged to come to terms with this massive party realignment. All this, Cary concludes, “proved to be a key to stable democratic development” (p. 7) in the Bonn Republic.

These conclusions are not the result of new evidence, although Cary has used a wide range of printed and archival material. Nor are they the consequence of an innovative methodology. His findings instead stem from a simple change in perspective, a shift from the failures of 1933 to the successes of 1963. The merit of this new, longer-term perspective, ranging as it does from the middle of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century, is that it challenges those familiar historiographical constructs that view continuity primarily in terms of the persistence of authoritarianism and Germany’s so-called “special path” to Nazism. Cary’s emphasis on an alternative, democratic potential nonetheless runs the risk of underestimating the novelty of Germany’s post-1945 achievement. Preoccupied as he is with locating the roots of the present in protracted debates among Catholic political leaders of the past, Cary confuses result with intent and downplays both Adenauer’s political innovations and those special post-World War II circumstances that made the chancellor’s efforts so successful.

Just as Cary chooses not to emphasize the discontinuities of Germany’s post-1945 experience, so, too, does he tend to reduce the distinction between Catholic lay reformers and the church’s interests and attitude. In a book that argues, as does this one, that the religious issue was distinctively enduring in German political culture, it is surprising that the role and the agenda of the Catholic church and its leaders receive so little attention. Not all Catholics shared the enthusiasms of the reformers, and it is not unreasonable to ask how important the church was in the fashioning of a nondenominational political party.

Although one may not agree with all of Cary’s arguments, his analytical concerns and the skill with which he builds his case make this book a useful and thoughtful contribution to our understanding of the post-1945 realignment of the German party system and the emergence of a healthy and stable democratic polity. It also represents an interesting attempt to move Catholic Germany from the margins to the center of the important historiographical debate over continuity.

RONALD J. ROSS
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EDWARD ROSS DICKINSON, *The Politics of German Child Welfare from the Empire to the Federal Republic*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 121.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996. Pp. xiv, 365. \$45.00.

At the center of Edward Ross Dickinson’s excellent study are the contests and conflicts that shaped the

field of child welfare in Germany across four changes of regime between the mid-nineteenth century and the 1960s. This long time span—and Dickinson’s adept charting of continuities and ruptures in the visions and practices of child welfare across it—bespeaks only one of the book’s many ambitions. Impressively cognizant of the pertinent historiography of state, welfare, and civil society in Germany and other European countries, Dickinson’s book resituates social reform and social policy at the heart of the state-civil society nexus in modern Germany. Child welfare, he demonstrates convincingly, was an area of particularly intense conflict between civil society and the state because it continually questioned the boundaries between parental rights and the protection of children and between the integrity of the family and the imperatives of the state. Indeed, the creation of intermediary institutions between state and civil society, such as legal guardians or reformatories, systematically dismantled the nineteenth-century view of the family as “an autonomous, closed social sphere” in favor of the family’s new status as a fundamental “cell of an organic, unitary social body” that was “therefore subject to the rules and necessarily serving the ends of that body” (p. 23).

Grounded in an obviously rich collection of archival sources, Dickinson analyzes a myriad of organizations and institutions—from charities and municipalities to courts, state bureaucracies and churches, women’s associations, and bourgeois reform groups—that sought to combat youthful *Verwahrlosung* (waywardness). Despite moments of consensus, the middle class that advocated child welfare reform was anything but a single unitary agent. Rather, “two opposing middle-class cultures” (p. 7) crystallized around issues of child and family welfare: one secular, scientific, materialist, statist, and centralist, yet participatory; the other religious (Catholic), patriarchal, voluntarist, and authoritarian. Dickinson also explicates the gender conflict that divided the social reform milieu, as women gained visibility and influence not only as charitable volunteers but also, after the turn of the century, as legal guardians, professional social workers, and infant health experts.

Broad popular mobilization around child and family welfare during the 1890s produced a wave of legislation on child labor and correctional education and served as well to remove “welfare policy from the exclusive realm of high politics” (p. 36). By the turn of the century, both the conservative and progressive visions of child welfare had crystallized into systematic bodies of thought, yet the “centralized, uniform child welfare bureaucracy” (p. 80) that both desired would not be instituted until the early 1920s. The eve of World War I saw not only the rapid expansion of correctional education, juvenile courts, and infant health clinics but also a marked shift from repression to prevention and from moral to medical, psychiatric, and even eugenicist models of reform. The reorganization of German society by total war and prolonged hardships on the home front not only made the

expansion of child welfare "seem a practical necessity" (p. 141) but effectively transformed relief into a legal right, one that would become a cornerstone for Weimar democracy. Weimar child welfare reform was a corporatist compromise that realized the secular, social-liberal model of reform while creating a place for Christian charities within the new national youth bureaus, established by the National Child Welfare Act of 1922.

If there is something to dispute in Dickinson's analysis, it is perhaps the definitions of progressive and conservative that occupy either side of the dichotomy forming the central thread of his argument. Religious reform is consistently conservative; conservative Christianity is most often Catholic, and Protestant reformers appear to be more bourgeois than explicitly religious. Although Dickinson acknowledges the mutability of Catholic reform ideas over time and mentions on occasion the less authoritarian, "positive public social policy" (p. 18) of Social Catholics in the Rhineland as early as the 1860s, this branch of Catholic reform figures only peripherally here. Instead, conservative Christians continuously thwart progressive visions of child welfare reform. As progressives turned to science and medicine on the eve of World War I, conservative reformers continued "to rely on brute force and authority to crush godless rebellion" (p. 110). Despite the more or less successful corporatist compromise embodied in the National Child Welfare Law of 1922, Dickinson points to the "much broader cultural confrontation between Christianity and (majoritarian) democratic socialism" that continued to plague reform efforts during the 1920s (pp. 167-68).

The Weimar welfare state soon came under assault, not only by those who opposed democracy but also by eugenicists and racial hygienists who questioned the necessity of initiatives to secure "the survival of the 'unfit' and 'inferior'" (p. 144) and, finally, by the austerity measures imposed in the wake of the Great Depression. While emphasizing that Nazi child welfare policies were continuous with aspects of both progressive and conservative reform of the earlier periods, Dickinson also points to important discontinuities, most notably the demolition of corporatist relations between public and private agencies and the displacement of public initiatives by the Nazi Party apparatus. The National Child Welfare Law of 1961 finally reconciled "the social-managerial ambition of progressive reform" with "a definitive commitment to the familial social order defended by Christian culture" (p. 284) and anchored this compromise in the political and social constitution of the Federal Republic.

Dickinson offers a sophisticated analysis of the modern German state and civil society that is refreshingly unencumbered by the German *Sonderweg* debates of the 1980s. Indeed, a monograph that casts the history of child welfare as emblematic of German modernity should be welcomed not only by German historians but also by those with an interest in family

history, comparative welfare states, and social policy. In Dickinson's rendering, those who envisioned and enacted child welfare policies sought nothing less than resolution of the "most fundamental problem" of German modernity: the creation of a viable relationship between the state and the mobilized and divided society produced by industrialization. Also quintessentially modern was the imperative that social policy both "gain the consent of the lower classes" and reconcile competing ideologies within the dominant classes (p. 9). Dickinson argues forcefully that the responses of both progressive and conservative reformers to these challenges of modernity could have had either fascist or democratic outcomes, rejecting the pessimistic view that the internal logic of the German welfare state was, in its disciplinary and exclusionary mechanisms, "potentially fascist—and indeed, potentially homicidal" (p. 291). Nazi genocide, according to Dickinson, required "a political system and a set of institutions based on principles very different from those that underlay the institutional structures and goals of the Empire or the Weimar Republic" (p. 292). In this nuanced analysis of the politics of German child welfare, Dickinson offers an important and persuasive response to the influential scholarship of Peukert and Jacques Donzelot. He also gives social policy, shaped in the realms of civil society and state, an important place in the histories of both Nazism and German democracy.

KATHLEEN CANNING
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ANNE HARRINGTON. *Reenchanted Science: Holism in German Culture from Wilhelm II to Hitler*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xxiv, 309. \$39.50.

In the waning years of his career, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe wrote with prophetic accuracy to Johann Eckermann that it would be a long time before the view of things they shared would return. Goethe could not have anticipated, however, that when it did return, the revived concern for wholeness would show itself in alternative versions, some of which he would surely have condemned. Anne Harrington's book focuses on German dissatisfaction with the mechanistic program in the sciences of life and mind, behind which lay basic ambiguities in German culture that are her real interest. Because she firmly believes that we continue today to be fundamentally uncertain about the cultural adequacies of science in ways reminiscent of the decades she studies, the book is more than an insightful and rewarding historical analysis. Harrington is surely correct that a contextual understanding of these struggles is both relevant and necessary to the (clearly unfinished) business of the present: to extract both utility and wholeness from our encounter with nature.

The roots of German dissatisfaction with the machine as a metaphor for nature lie deep in the past. Both Harrington and Mitchell Ash, whose *Gestalt Psychology in German Culture* appeared in 1995, locate

its origin in the German romantic period. Both follow the subjects of their respective studies in citing Immanuel Kant and especially Goethe as originators of the non-mechanistic perspective. Harrington's focus and goal are very different from those of Ash. The latter was primarily concerned to show how Gestalt theorists were able to redefine the objectivity of knowledge by locating it in the phenomena themselves as opposed to attributing it to an impersonal procedure. Harrington, on the other hand, does not equate holism with Gestalt theory. Her approach is thematic, in the main utilizing the careers of individuals to illustrate various aspects of holism. A one-sided reading of Kant's characterization of the subject as law-giver (as opposed to discoverer) resulted in Jakob von Uexküll's development of the notion of *Umwelten* as worlds self-generated by individuals. For Uexküll, the *Umwelt* took precedence over the mechanistic interaction of its parts, an ironic conclusion since Kant's work has been taken by many German scientists from his day on as a justification for employing mechanistic explanations. From the dominance of the *Umwelt* followed a wholeness that Uexküll translated into a preference for monarchy and an opposition to democracy.

The version of holism articulated by the displaced Russian Constantine von Monakow originated from a different source. Monakow's studies of the brain and the significance of its evolution for understanding various of its functions were put aside with the coming of the Great War. Monakow withdrew from society and from his work. To his rescue came an insight into the purposive striving of a single cosmic power to realize itself, which Monakow associated with a form of causality unlike those either found in nature or reconstructed by human reason. This third kind of causality was biological in essence and enabled a new form of truth to be apprehended through a mystical holistic vision.

The holism of Gestalt psychology was more comfortably rational, although still radically opposed to the machine. Max Wertheimer's attempt to broaden the understanding of science was motivated by his desire to counter Max Weber's claim that science could give no answers to the most important human questions. But he did not wish to make science irrational. The principles underlying orderly perception, which Wertheimer called Gestalt laws, were researchable using experimental methods. The reality of wholes corresponded to processes people cared about and, as Ash pointed out, also harmonized well with good German values. Learning how to think not in piecemeal reasoning but with "Gestalt logic" prevented demagoguery and supported a truly free society.

Harrington is at her best in the last two chapters of the book. The case of Kurt Goldstein, whose work with brain-damaged soldiers in World War I gave impetus to holistic neurology, is particularly poignant. Loss of the capacity to organize stimuli into the coherent patterns on which we all rely produced an unbearable anxiety and caused Goldstein's subjects to struggle

mightily to find ways to compensate for the deficiency. This proved to Goldstein that the brain possessed a basic drive to actualize itself according to an inner essence that was as important as the body's organs in assessing sickness and health. It also meant that issues of free choice and value had to be considered in addition to the functioning and nonfunctioning of organs. From here, Goldstein moved to the broader plain of an inner psychical essence that enabled the individual courageously to actualize his or her own nature in the face of more general existential anxieties.

The final chapter faces squarely the ambiguous relation between holism and fascism. Holism was certainly invoked by Nazis against the Jew as chaos and mechanism. Yet, as the cases of Hans Driesch and others show, holists could also be vehement in their opposition to Nazi claims. As in physics, eventually the attempt by some to define German science in opposition to the classical mechanical tradition was defeated by realignments of power within the Third Reich itself. No straightforward, uncomplicated correlation between holism and political association is possible for the period prior to and including the 1930s and 1940s. The larger message of Harrington's book is that a similar conclusion follows for our own attempts to understand the alleged division of science into "real" science and "alternative" science. One cannot easily differentiate "real" science from all attempts to reconfigure it by appealing to the extra-scientific agendas lying at the heart of the latter.

FREDERICK GREGORY
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ROGER WOODS. *The Conservative Revolution in the Weimar Republic*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. ix, 173. \$59.95.

"Write with blood and you will find that blood is spirit." So wrote the former front soldier, Ernst Jünger, in the 1920s, as he sought to forge a new German national consciousness in the aftermath of World War I. Jünger and like-minded nationalist intellectuals such as Oswald Spengler were part of a loosely grouped movement, the so-called "Conservative Revolution," which detested the Weimar Republic but had no more use for the conservative traditions of the Wilhelmine era. Antiparliamentary and antimonarchist, the Conservative Revolutionaries envisioned themselves as playing a tutelary role for the masses by synthesizing nationalism with socialism, thereby reproducing in a civilian context the evanescent comradeship of the trenches and permanently transforming the German spirit.

In this compact yet painstakingly detailed study, Roger Woods analyzes the ideological tensions inherent in the Conservative Revolutionary movement from its emergence during World War I through the rise of Nazism. He draws on a variety of sources, including diaries, novels, philosophical writings, and journalistic tracts, to explore how conflicting pressures within the

Weimar Republic shaped its ideological currents. The Conservative Revolutionaries looked to Friedrich Nietzsche as a mentor, finding inspiration in his glorification of will, struggle, and strength over weakness. But the eccentric philosopher's works were as contradictory as they were powerfully appealing, and some Conservative Revolutionaries were skeptical about Nietzsche's utility for their own enterprise. It was insufficient merely to evoke Nietzsche or repeat him; the movement had to respond to its particular political and cultural environment and fashion new elements of a persuasive message. That search, combined with the movement's disunity and programmatic diversity, have led Woods to concentrate on its more prominent exponents, Jünger and Spengler, whose polemical writings throughout the Weimar era can be taken as generally representative of the movement's overall thrust.

Woods's analysis of war veteran and self-appointed cult hero Jünger is especially perceptive. Drawing on his earlier study, *Ernst Jünger and the Nature of Political Commitment* (1982), Woods argues that Jünger exemplified the "new nationalism," especially in his growing ideological vacillation. Jünger had originally believed that the movement could be unified by a common commitment to what he called the "four pillars of nationalism"—the national, the social, the military, and the dictatorial—but by the late 1920s, he was becoming resigned to the fact that consensus among the disparate Conservative Revolutionaries was elusive. Disenchanted with a programmatic emphasis that he believed to be unattainable, Jünger embraced the idea of individual political activism and, explicitly, the notion of the "single great personality" who could ultimately provide the movement with the leadership and direction it so obviously lacked.

Jünger, as Woods explains, was not alone in his conversion to activist politics. Hermann Ehrhardt, the leader of the Ehrhardt Brigade; the writer Franz Schauwecker; the political journalist Hans Zehrer, who originally called for a dictatorship in which the masses would play a role; and the editor of the journal *Deutsches Volkstum*, Wilhelm Stapel, all eventually realized as well that a new nationalist state could not be built on a programmatic foundation. They had originally aspired to serve as the intellectual, not the ineffectual, vanguard of a new nationalism capable of transcending the entrenched political divisions of left and right. Increasingly, however, they came to view nationalism as something intangible that could only be experienced, in effect leaving to others the challenge of widespread political mobilization.

With the demise of the Weimar Republic and the Nazi accession to power, the Conservative Revolutionaries "shifted from seeing themselves as the 'earthquake' which would bring down the Weimar Republic and clear the way for a dictatorial order to seeing themselves in retrospect as the 'seismograph' which merely registered the inevitable upheavals of their time" (p. 115). Given the prominence of the Conser-

vative Revolutionaries among the various currents of interwar anti-democratic thought and the cumulative impact of their assaults on the Weimar Republic's legitimacy, this self-image was disingenuous. The Conservative Revolution bore some responsibility for Adolf Hitler's success, but in what ways? Here, thankfully, Woods is not merely interested in tracing National Socialism's pedigree; he highlights not only persistent tensions within the Conservative Revolution but also its significant disagreements with the Nazis, over, for example, the latter's participation in party politics or its overt anti-Semitism. In the end, however, those differences were overshadowed by the convergence of their views on the paramount necessity of strong leadership and hierarchy. At the very least, the Conservative Revolution failed to provide "a fundamental philosophical critique of National Socialism" (p. 132) that might have impeded its ascent to power. Although redundant and opaque in places, Woods's book represents an important analysis of the literature of the nationalist movement in interwar Germany.

MARILYN SHEVIN-COETZEE
George Washington University

WOLFRAM PYTA. *Dorfgemeinschaft und Parteipolitik 1918–1933: Die Verschränkung von Milieu und Parteien in den protestantischen Landgebieten Deutschlands in der Weimarer Republik*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 106.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1996. Pp. 514. DM 118.

Wolfram Pyta's ambitious book addresses one of the most important and perplexing problems in the history of the late Weimar Republic: namely, the process by which the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) was able to establish itself as the most dynamic political force in the predominantly Protestant areas of the German countryside. In answering this question, Pyta has drawn on the theoretical work of the German sociologist M. Rainer Lepsius, who in the 1960s published a series of articles relating the instability and eventual collapse of Weimar democracy to the political cohesiveness—or lack thereof—of four social-cultural milieus. These, for the sake of simplicity, can be identified as conservative, liberal, Catholic, and socialist. According to Lepsius, the rise of Nazism stemmed from the political fragmentation of Germany's conservative and liberal milieus and from the success with which the NSDAP was able to penetrate and mobilize these milieus for its own partisan purposes.

Pyta seeks to supplement socio-historical and ecological analyses of who voted for Adolf Hitler with a "hermeneutic evaluation of qualitative historical texts" that will allow him not only "to recapture the texture of the cultural, social, and confessional factors" that shaped the voting behavior of Germany's rural Protestant population but also to explain why the NSDAP was so more successful than any of its rivals in establishing itself as the dominant force in Germany's

Protestant countryside. He focuses on the behavior of four "mentors" who played a particularly important role in influencing the voting patterns of Germany's rural population: the large peasant or *Großbauer*, the manor lord or *Gutsherr*, the country parson, and the village school teacher. Pyta then examines the political situation, or *Interessenlage*, of each of these groups from the founding of the Weimar Republic to the outbreak of the world economic crisis. He provides a separate discussion of the radicalization of large landowners and the peasantry between 1929 and 1933, followed by analysis of the different political parties and their efforts to win the support of Germany's rural electorate. Particular attention is devoted to party propaganda and relations between the different parties and organized agricultural interests. Of all these parties, Pyta concludes, only the German National People's Party (DNVP) was ever in a position to establish itself—and actually did so between 1924 and 1928—as an agrarian *Volkspartei* capable of representing Germany's conservative milieu in all of its sociological heterogeneity. But the deepening agrarian crisis of the late 1920s spawned a wave of rural protest that not even the DNVP could contain.

The next section of the book is devoted to the Nazi conquest of Germany's Protestant countryside. Here Pyta focuses particular attention not only on the Nazi penetration of Germany's peasant electorate but also on Hitler's efforts to coopt the support of the East Elbian nobility. This is supplemented by a detailed analysis of R. Walter Darré's Agrarian Political Apparatus and its role in mobilizing the support of German peasants and subverting the influence of Germany's traditional rural elites in organizations like the National Rural League. In this respect, Pyta argues, the NSDAP experienced its greatest success with specifically conservative themes such as the salvation of the countryside from the capitalistic world market, the need to protect the village community against the twin evils of class conflict and economic individualism, and the re-Christianization of the German nation. Pyta then examines the role that the four mentors, whom he calls *Meinungsführer*, played in expediting the Nazi breakthrough into Germany's rural subculture in the late 1920s and early 1930s. He concludes that the NSDAP's ability to win over a broad and by no means inconsequential cross-section of nobles, large peasants, parsons, and school teachers not only validated it as a legitimate claimant to the political loyalties of rural voters but afforded it easy access to the influence that rural elites had traditionally exercised over the political and electoral behavior of Germany's conservative milieu.

Much of this, to be sure, is not new. Historians have long known the general outlines of Pyta's argument. What Pyta brings to the discussion, however, is a broad synthetic vision, a richness of detail, and a genuine feeling for the texture of everyday life in the German countryside that distinguishes his work from virtually everything else that has been written on the topic. At

the same time, Pyta demonstrates enormous sensitivity to the importance of regional variations and differences in shaping the general contours of Germany's national political culture. This is, after all, not a regional history but a study with a genuinely national focus that rests upon a detailed knowledge of precisely how the crisis of conservative hegemony and the rise of Nazism played themselves out in one rural Protestant area after another. Pyta thus succeeds not only in providing the history of Weimar conservatism with a much needed regional dimension but also in integrating diverse rural histories, each with its own distinctive flavor, into the broader mosaic of Germany's political development from 1918 to 1933.

LARRY EUGENE JONES
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KLAUS-MICHAEL MALLMANN. *Kommunisten in der Weimarer Republik: Sozialgeschichte einer revolutionären Bewegung*. Foreword by WILFRIED LOTH. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 1996. Pp. xvi, 552. DM 98.

The Weimar Communist Party (KPD) has not received the intense scrutiny devoted to the Social Democratic Party (SPD). Until recently, moreover, the KPD has been examined almost exclusively from the perspective of its German leaders and their Soviet supervisors. The bias toward "history from above" is explained, in part, by the relative paucity of evidence from below, at least until the opening of former East German archives. As Klaus-Michael Mallmann's passionately argued book demonstrates, however, West German repositories have always housed some of the party secretaries' reports that are now available in greater abundance. Mallmann faults the dominant interpretation of the KPD for neglect of the local sources on which his investigation of the Saar KPD rests. The "Stalinization thesis" postulated that after 1924, "Berlin" dictated policy from above, kicked out dissidents as they emerged, and created a hermetic social life. Ergo, local affairs did not need to be examined. Indeed, scholars assumed that Bolshevization emanated not from Berlin but from Moscow. Several axioms accompanied the Stalinization theory: Communists had broken from their Social Democratic heritage or had not imbibed its mores because they were poorer, less skilled, and younger than Social Democrats; in so far as KPD members expressed autonomous impulses, they advocated an even more radical version of the leadership's revolutionary separatism; rather than former Social Democrats, Communist workers were likely to be lapsed Catholics.

Mallmann rejects the basic tenets of the Stalinization thesis and revises all of its affiliated assumptions. Using a theoretical construct that he terms "social-moral milieu," he posits that the history of the KPD can only be understood at the regional level (hence his focus on the Saar), although this conceptual tool allows for general conclusions. His discussion is wide-

ranging and richly documented, covering developments in other locales and at the national level, touching on numerous cultural attitudes, and drawing on various primary sources to balance the evidence in party reports. According to Mallmann, the year 1924 has been falsely perceived as a caesura that marked the transition to a Stalinist party. He argues that the KPD was never democratic and that its authoritarian tendencies flowed from an indigenous avant-garde. Nonetheless, the urge toward control from above was never effectively implemented. One might condense his complex argument thus: the homemade food was bad, and there wasn't enough of it.

Mallmann finds that the lived world of Communists overlapped with the Social Democratic microcosm that KPD leaders and its press denounced obsessively. Throughout the Weimar years, Mallmann maintains, a "left-proletarian milieu" united organized workers. He points to what he sees as peculiar features of the KPD milieu such as its hyper-masculine, militaristic language and symbols. Its particularities emerge less clearly from his work, however, than do the commonalities that linked Communists and Social Democrats such as a dedication to multiple (and time-consuming) cultural associations and mutual hostility to bourgeois incursions into the proletarian world. Internal memoranda reveal that the KPD's avant-garde was painfully aware of these cultural affinities and social contacts. In striving to forge a disciplined "Red Army" that would also enjoy a mass base, party leaders continually ran up against the left-proletarian "niche society." Efforts to eradicate Social Democracy's reformist, passive legacy were foiled by indifference, circumvention, and hostility: district leaders, to say nothing of members, skipped meetings and ignored directives; Communist trade union officials only reluctantly implemented separatist policies, while Communist workers disdained them; members and local leaders refused to abandon leisure organizations that encompassed Social Democrats and Communists.

Mallmann examines the social bases of the KPD, considering the intersections between it and the SPD, on the one hand, and between it and the Catholic parties, on the other. He concludes that, at least until 1930, the KPD was neither an unstable movement of the "uprooted" nor one dominated by unskilled workers. Instead, its composition looked similar to that of pre-1918. Rather than being extremely young, the plurality of its members were men of the "front generation" who had been affected by the war's violence. He argues, finally, that the statistical intersection between Catholic workers and KPD membership has been overestimated and overinterpreted. On the other hand, he maintains that many party members who did come from a Catholic background maintained at least nominal ties to the church.

The book covers the Depression era much less thoroughly than the 1920s. In this, too, Mallmann swims against the dominant scholarly current. That said, I wish he had considered the ways that the milieu

changed as a result of massive unemployment. There is virtually no discussion of cases in which local relations between Communists and Nazis diverged from the party line(s) after 1930. Eve Rosenhaft brilliantly explores exactly this era in *Beating the Fascists? The German Communists and Political Violence, 1929–1933* (1983), a book whose innovative methodology and conclusions Mallmann slights. These small caveats aside, Mallmann's book greatly enhances our understanding of Weimar Communism and the "left-proletarian milieu" in which it was embedded.

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KLAUS P. FISCHER. *Nazi Germany: A New History*. Paperback edition. New York: Continuum. 1996. Pp. viii, 734. \$24.95.

This engaging and thorough history of the Third Reich constitutes an impressive synthesis: Klaus P. Fischer makes good use of a wide range of monographs, diaries, memoirs, and other published sources to write a vivid account of the Nazis' rise and fall. While there is little in the way of original research, the volume will appeal to many instructors as an attractive option for course adoption (a paperback edition is available). Students may grumble about the book's considerable length as well as the extremely detailed treatment of the roots of the Third Reich and the National Socialists' seizure of power (the dictatorship is not consolidated until page 293). But this detail not only constitutes important background information but is vital to Fischer's argument about the exceptional nature of the Third Reich.

While Fischer acknowledges continuity in German history, he contends that ultimately the National Socialists were unique. He advances this argument by organizing the discussion in the first part of the book around five preconditions that produced National Socialism: the "existence of a hybrid society, half-feudal and half-industrial with longstanding militaristic and authoritarian traditions"; "the nationalization of the masses as an instrument of social control"; "the respectability of biological-racial beliefs"; "the traumatic effect . . . caused by military defeat and economic ruin"; and "the convergence of sociopathic personalities and xenophobic movements" (p. 19). These preconditions are explained in a clear and persuasive manner and provide a solid, if lengthy, primer on German history prior to 1933.

Fischer also devotes considerable attention to Adolf Hitler, whom he rightly sees as both psychopathic and central to the Nazi movement. He refutes the notion that Hitler was a "weak dictator" but strikes a very satisfying balance by also noting the importance of ministerial initiative and the existence of a polycratic state. Throughout the volume, Fischer navigates a careful course between the "intentionalist" and "functionalist/structuralist" interpretations of the origins of World War II and the Holocaust. He places credence

in Hitler's long-standing ambitions but acknowledges the importance of the subleaders in implementing *ad hoc* measures. This synthesis of competing interpretations is more compelling than the psychohistorical approach he adopts in an attempt to understand Hitler. Yet although theories explaining the development of Hitler's pathological personality prior to 1914 often appear speculative, they admittedly make for entertaining reading and stimulate classroom debate.

Fischer also keeps the reader engaged by striking a balance between narrative history and a discussion of the rich historiography of the field. The text includes references to important scholars without becoming bogged down with too many names. Fischer is deft in those instances when he offers critical appraisals of the work of previous scholars: his rejection of A. J. P. Taylor's portrayal of Hitler as an ordinary German statesman serves as a case in point. The endnotes will provide the reader with a sense of the historiography of the field, although there are occasions when Fischer fails to cite the best study on a subject. His references for the history of the Nazis' plundering of cultural objects, for example, omit the key studies. In this context, his citation of the work of problematic author David Irving—with no word of caution that this source is also a "Holocaust denier"—exacerbates matters. But for the most part, Fischer exhibits a good knowledge of the secondary literature.

This book appears to be aimed at university students and it has much to offer them. The chronology, the glossary of names, terms, and abbreviations, and the bibliography are extremely useful. Fischer's ability to interweave quotations from a wide range of contemporaries helps make the narrative vivid and comprehensible. And there is no neglect of important topics, such as who supported Hitler, the history of everyday life, and the gradual unfolding of the genocidal program. Fischer is particularly adept at rendering the diplomatic and military history: he does not lose any of the drama yet provides impressive scope and specificity. Similarly, his treatment of government and military structures and the key personnel is nuanced yet accessible. The conclusion, which focuses on the issue of German guilt and the debate about "mastering the past" that emerged during the *Historikerstreit* of the 1980s, conveys the still unresolved nature of this history and the passionate responses it evokes.

Despite the breadth and detail of this study, there are occasional lapses. For example, he fails to capitalize the word "Führer," misspells Tadeusz Borowski's first name, and omits Chelmno/Kulmhof as one of the six (not five as claimed) extermination camps. But these errors are rare and do not detract significantly from this impressive accomplishment. University professors dissatisfied with the brevity of existing textbooks will find Fischer's volume a compelling alternative.

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BRIGITTE STUDER. *Un Parti sous influence: Le Parti communiste Suisse, une section du Komintern 1931 à 1939*. Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme. 1994. Pp. 818.

Can it really be a worthwhile endeavor to write or to read an eight-hundred-page book about the Swiss Communist Party in the 1930s, an organization whose active membership numbered only 2,200 in 1931 and fell steadily to fewer than 1,000 by 1938? The party had no members at all in ten of the (then) twenty-two cantons, was significant only in Basel and Zurich cantons, and received between one and 1.8 percent of the vote in elections for the National Council. In 1939, it was banned in the Romande, and in 1940, it was prohibited and dissolved throughout the country. (In contrast, the Swiss Social Democratic Party, although equally powerless in the executive branch and the federal Council of States, received between twenty-two and twenty-six percent of the popular vote in elections for the National Council.) The answer to the question must nevertheless be yes, for two reasons.

First, the very minuteness of the party enables Brigitte Studer to analyze its membership and activities with a completeness not possible for a larger organization; for example, 108 pages in the appendix are devoted to a prosopography of the party's 340 leading figures. In its little Alpine terrarium, the Swiss party can serve as a kind of model of a Communist apparatus, its purity unsullied by the social upheavals or political crises present in larger nations. Swiss Communists are closely examined by Studer and revealed to have been in large majority male, German-speaking, resident in Basel or Zurich, and of working-class origin. Individual women, intellectuals, francophones, and foreigners were important, however, and one of the most prominent leaders, Jules Humbert-Droz, whose extensive writings provide an invaluable resource for Studer, was a former Calvinist pastor from Neuchâtel.

Second, and more significant, the country's geography and its lack of local issues enabled the Swiss party to play a role in the international Communist organization out of all proportion to its size. Fully one-third of the leadership worked directly for the Comintern at one time or another, and many lived in Moscow for years. The country's three languages made it a useful resource for the Comintern's Western and Central European bureaux, and it was the natural destination for Italian Communist exiles. Switzerland was a major refuge for German Communists after that party's destruction in 1933 (not, as Studer stresses, out of compassion for individual members, who were ruthlessly screened, but for the preservation of party records and assets). Neutral Swiss passports were forged for clandestine Communist agents from many different countries, and during the Spanish Civil War the country was a conduit for eastern Europeans being secretly smuggled into Spain.

Studer has made extensive use of the recently

opened Soviet archives, and her primary goal in writing this book is to demonstrate beyond a doubt what has generally been assumed but not proven before: that every action, every publication, every policy of the Swiss party (and, by implication, all national parties) was "under influence" of the Comintern, which was itself an agent of the Soviet party and totally dedicated to carrying out Moscow's foreign policy. Four chapters of the book are devoted to a description of the International and its transformation after 1929 into a highly centralized Stalinist instrument. The most difficult hurdle Swiss Communists had to jump was the initial "bolshevization" of the party that occurred between 1929 and 1931. The tightening of controls and the admonition to treat the Swiss socialists, who until this time had been allies, as "bourgeois fascists" resulted in confusion and a thirty-seven percent drop in membership. The remaining activists were conditioned to accept with relative stoicism such further shocks as the Comintern's indifference to the collapse of the German party, the revelations about the Moscow trials, and the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939. Some readers may find Studer's moral indignation, and her insistence on spelling Comintern with a K, to be a little intrusive, but her scholarship appears to be impeccable and her documentation is thorough and impressive.

One final note: students of Swiss history will not be surprised to learn that even under the Comintern's pressure for "democratic centralization," the party could not "escape entirely the federalist customs of the country and local and regional susceptibilities . . . Thus, Baselters never appreciate receiving directives from Zurichers, and Genevans look with great malevolence upon any meddling by German-speakers" (p. 177).

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THOMAS TUOHY. *Herculean Ferrara: Ercole D'Este, 1471-1505, and the Invention of a Ducal Capital*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xxxi, 534. \$95.00.

Thomas Tuohy spent three years in the d'Este archives in Modena preparing the thesis on which this book is based. The purpose of the book is to rescue the environment of the court and city that Ercole d'Este built from the obscurity into which it has fallen as the result of the poor rate of survival of its artifacts. An earthquake in 1570, the d'Este expulsion in 1598, and the bombardments of 1944 have had a devastating effect on the city's material fabric. Ercole's church patronage provides the most dramatic numbers: of twenty-six churches and monasteries built or remodeled, only five exist today in anything like their fifteenth-century state.

The Estense archives preserve a unique picture of fifteenth-century Italian court life. The registers of the

Uffizio delle Munitione e Fabbriche record building activity, and those of the Guardaroba preserve the payments for the trappings of the court—paintings, tapestries, textiles, and silver—in unprecedented volume. Tuohy's book reviews this material, and part of the reader's pleasure in it is very much the pleasure of archival work itself. One appreciates the orderly accumulation of evidence, but there is also real joy in the random discovery of some direct trace of the court's very distinctive form of life. We learn, for example, that when Ercole traveled to Venice in 1472, he brought a retinue of 600 persons. This knowledge has to affect our image of palace architecture and of any city dominated by a court.

The retinue is a characteristic subject of Tuohy's book. Its purpose was to display status and its manifestation was ephemeral. Short term investment consumed a large part of the state budget. Elaborately embroidered clothing, armor for chivalric games, the magnificent *bucintoro* (the state barge) were essential expenses of court life. Entertainment costs could be enormous. The wedding of Ercole's daughter Beatrice to Ludovico Sforza in 1491 cost as much as "two sizable convents." The cradle to display the couple's first born was said to be worth almost half that amount.

Architecture is treated in the context of this kind of expenditure, only "the most durable manifestation of princely magnificence." Tapestry was the most prized form of representation: expensive, sumptuous, and portable. On one occasion, it lined the walls of an apartment prepared for a distinguished visitor, on another it marked the presence of the duke at a public ceremony. Wall paintings were executed in the less expensive, but also less stable, *a secco* technique. They were often produced quickly to decorate a guest's apartment, and their subjects, when they extend beyond decorative patterns and heraldic devices, might be recent events at court.

Tuohy focuses on Ercole. Artists and administrative officers alike serve his will. His distinguished lineage, courtly training, military honors, and administrative career provide the background for his cultural interests. His patronage of productions of ancient comedy is set against his involvement with the arrangement of every detail of the ducal household. It is in this context that Tuohy views Ercole's interest in architecture. He documents the duke's daily attendance at building sites, the reports of his personal instructions to build or tear down some structure, and his wife's and his biographer's description of him as an "architect" to conclude that Ercole designed of many of his own projects. The book brings a new wealth of evidence to the argument about the activity of the architectural amateur in the Renaissance. Yet it stops short of demonstrating what kind of building the amateur produced. Tuohy says only that Ercole's architecture was pragmatic and "deceptive" (facades built without much structure behind). An analysis of the few surviving buildings associated with the duke might have revealed something more, especially had they been

compared to the documented work of the “muradore” and court engineer Biaggio Rossetti (traditionally credited with the design of Ercole’s buildings). This kind of close analysis of the physical evidence is lacking throughout the book. Reconstructions of lost structures, for which Tuohy says the evidence exists, are not undertaken.

This limitation aside, Tuohy has constructed a uniquely rich and authentic picture of one Italian court city. It includes an extended appendix of documents, the author’s inventory of the archives of the Camera Ducale, and an extremely valuable gazetteer of buildings raised during Ercole’s reign, including their fate in later years.

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MATTEO CASINI. *I gesti del principe: La festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale*. Foreword by RICHARD C. TREXLER. (Presente storico, number 2.) Venice: Saggi Marsilio. 1996. Pp. 448. L. 68,000.

By examining the state pageantry of Renaissance Venice and Florence together, Matteo Casini may seem to fall into the proverbial error of comparing apples and oranges, since the first state retained its republican government throughout the period, while the latter fell first under unofficial Medici domination and later under the open rule of dukes and grand-dukes. Casini gives much attention, however, to Florence’s republican foundations and to the survival in the new princely state of republican festivals such as San Giovanni. At the same time, he perceives an autocratic development in late fifteenth and sixteenth-century Venice, despite the persistence of republican forms.

The emphasis is definitely on state pageantry, with its government planning and political ends, rather than on more popular celebrations such as carnival (except in so far as that lighthearted festival was also manipulated by the establishment). The principal annual celebrations studied are the Ascension (abbreviated to “la Sensa”) in Venice and San Giovanni in Florence, but various others receive attention. The main extraordinary occasions are state visits and dynastic weddings (somewhat paralleled in Venice by two late sixteenth-century coronations of *dogaresse*). In Florence, state funerals were also instruments of propaganda. A unique triumphal occasion, reminiscent of antiquity, was provided for Venice (and Rome) by the victory at Lepanto. Florence had many more classicizing triumphal entries than the maritime city, but the latter’s reception of Henry III in 1574 was one of the grandest of the century and allowed the republic to present an unusually coherent and sublime image of itself. The organization of Casini’s comparative study is basically chronological, but he does not attempt to cover all important *feste* of the long period or to analyze completely those that are included. The aim is rather

to observe differences between the two states while tracing changes in each.

With his focus on political intentions, Casini expresses few esthetic judgments on the content of decorations and ceremonies. Like spectators of the time, however, any sensitive reader must see the *Serenissima*’s careful promotion of the “myth of Venice” as infinitely more appealing than the efforts of Cosimo I and his sons to reshape Florentine traditions in order to ape European royalty. In esthetic matters, the author seems at times to see the movement of classical revival as naturally connected to the progression of absolutism. This is assuredly not the case; classical forms served Florentine “civic humanism” and would similarly serve the *ancien régime*, the French Revolution, and Napoleon.

In seeking evidence of government intentions, Casini has consulted an extraordinary number of archival documents as well as contemporary festival accounts of all sorts. Richard C. Trexler points out in a preface that for the latter type of source, there is much difference between Florence and Venice. Because Venetians were less likely to record personal views in diaries and memoirs, scholars of that city must rely more on the accounts of foreign visitors, which fortunately are quite plentiful.

If the book’s bibliography of sources is large, that of studies consulted is truly vast and a remarkable testimony to the proliferation of works on festivals and ritual behavior in recent decades. Casini seems to have examined almost as many works on theory and method as he did on Renaissance Florence and Venice, and that, too, is an indication of recent directions in scholarship.

Some of the book’s conclusions are not very surprising. For example, the sinking of Florentine pageantry into an imitation of foreign monarchical practice and the weakening of Venetian republican pride are unhappily fairly familiar. More original and more interesting, at least to me, is Casini’s perception of the classical myth of the Golden Age as a link between the earlier “republican” Medici like Lorenzo and the later granddukes.

This book’s origin as a dissertation is evident in its excessively frequent quotation or paraphrasing of other scholars, which detracts greatly from its readability. There are, however, fresh material and fresh insights. We are clearly in the presence of an important new festival scholar.

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VICKIE B. SULLIVAN. *Machiavelli’s Three Romes: Religion, Human Liberty, and Politics Reformed*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1996. Pp. 235. \$30.00.

Vickie B. Sullivan’s study of Niccolò Machiavelli’s *Discourses* is divided into three parts and arguments.

In the first, she makes a persuasive (but not original) case for Machiavelli's sustained hostility toward the Roman Catholic Church and Christianity, underscoring Machiavelli's convictions that the church was to blame for Italy's disunity and the frequent interventions of foreign forces and that Christianity had weakened the states of the modern age by encouraging people to look beyond the duties and rewards of citizenship in the earthly realm. This reading of Machiavelli's unrelenting critique of the Rome of the Christian dispensation is solid and compelling. In part two, Sullivan turns her attention to Machiavelli's treatment of ancient Rome and astutely argues that, despite many passages in which this Rome is offered as the model of the perfect republic, he was ultimately critical of the Romans for their role in ensuring the triumph of Christianity and, in particular, for the way in which the plebeians were encouraged to accept misleading promises of "unseen" benefits from manipulative and charismatic leaders (from the Gracchi to Caesar to Christ) and thus to neglect the duties of the earthly city. Machiavelli was obviously aware that Christian Rome had emerged from the very soil of pagan Rome. But to claim that he believed that the Roman people first learned to desire distant and unseen benefits—and thus, ultimately, Christianity's promise of salvation—as a result of the resumption of the agrarian laws by the Gracchi, at a time when much of the contested land was literally distant from Rome and therefore unseen by its people, seems rather farfetched. More plausible is Sullivan's contention that Machiavelli recognized a similarity between Caesar's attraction of a devoted following, his martyrdom, and his elevation to the status of a god whose successors ruled over the Roman people in his name and Christ's analogous accomplishments.

Throughout the first two parts of her book, Sullivan regularly promises the revelation of a third Machiavellian Rome, the Rome of his "dark imagination" (p. 156) and his dreams for "the establishment of a new epoch" (p. 176). But these promises remain unfulfilled. Sullivan explains the paucity of direct textual evidence for Machiavelli's "third Rome" with the argument that he felt it necessary to "disguise his intent" (p. 10) "behind his masks" (p. 172) "through his mastery of artful equivocation" (p. 120) in cryptic writing that needs to be deciphered from slyly planted clues. But given that Machiavelli wrote so many hard-hitting pages about popes and Christianity and princes and powerful Florentines without pulling any punches, there is no obvious reason why he should have wanted or needed to encode his prescription for a "new Rome" in allusively secret language. Moreover, the central element of that "new Rome," according to Sullivan, turns out to be a well-known aspect of Machiavelli's thought: the necessity of punishing ambitious leaders who become corrupted by their success and build private factions. But Sullivan exaggerates the point when she attributes to Machiavelli an insistence on the "life-giving properties of . . . spectacular execu-

tions" (p. 157) and a recommendation in favor of "the horrifying practice of sacrificing at consistent intervals a promising youth" (p. 9). The *esecuzioni* that, according to Machiavelli (in *Discourses* 3.1), could have kept the Romans from sliding into factionalism and corruption had they been regularly implemented, were enforcements of the law, or judicial prosecutions, which sometimes led to the execution of the accused but did not necessarily do so. Machiavelli's emphasis was on holding a republic's leaders to the laws through fear of indictment and thus on the rule of (sometimes harsh) law.

Sullivan's original twist to the idea that Machiavelli advocated the threat of dire punishment as a remedy for the corruption into which pagan Rome had let the world fall is the claim that, covertly and paradoxically, he took as his model for this necessary harshness an essential but little recognized aspect of the Christian god himself. The only evidence for this argument is the appearance here and there of a few words like *peccati* (sins, but also faults) and *prieghi* (prayers, but also entreaties), which Sullivan considers borrowed from a specifically Christian vocabulary. In fact, in Machiavelli's day such terms had meanings that were sometimes Christian and sometimes perfectly secular.

The problems of part three point to the methodological weaknesses of a book that seems written in a historical vacuum. Sullivan's reading of the texts is isolated from their cultural and linguistic context (even when her argument depends on understanding exactly what particular words might have meant to Machiavelli) and from contemporary debates about religion, Rome, and politics. It is also isolated from much of the richest and best modern scholarship on Machiavelli: Sullivan's bibliography is curiously limited to works in English, when in fact most of the serious work on the *Discourses* is by French and Italian scholars. Especially for the themes treated in this book, an essential point of reference should have been Gennaro Sasso's fundamental study of Machiavelli's views on Rome and its detractors in the first volume of his *Machiavelli e gli antichi* (1987).

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GIOVANNA BENADUSI. *A Provincial Elite in Early Modern Tuscany: Family and Power in the Creation of the State*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 14th Series, number 3.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 259. \$45.00.

With the centralization of the Medicean regional state in sixteenth-century Tuscany, the small hilltop town of Poppi became the administrative center of the vicariate of the Casentino. From the middle of the twelfth century, the town and region of northwest Tuscany had been one of the political centers for the great feudal lords, the Counts Guidi. The ruins of the tower erected by the Guidi allies of the Emperor Frederick Bar-

barosa still stand. At mid-thirteenth century, the town walls and castle were constructed, indicating that a small provincial town had sprung up around this strategic center. Giovanna Benadusi's study of this provincial town commences with a brief sketch of the tangled and embittered relations between the expanding Florentine territorial state and Poppi's Guidi overlords. At the battle of Anghiari in 1439, the Florentines defeated the forces of Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan and his allies from Poppi; in the next year the city and its territory came under Florentine dominion.

Benadusi's monograph attempts a detailed explication of the relationship between the Florentine government and the town of Poppi. Her account picks up speed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with establishment of the consolidation of the Medicean state, and her findings confirm the results of broader inquiries by R. Burr Litchfield, E. Fasano Guarini, and Judith Brown. The Florentine government extended its influence through administrative, cultural, and financial strategies in an effort to construct a stable and prosperous regional state. In comparative terms, it was a success, and whereas no proper accounting system can measure the balance of costs, it can be proposed that provincial towns gained from the security and stability the Medicean regime provided.

Benadusi's principal interest is in the adaptive tactics used by Poppi's local elite to adjust to changing political, social, and economic circumstances. After a familiar rehearsal of the demographic, economic, and military difficulties of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, she assembles the profiles of thirty-one "surrogate groups of families" (leading citizens), demonstrating how they coped with both the structural changes of the age and the demands of Medicean rule. For the most part, these provincial families were composed of notaries, druggists, wool merchants, and landowners. Clearly they crossed lines while engaging in a variety of activities. Among the transitions noted were shifts from notary to lawyer, merchant to landowner, and family business to military service. The most original part of the book treats the formation of the territorial militia, which was much more than the bright idea of a Niccolò Machiavelli. Military historians, and especially political scientists with their obsession for rhetoric, have failed to appreciate the fact that the Florentine militia had a long, albeit inefficient, history.

In discussing the small provincial "elite" and their marital, business, and professional choices, Benadusi argues that these were successful responses to the intrusion of Medicean rule into the region as well as to secular economic trends. To measure success, it would be necessary to see how many families actually survived well into the eighteenth century. Moreover, it would be necessary to compare these tactics with those of other regions in northern and central Italy. I find little difference in strategies for preserving patrimony and influence in Poppi over and against scores of other

similar towns. Benadusi's monograph and its findings could have been profitably reduced to a journal article.

In the introduction to this book, Benadusi advises the reader that she will not be bound by "traditional interpretations of the state which use urban, patrilineal, hierarchical, and male-defined categories of analysis to redraw the conceptual uniformity that precludes space for class, gender, and contextual diversity" (p. 9). Fortunately, this claim is not vindicated by her research; otherwise male historians might be compelled to abandon the study of medieval history with its hierarchies, the Renaissance with its patrilinear descent, and urban history in its entirety.

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SIMON DITCHFIELD. *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 397. \$79.95.

It has long been recognized that the religious controversies generated by the Reformation stimulated historical research in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe. In particular, the Protestant attack on the Roman Catholic Church as a deviation from pure origins forced Catholics to rewrite church history according to more rigorous critical standards. The most famous result of their labors appeared in Rome between 1588 and 1607: the *Annales ecclesiastici* of Cesare Baronio, which examined the Roman Church from its beginnings to 1198. Throughout, Baronio had but one purpose and one purpose only: to demonstrate that the institutions, beliefs, and liturgical practices of the church were consistent with its original apostolic mission.

Simon Ditchfield takes for granted the contributions to the development of historical scholarship made by Baronio and other practitioners in Tridentine Rome. He aims to move into uncharted territory and to explore seventeenth-century Italian erudition at the provincial level. What was happening here has often been characterized as a degraded form of the high-level erudition pioneered by Baronio and his entourage, but Ditchfield argues that things were not so simple. After Trent, local dioceses were faced with the church's new resolve to regularize forms of worship. A first step in this direction was the proclamation of the revised Roman breviary of 1568 as the sole standard for the daily offices. In 1588, the Sacred Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies was established to determine the authenticity of local liturgical practices. It was in response to such initiatives that local erudition began to flourish. The imperative was to shore up and substantiate saints' cults and to justify and vindicate the validity of long-standing traditions of popular piety. This effort required conformity to the new standards of historical scholarship that had been set by Rome.

The focal point of Ditchfield's study is Pietro Maria Campi (1569–1649) of Piacenza, a figure usually relegated to the darker corners in discussions of historical scholarship in the period. If Campi is famous for anything, it is for his *campanilismo*, which sometimes led him to absurd lengths, as when he tried to prove the Piacentine origins of Christopher Columbus. Too often, Campi showed himself willing to sacrifice the exigencies of scholarship to the drive for local glory; the Bollandists later had a field day picking to pieces his lives of Piacentine saints. With such an unlikely hero, it is amazing that Ditchfield can make his case stick. His argument is that Campi's work in the field of sacred history should not be seen as a curiosity of local antiquarianism running amok. It represents rather a serious effort to create an "historical basis for reformed local religious practice consonant with the exigencies and aspirations of the regularizing Tridentine Church" (p. 97). In other words, Campi is to be taken seriously as a historian, indeed as one of the unsung contributors to the formation of modern historical scholarship.

To prove his point Ditchfield offers an extended and detailed examination of Campi's entire *oeuvre*, moving from the revision of the Piacentine Offices (1598–1610) to Campi's lives of Piacentine saints, his unsuccessful bid to promote the canonization of the Piacentine Pope Gregory X, and, finally, to his masterwork, the posthumously published *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica di Piacenza* (3 vols., 1651–1662). Ditchfield is above all seeking to inscribe Campi's work within the context of Tridentine culture. In the end, the picture we get brilliantly illustrates the role of Tridentine reform as a stimulus to local erudition. Campi and others like him were rising in their own way to the challenge of reform, using the tools of historical research forged by Baronio to justify the existence of local privileges and traditions. The hope that such traditions might be ratified by the Sacred Congregation explains the explosion of local erudition in seventeenth-century Italy. In a concluding chapter, Ditchfield offers a rapid sketch of Ferdinando Ughelli (1596–1670), whose nine-volume *Italia Sacra* (1644–1662) may be regarded as the culmination of this neglected strain of Catholic scholarship.

This is not a book for everyone. Nonspecialists will probably find it hard going. For those with a serious interest in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italy, however, it is a valuable contribution that illuminates a whole world of concerns too often passed over in silence. Most importantly, it brings to light new elements for the ongoing scholarly debate over the nature and role of historical research as practiced in early modern Europe.

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ANGELO TORRE. *Il consumo di devozioni: Religione e comunità nelle campagne dell'Ancien Régime*. (Storia e

scienze sociali.) Venice: Marsilio. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 362. L. 64,000.

As is normal for a research monograph, this book delivers slightly less than its title suggests. Angelo Torre offers an analysis of the relations between the structures of the Roman Catholic Church and the lay communities in three dioceses in Piedmont, Alba, Asti, and Mondovì, during the two centuries after 1570. He uses as basic source material the records of forty-eight pastoral visitations conducted by the local bishops or their vicars-general over this period. It needs to be said at the outset that analyses of Italian pastoral visitations are appallingly numerous. Umberto Mazzone and Angelo Turchini have published a manual for the use of pastoral visitations, *I Visiti pastorali: Analisi di una fonte* (1985); an appendix to that work lists some 600 dissertations and other works based on such records. Nor is the structure of the Piedmontese church at this period unknown to historians, having received a full-dress treatment from Achille Erba in *La Chiesa Sabauda tra Cinque e Seicento* (1979).

Torre's work attempts something slightly different from this legion of administrative church histories. He approaches the subject from a different starting point, having hitherto written chiefly on the secular political structures of rural communities. Torre shows acute awareness of the complex tissue of jurisdictions and overlapping circles of authority and influence that were a feature of *ancien régime* society; he is anxious to move away from an overly simplistic analysis of a monolithic, authoritarian church confronting a passive and amorphous laity. The core of the work considers four themes. First, there is a discussion of the parish itself. It turns out to be surprisingly difficult to define the limits of the parish, even to establish what was the "parish church" in some places. This section also embraces a discussion of communion: the persistence of the medieval habit of giving the laity unconsecrated wine with the host is interesting (p. 62), as is the concern of the visitors with the custom of requiring money offerings to be made at communion (p. 59). Here one worries slightly about the extent of Torre's knowledge: in all the discussion of "ritual pacts," he shows no clear awareness that to demand money in exchange for spiritual services constitutes the sin of simony.

The second theme is that of parochial associations and parochial charity. This discussion resolves itself chiefly into an exploration of the confraternities of the discipline and the brotherhoods of the Holy Spirit; there appears to be a technical difference between a *confraternita* and a *confraria*, although it is less certain how this worked out in practice. Here a contrast emerges between the lay custom of communal religious banqueting and the visitors' ideals of selective charity to the truly needy. The third section, focusing on "devotion and relationships," provides a detailed survey of the families of parochial patrons, rights of patronage over churches and altars, and the social

condition of the lesser diocesan clergy, including blood relationships to the patronal family. In the fourth section, on "the consumption of devotions," Torre considers the emergence during the seventeenth century of a village elite, through whom the hierarchy organized the renewal and elaboration of worship, notably the burgeoning cult of St. Joseph.

The book appears to convey the overall lesson that the Catholic Church after Trent was a much more complex, less simply hierarchical institution than conventional church history implies. The ideals of an isolated clerical hierarchy presiding over an independent and authoritative priesthood in a free-standing church remained just ideals, at least in the uplands of northwestern Italy. Among other things, the book offers a more balanced view of pastoral visitations than some religious histories. Torre does not just concentrate on that part of the visitation where the visitor denounced the eccentric religious practices of the laity; he does full justice to the bulk of the documents, which discussed the parish church, its jurisdictional position and cultic equipment, the personnel of the clergy, and their activities. This constitutes a valuable corrective to an overly simple notion of "Catholic Reformation." It also shows that the centuries after Trent were not characterized by a uniform progress toward an ideal but by waves of central pressure on local institutions. Unfortunately, much of the book is written in a wordy social historians' jargon that even fluent readers of Italian may well find impenetrable and daunting. It is to be hoped that this defect will not detract too much from the impact of Torre's thoughtful and subtle analysis.

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LUCIANO ALLEGRA. *Identità in bilico: Il ghetto ebraico di Torino nel Settecento*. Turin: Silvio Zamorani. 1996. Pp. 341. L. 36,000.

This is a new book: new in style, new in method, new in its conclusions. And it is a pity that it exists solely in a highly polished Italian flush with myriad details that will deter all but the stalwart, whose efforts, nevertheless, will be amply repaid. Luciano Allegra has set out to present a tableau of Jewish life and culture in the Ghetto of seventeenth-century Turin. His title is apt. How, he asks, did well over ninety-five percent of Turin's Jews resist the pressures consistently applied upon them to convert? His first three chapters tell the story of those who faltered: children who were seized forcibly; women who converted in despair that otherwise they would never marry, achieve status, and bear children; and men—three for every woman and almost all in their early twenties—whose motives invariably involved gain. There is nothing surprising in this picture, as studies of Jewish conversion in nineteenth-century Germany and England corroborate. True converts are rare, whose completed rite of passage is often

marked by vitriolic literature attacking their original faith. Their number in Turin was extraordinarily low: 112 Turinese Jews out of an average Jewish population of 1,250 during the two hundred years between 1720 and 1902 for which the *ospizio di catecumeni* kept records. Putatively, these numbers could have been higher, since Turinese Jewish families, especially large ones, habitually invested the preponderance of their patrimonies in dowries, leaving males with few capital reserves to meet their own needs. Precisely these males were more prone to convert.

Allegra builds his conclusions on a painstaking search in the Archivio di Stato di Torino, from which he culled thousands of documents whose riches he reveals in detailed appendixes listing personal possessions, records of banking, and books contained (and read?) in personal libraries.

What held Turinese Jewry together was not some romanticized sense of manifest—religious or national—destiny, as certain historians were once fond of proclaiming. Instead, what linked these Jews were the networks created by bankers: not the Rothschilds or Germany's court Jews, but rather small lenders who, to survive on what Allegra demonstrates were pitifully low interest rates, had to use associates, often cognates, to purchase unredeemed pledges at public auctions. This networking extended to all phases of life. To convert meant to lose one's social anchor. Moreover, the Turinese Ghetto was actually a single building, where the "promiscuity" of life carried on in common helped mold a remarkably homogeneous Jewish culture. Not only were most Jews financially on a rough par (and the rich and the poor were neither too far ahead nor behind), but their levels of consumption and the specific commodities they consumed were also much alike. There was only so much one could spend, given the limited physical conditions. The rest went primarily into dowries.

Traditionalists will likely have trouble with this book's pragmatic view of conversion and survival; Allegra himself stresses that there are aspects of consciousness that elude quantification. They may also feel that high culture has been ignored, even though Jewish high culture at Turin barely existed, a remarkable fact considering the high percentage of Turinese Jews who, following emancipation in the nineteenth century, have stood at the forefront of Italian Jewish intellectual and political life. Allegra's picture will require testing, contrast, and probably perfecting. Nonetheless, he has erected a sturdy platform on which to build, heartening me, in particular, in my own work on Roman Jewry in the sixteenth century that also reveals homogeneity and networking against the backdrop of a weak intellectual base. I hope that this excellent book will soon be available in English.

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RODOLFO TAIANI. *Il governo dell'esistenza: Organizzazione sanitaria e tutela della salute pubblica in Trentino*

nella prima metà del XIX secolo. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, number 24.) Bologna: Mulino. 1995. Pp. 398. L. 45,000.

FRANK M. SNOWDEN. *Naples in the Time of Cholera, 1884–1911.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 478. \$59.95.

As Rodolfo Taiani points out in his introduction, historians of modern Italy have only belatedly begun to turn their attention to the “sociology of disease” and the “politics of health” (pp. 9, 10). Both books under review consciously seek to bring Italian historiography into line with the rest of Europe, where history of medicine already boasts a rich bibliography. The current approach differs from traditional medical history, which confined itself to following the “internal” development of scientific ideas within medical elites. Instead, the new history of medicine places changes in medical diagnosis and treatment within a larger “external” context that includes politics, economics and society. Special emphasis is put on the experience of patients, who often received treatments quite different from those prescribed by the most advanced medical texts. Both of the books under review adopt this new, wide-lens approach to the history of health, although their objects are quite different. Taiani examines the largely rural province of Trent during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, while Frank M. Snowden’s focus is on the largest city of Italy—Naples—during the half-century after unification.

The two books differ markedly in scope and sophistication. That by Taiani appears to be the work of a young scholar and has all the limitations of a revised dissertation. While mentioning the larger European context, it restricts its primary documentation to one province, and its conclusions are rather cautious. On the other hand, Snowden writes with the ease of an established scholar, gathering evidence from both Italy and the United States and using his case study to question received wisdom not only about the history of medicine but also about the nature of the liberal parliamentary regime that emerged from the Risorgimento. Through his investigation of cholera epidemics in 1884 and 1910–1911, he adds important dimensions to our knowledge of Italian emigration to the Americas, national health policy, the relationship between the central state and municipal politics, the “southern question,” and the quality of life of the urban poor.

Despite these differences, the books share a number of common themes. Both constitute local studies of how the medical theory called “miasmatism” or “anti-contagionism” was translated into practice by health officials. According to the proponents of miasmatism, disease did not spread through contagion from one person to another but originated in soil contaminated by rotting animal and vegetable matter. Such matter was carried to humans by infected water or stale and fetid air. That miasmatism dominated health policy in both late eighteenth-century Trent and late nineteenth-century Naples shows how reluctant many doc-

tors were to adopt the opposing theory of contagionism, even after Robert Koch’s discoveries made the germ theory of disease seemingly irrefutable.

Based on the miasmatic theory, health officials in Trent and Naples recommended similar preventive measures: the removal of cemeteries from residential neighborhoods, improved garbage collection, new sewage systems to guarantee pure drinking water, wider streets and roomier housing for better circulation of air, and the transfer of crafts and industries that produced noxious wastes outside city limits. Taiani traces the slow implementation of these reforms in Trent during a period when the enlightened idea that the state had a responsibility to protect public health was new to Europe in general. Progress was slowed in Trent by the frequent political ruptures caused by the Napoleonic wars, Austrian restoration, and Italian unification as well as the general poverty of this outlying rural province. In Naples, health reform occurred more quickly as part of a major plan for urban renewal that the national state funded after the outbreak of cholera in 1884. While this plan promised to clear the slums of the lower city near the port, build new and more airy housing on higher ground for the displaced population, replace the narrow streets of the central city with wide boulevards, and rebuild the crumbling system of water supply and sewage, only some of the reforms had been completed by the next and final outbreak of cholera in 1910–1911.

A second issue common to both books is the relation of the state to the health of its citizens. Although Taiani has to deal with a number of different governments that ruled Trent, he finds all of them concerned in some degree with implementing the new Enlightenment philosophy of state intervention to protect public health. Each issued legislation seeking to prevent the miasmatic conditions that were thought to cause disease as well as reorganizing health personnel and subjecting them to state control. While such legislation was often unenforced before the 1830s, it nevertheless showed that even officials in rather rural and politically marginal areas were aware of the general European trend toward raising the professional qualifications of doctors, surgeons, midwives, pharmacists, and veterinarians.

In the case of Naples, a network of “communal” doctors was already in place at the time of the outbreak of the cholera epidemic of 1884. Although some of them championed the new theories of Koch against the traditional miasmatism, the national state perpetuated the older theory by throwing its funding into a plan of urban renewal based on the cleansing of the subsoil and water of Naples. It is impossible in a short review to convey the richness and complexity of Snowden’s reconstruction of the national debates about the guidelines for urban renewal, the development of the actual plan by the Neapolitan city council, and its incomplete implementation by a private company riven by patronage, greed, and incompetence. Even more astounding is his careful reconstruction of

the fifth and final cholera epidemic in 1910–1911, a reconstruction made quite difficult as the government of Prime Minister Giolitti denied that any such outbreak had occurred in order to preserve the image of Italy as a modern and healthy nation and to prevent disruption of the Neapolitan economy. So desperate was his government to maintain this fiction that it published false health statistics, censored the mail of local officials, brought criminal charges against doctors diagnosing cholera, bribed the press, and harassed American consular officials who reported the real situation back to Washington. In so doing, Giolitti broke the Paris Convention of 1903 (requiring the reporting of all cases of cholera to international authorities) and facilitated the spread of the disease to New York and Buenos Aires by unsuspecting but infected immigrants.

A third theme addressed by both authors is that of the often conflictual relationship between doctors and their patients. In late eighteenth-century Trent, professionally trained physicians were only beginning to assert their authority over barber-surgeons, midwives, and other local healers trusted by the poor. Taiani's fascinating account of the process of "medicalization" complicates the usual story of a clear-cut opposition between traditional folk practitioners and modern doctors. In Trent, communal governments, often with the support of physicians, tended to exempt traditional healers from new regulations prescribing professional training and certification. In the case of midwives, for example, older women who had served a rural community well for many years were excused from the courses and examinations required of new recruits. For a period of transition, then, Trent had two parallel networks of personnel, one educated and the other using traditional methods. In this way, state-employed doctors were able gradually to assert control over public health without alienating the poor. Some physicians even recognized the wisdom of traditional methods and systematically recorded folk remedies. Taiani thus concludes that modern health policies in Trent were not simply imposed by the state from the top down but were developed in interaction with the local population.

In late nineteenth-century Naples, distrust of doctors was also widespread. Snowden argues persuasively that the initial response of the state to the epidemic of 1884—using police to enforce quarantines—only fueled the antipathy of the urban poor toward physicians. Cholera created "literal class warfare" as hysteria gripped the city leading to riots, witch hunts for suspected scapegoats, and conspiracies to conceal the sick from medical authorities (p. 138). Popular resistance abated only when a private organization, the White Cross, substituted persuasion for force. Banning police from its efforts, the White Cross initiated a campaign of public education by doctors in poor neighborhoods. This volunteeristic approach worked so well that antipathy toward the medical establishment

seems to have disappeared by the 1910–1911 outbreak of cholera.

In the end, these two works leave the reader with quite different impressions of the "politics of health" in modern Italy. In Trent, the state appears well-intentioned—if inefficient and tardy—in its efforts to organize a modern system of public health care. Naples presents a quite different picture; there both local and national government treated the poor with contempt, sending armed police against them in 1884 and fomenting a propaganda of lies in 1910–11. Officials at the highest levels were willing to sacrifice human lives on the altar of Italy's international reputation. Neither study devotes enough attention to gender, although women appear fleetingly as midwives in Trent and as protestors against quarantine in Naples. Equipped with excellent bibliographies, both books should inspire further research into the ways in which the new history of medicine can enrich our understanding of modern Italy.

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JANET HART. *New Voices in the Nation: Women and the Greek Resistance, 1941–1964*. (Wilder House Series in Politics, History, and Culture.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 313. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Some thirty years before Janet Hart conducted her field research, R. V. Burks interviewed a number of individuals who had been in the Greek leftist resistance movement (EAM), including members of the Greek Communist Party (KKE). When Burks did his "interrogations," his subjects were still in prison, either tried by courts for crimes against the state or arrested and held as dangerous to public order. Burks interviewed those, male and female, who agreed to sign declarations of repentance. He considered it "useless to approach the non-repentants" (*The Dynamics of Communism in Eastern Europe* [1961], p. 24). Burks's purpose was to analyze the social or class basis of the Communist movements that by then had come to power in eastern Europe. The women he interviewed in one prison did not have much formal education, seemed to have little knowledge of or interest in world affairs, said they had become party supporters because they were promised material goods, and now denounced communism as an evil, turning against it and toward the right if they expressed any preferences in current political life. At the time of Burks's study, Greece was firmly in the hands of a rightist government. *Ethnikofrosini*, a national-patriotic mentality composed of virulent anticommunism, ethnic exclusivity, and support for Greek Orthodoxy predominated; "others" were labeled *symmorites* (bandits and gangsters), their voices muzzled, and memory of their actions erased from the official collective identity.

How different was the situation when Hart worked in Greece. It is important to note this in order to

understand how profoundly recent Greek history was affected by the events of the 1940s. In the 1980s, a socialist government was in power. One of its avowed goals was to bring about a healing of the breach, stemming from the events of the 1940s, that had divided Greek society. The left had come into its own as the resistance (*antistasi*), and its wartime contributions against the foreign occupiers were officially recognized by the state. The "others" now had a voice in the nation through memoirs, diaries, documents, interviews, organizations, and documentaries. It was the right moment, and Hart was in the right place to engage the past through its survivors in the present. But, as Hart is aware, there are issues that confront the researcher precisely because of such seemingly favorable circumstances.

This book examines the potential for social mobilization by an organization committed to political and social change in a time of crisis. Within this theoretical framework, it considers the Greek resistance and its impact on the women who joined it. The work is an empathetic and sympathetic postmodernist study of the problems related to gender. Hart is motivated as much by engaged scholarly analysis of the past as by a commitment to social justice in the future.

The temporal framework of the study runs from the organizing of the resistance, when Greece was an occupied country, to the mid-1960s, when a center-left government had just been elected and most prisoners from the civil war were released. But the greater part of the work is concerned with the wartime era up to the start of the civil war in 1946; a final chapter covers the remaining years. Hart's theoretical framework is as much in the foreground of the study as the specific events. She draws on an array of recent studies from social science disciplines to weave a coherent and intellectually challenging narrative. In particular, Hart relies heavily on the ideas of Antonio Gramsci for her analysis and interpretation of the politics of social mobilization.

By choice, Hart leaves out a great deal when it comes to the historical events of the time: the nature, policies, and strategy and tactics of the KKE; the motives and significance of many of the political and military (male) leaders of the resistance; the role of outside forces; the changing nature of the left in tactics; and its recruitment of members once the civil war commenced.

To the historian, three elements stand out both for their intellectual creativity and for the concerns they raise about the study of the past. The first is the use of Gramsci's ideas as both text *and* context. Hart depicts the Greek resistance as a force for mobilizing social groups and understanding the cultural factors involved in seeking to bring about modernist change. There certainly was an element of social progress in the political vision of the resistance, which it pursued at first through moderate rather than violent means. But to what degree this was practiced and to what extent the leadership believed in this goal and stayed with it

as it confronted its opponents are questions that are still debatable. Hart also seeks to draw out possible influences and interactions between Gramsci and Greek intellectuals, raising questions about how influential Gramsci's ideas were and, more importantly, whether they had any real impact on Greek leftists of that era.

This leads to the second issue of creativity and concern for the historian. Unable to determine if there was any direct conduct between Gramsci and people like the demoticist intellectual Dimitrios Glinos, Hart relies on "historical imagination" (p. 63) to assert a common culture of antifascist thought in Europe. Although an intellectually stimulating exercise, it skirts historical factualness.

The third issue is how to treat the perceptions and memory of the women the author interviewed. Were they recalling historical reality, or were they reinventing their past as justification for the hardship they suffered later and as self-validation? And, as Hart asks, when some of the commentary from the men whom she interviewed contradicts the idea that equality for women was a real goal of the resistance, what is to be made of their testimonies?

Through her research, Hart highlights three positive aspects of the historical significance of the left resistance in Greece: the ability of EAM to gain a following among significant numbers of people who were hoping for social and civic change; the appeal of the resistance policy of constructing a national society through defensive nationalism; and the expectations raised among women for future civic equality.

In using the Greek case as a means to explore the possibilities of change in other societies at a later time, Hart engages in ahistoricism and the transhistorical use of the past, the perils of which she recognizes. Nevertheless, her account amplifies our understanding of the recent historical legacy in Greece while placing it in a wider spatial and theoretical perspective.

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JAMES RAMON FELAK. *"At the Price of the Republic": Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, 1929–1938.* (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies, number 20.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 263. \$59.95.

On January 1, 1993, Slovak nationalism achieved the goal of all nationalist movements, an independent state. The upsurge of Slovak nationalism in Czechoslovakia after the "Velvet Revolution" in 1989 was no novelty but a contemporary manifestation of a problem that had shaped the country's history since 1918: what should be the political relations between Czechs and Slovaks? In interwar Czechoslovakia, the most intransigent advocate for a separate, autonomous Slovak nation was Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (HSPP), named for its charismatic leader, the Catholic priest Andrej Hlinka. James Ramon Felak's study of this

party focuses on the HSPP's struggle to achieve its goals within the Czechoslovak political system during the 1930s, ending in October 1938, when in the aftermath of the Munich crisis Slovak autonomy was finally established. Although it is a subject which has often been treated in a polemical fashion, Felak's approach is well-grounded and balanced.

In a concise introductory chapter, Felak summarizes the emergence of a modern Slovak nationalist movement during the nineteenth century. He assesses the factors that led Slovak representatives, including Hlinka, to join with the Czechs in 1918, and then surveys developments during the 1920s. A second chapter explores the populist ideology and program of the HSPP, relying on speeches by key figures and the official party press. Felak characterizes the HSPP as nationalist, autonomist, and Roman Catholic. As Slovak nationalists, the populists rejected the official concept of a "Czechoslovak nation" affirmed in the 1920 constitution while seeking to retain the status of "state-bearing" (*státotvorný*) nation for the Slovaks, to set them apart from the national minorities in Czechoslovakia. As autonomists, they opposed the centralized system created in 1920, basing their demands on the Pittsburgh Agreement signed by Tomáš G. Masaryk, Czechoslovakia's first president, during World War I. As Roman Catholics, the populists suspected the liberal, anticlerical attitudes of Czechs in general and many of their political opponents in particular. Their identification of Slovak nation and Catholic religion strengthened the anti-Semitism that was a feature of much populist rhetoric. It also made it difficult for the HSPP to cooperate with the no less nationalist, but Lutheran, Slovak National Party. Throughout the 1930s, the HSPP presented the nationalist panacea of autonomy as the cure for all the political, economic, and social problems of Slovakia.

In the remaining five chapters, Felak analyzes the course of populist politics through the 1930s. He concentrates on policy formation by the party's leadership as the HSPP sought the best way to pursue national recognition and autonomy for Slovakia and on the interplay between the HSPP, its rivals in Slovakia, and the central government in Prague. Felak argues that certain features of the Czechoslovak system doomed the HSPP to perpetual opposition unless it compromised its demands. Proportional representation and the presence of strong "Czechoslovak" Slovaks in other parties meant that the HSPP was never essential to the creation of a majority governing coalition. It never gained more than a plurality of voters in any parliamentary or local elections before 1938. The HSPP had difficulty finding suitable allies among government parties, due to ideological incompatibility with the socialists and substantive and personality clashes with the Czech Catholic People's Party. Right-wing Czech opposition parties cared little about Slovakia and were anticlerical, while autonomist opposition parties (Hungarian, German, Ruthenian, or

Polish) clashed with Slovak nationalism as well as with Prague's centralism.

Felak also clarifies the HSPP's struggles with internal factional rivalries that pitted clergymen against laymen, Hlinka's home-town friends from Ružomberok against others, and traditional clerical nationalists against younger, more radical activists. Nazi-style ideology and tactics attracted the radicals, some of whom also looked abroad to Poland or Germany. Hlinka indulged the young radicals while leaving the traditionalists in positions of power in the party apparatus. He also failed to settle on a successor before he died in August 1938. By that time, the combined internal and external crisis that culminated in Munich was peaking, and it was only this combination of forces, Felak argues, that enabled the HSPP to achieve Slovak autonomy.

Based on extensive archival research in Prague and Bratislava as well as published contemporary sources, Felak's study is now the best work on the HSPP in English. It will not be the last word, however. Although his approach helps illuminate the factional struggles out of which party policies emerged and the systemic forces that kept it from success until the republic collapsed, Felak only touches on other topics worthy of further research. What motivated HSPP support among the population? How was it distributed regionally, by occupational, social, or age group? What was the relationship between the HSPP and the Catholic Church in Slovakia or other significant non-party institutions? Whoever pursues these questions will find Felak's book an indispensable starting point and an excellent example of even-handed scholarship.

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CHRISTOPH SCHMIDT. *Sozialkontrolle in Moskau: Justiz, Kriminalität und Leibeigenschaft 1649–1785*. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa, number 44.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1996. Pp. 500. DM 166.

This careful and bold study is the first comprehensive tale of "crime and punishment" in Moscow and of the workings of the judicial system in the years 1649–1785. It is also an attempt to define and understand the limits of social control in early modern Russia. In the process, Christoph Schmidt convincingly establishes the links between the system of criminal justice and the all-pervasive institution of serfdom. The human stories that illustrate specific cases and the wealth of data organized in twenty-two tables are woven together by energetic, lucid prose and sociological sophistication into one impressive tapestry.

Unintimidated by Michel Foucault and his many followers, Schmidt emphasizes the narrow empirical base of Foucault's much celebrated work, *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and thus its limited applicability. He reviews the literature on historical criminality, considers different judicial concepts, and defines social con-

trol as both formal, when enacted by the state, and informal, when manifested in the constraints of society.

Schmidt sees in early modern Russia three different but complementary legal systems: bureaucratic, private, and common law. He is interested in all of them, but it is the first one—which produced most of the written sources—on which he is compelled to rely. Schmidt distinguishes several characteristics of the bureaucratic legal system in Russia. It was ahistorical (discontinuity was a norm), monological (of no contractual nature), lacked definitiveness, centralized until the 1770s (unlike Western Europe, the central authority in Russia was not tempered by local ones, which were eviscerated in the sixteenth-century terror campaigns of Ivan IV), exclusive (the elite character of the law with no basis for appeal), and informal (with few symbols and rituals).

But all of this, Schmidt suggests, is only a surface, and the country's legal system was much like the permafrost soil of northern Russia. Not far beneath the surface of state laws lay another system of justice, the "*Hausjustiz*," the serf law of the estates and the common law. One judicial system was based on written law, another on tradition. The existence of the two systems of justice next to each other undermined an attempt to concentrate power in government hands. Serfdom, Schmidt argues, served as a justification of the existing justice system and of central control. Serfdom undercut not only economic but also administrative and cultural developments in Russia, impeding the rise of legal consciousness and thus informal social control.

The empirical part of the book focuses on the city of Moscow and is based on a wide array of archival sources. Schmidt finds Russia and Moscow, in particular, ridden with violence. In Moscow, violent criminal culture came from the suburbs where various fugitives resided. By the 1790s, the city's population had reached 175,000. The city's two largest social groups were peasants and servants, and they committed a disproportionate number of murders and thefts: the two largest categories of crime in Moscow. The authorities' continuing toleration of this subculture is further evidence of the fragmentary nature of social control.

Violence in seventeenth-century Russia was far worse than in contemporary England, but by the 1770s it began to drop (as it did in England and France). This cannot be attributed to the rise of the police state—a notion, Schmidt believes, projected backward from the nineteenth century—but rather to growing informal social controls. Some of the reasons for this were the beginning of industrialization, which turned fugitives into factory workers; urbanization and anonymity of social relations; and humanization of penalties and punishment, which led to diminishing brutality. Schmidt leaves these assertions unsubstantiated, however, and they remain only reasonable speculations.

One of the major sources of crime in Moscow was runaways. A particularly large number of peasants

became fugitives in the wake of the enactment of the Russian legal code, the *Ulozhenie*, in 1649. Another wave of fugitives was caused by the oppressive policies of Peter I, when nearly 200,000 serfs fled from their estates between 1719 and 1727. They joined the Cossacks, enlisted in the army, disappeared into towns, or became peasants elsewhere. Schmidt believes that criminalization of peasant flight was one of the major reasons for high crime rates. Is it not possible, however, that penalizing runaways was not the cause of the problem but part of the solution, in that criminalization was intended to stem an already enormous wave of fugitives, to stop the brigandage, and to utilize human labor? And given the fact that many fugitives came from the Middle Volga region, where the majority of the population was non-Christian, it would have been useful, if possible, to identify the ethno-religious make-up of this anonymous mass of fugitives and criminals.

More than his predecessors, Schmidt attempts to understand the mechanisms of informal social control, a process that is poorly documented and poorly understood. In the end, he may have underestimated the role of the government, which by the end of the eighteenth century had grown into a fairly efficient, military-bureaucratic machine that succeeded in consolidating the empire's southern and eastern frontiers, incorporating the Cossacks into the military, reducing the arbitrariness of its provincial governors, and improving the policing of cities. Finally, one wonders whether a discussion of informal social control should not include the church, despite its increasingly circumscribed role in the legal process. These are not criticisms, however, but questions provoked by Schmidt's superb book.

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S. G. KASHCHENKO. *Reforma 19 fevralia 1861 g. na severo-zapade Rossii: Kolichestvennyi analiz massovykh istochnikov* [The Reform of February 19, 1861 in Northwest Russia: Quantitative Analysis of Mass Sources]. (Desiat' novykh uchebnikov po istoricheskimi distsiplinam, number 7.) Moscow: Mosgorarkhiv, in association with the Volkswagen Foundation. 1995. Pp. 187.

This book by S. G. Kashchenko offers a detailed, county-by-county analysis of the effects of Russian land reform of the 1860s on the northwest—that is, the area surrounding the capital, St. Petersburg, together with some of the most ancient Russian agricultural provinces. Impressively, these data are aggregated from a database that is composed of a large number of archival records of individual land transfers. The database includes detail on both the pre-reform characteristics of land tenure in individual cases and the post-reform consequences of the program.

In broad terms, the findings are not surprising.

Considered strictly from an economic perspective, peasants were worse off after land reform, on average, than before it began. In the north, this decline took the form of obligatory purchases of land at inflated values that, when combined with interest on the necessary loans, could not be recouped in the marketplace owing to low rates of post-reform productivity. But the author also makes some interesting observations about the impact of the state's centralized administrative procedures on what essentially was—or should have been—a highly localized negotiation. Although the entire process would not have been engaged without the constraints imposed by the state on local landowners, as often as not the state's intrusion produced an over-bureaucratization that inflated costs and slowed negotiations.

The approach adopted by Kashchenko to evaluating the socioeconomic consequences of the great Russian land reform is well-established. Kashchenko's special contributions are twofold. First, he does a good job of illustrating how the highly competent quantitative analysis of economic data can be used to address fundamental problems in socioeconomic development. He integrates long-range economic data and demographic data to this end. Second, Kashchenko presents an interesting narrative that focuses on the principal issues of the economic history of this era without overwhelming the text with quantitative references. This is no mean achievement.

But this short book is more than a narrative history of the reform in one group of provinces. It is also designed to serve as a university-level textbook demonstrating the acquisition, use, and interpretation of quantitative data in economic history. As such, it illustrates coding procedures and discusses archival resources in ways that are potentially useful to student scholars. Although this material adds considerable strength to the study, the discussion is not as fully developed as it might have been. By now, the necessary technical resources are common enough that scholars are making use of personal-computer-based resources such as database managers and, especially, word processors and spreadsheets. Kashchenko's discussion might usefully have included illustrations of the application of such techniques.

To a certain extent, all studies that focus on the economic parameters of the reform policy itself with a view to explaining the slow further development of Russian agriculture fix our attention on the wrong group of facts. Land reforms often tend to leave peasants worse off than they previously were in economic terms and the creation, or re-creation, of a healthy agrarian economy then requires further investment together with the passage of time. In this sense, Russian peasants were possibly not in a worse state in the decades after reform than were those of, say, Prussia. Certainly, the fiscal details of the reform were prejudicial to the interests of many categories of peasants and, in many cases, this disadvantage even increased with the passage of time. But, as Alexander

Gerschenkron noted many years ago, the main problem with the abolition of serfdom in Russia was that it happened in 1861 rather than one generation earlier. It was serfdom and the continuing role of the land commune, more than any other feature of the organization of the Russian economy, that made the economic isolation of the preceding fifty years not only possible but necessary. The state's reluctance to engage meaningful reform at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when state power was at its pinnacle, seems to have guaranteed that Russia would be incapable of developing the socioeconomic resources necessary for industrialization in a manner that was both timely and not destabilizing.

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N. B. SELUNSKAIA, editor. *Stanovlenie Rossiiskogo parlamentarizma nachala XX veka* [The Formation of Russian Parliamentary Government in the Early Twentieth Century]. (Desiat' novykh uchebnikov po istoricheskim distsiplinam, number 5.) Moscow: Mosgorarkhiv, in association with the Volkswagen Foundation. 1996. Pp. 282.

Fifth in a new series of textbooks on important themes in Russian history, many with significance for Russia's current transition, this volume, edited by N. B. Selunskiaia, looks afresh at Russia's short-lived constitutional experiment at the beginning of the twentieth century, utilizing both "new" sources and a "new" methodology. Its goals are to examine the "concrete historical experience" of government/society relations during Russia's first attempt to create representative authority and, ultimately, to determine whether the First Duma (1906) really was Russia's "first parliament" and hence the first step along the Western path of modernization and political democratization.

The book is divided into three main parts, each with two chapters, and includes some sixty pages of extracts from the "new" documentary sources. The first part focuses on the electoral process and practice; the second, on the principal participants in the Duma's legislative discussions; and the third, on the Duma's debates on personal inviolability, freedom of conscience, civil equality, freedom of association, freedom of organization, freedom to strike, and freedom of the press. It is in this final section that the contributors utilize their "new" methodology: a computer-based content analysis utilizing the 1984 University of Toronto program, TAKT.

While the "new" sources should all be familiar to Western students of the subject, the contributors' conclusions reveal a new interpretative openness that permits them to see, often to their own surprise, a number of phenomena that the previous historiography denied, such as the government's apparent striving to Europeanize Russia's political system and the Interior Ministry's "progressive" interpretation of the electoral laws. Although they question whether this liber-

alism may not have been due simply to "inexperience" or "confusion," nonetheless, the contributors acknowledge the political parties' real freedom to engage in electoral campaigning and its consequence: the "elasticity of political consciousness" as voters shifted from both extremes toward the center during the successive stages of the indirect electoral process. Based on this evidence, the contributors reject classic assumptions of an essential conflict between government and society, at least at this stage. Nor, in their view, was "class conflict" as significant as Soviet historians have argued. On the contrary, voters seem to have been motivated by a positive striving to create a new "order," in large part as a reaction to the earlier radicalism of both left and right. The collection also reaffirms recent work on peasant consciousness, which demonstrated that political "pragmatism" rather than economic conditions was the driving force behind their struggle to expand land ownership.

The core of this work, however, is contained in chapter six, which highlights the critical and defining role played by a mere half-dozen or so liberal professors of jurisprudence who constituted a Paretian elite that largely set the legislative agenda as they struggled to establish the bases for Russia's evolution into a Western-style, law-based state (*pravovoi gosudarstvo*). Their immediate goal was to create the prerequisites for the formation of a civil society and hence a true nation-state. As they struggled to create a constitutional alternative to monarchism, their program was also influenced by the Social Democrats' struggle for socialism and republicanism. Not only was the latter's identification of proletarian and peasant interests generally accepted, but Duma discussion of how to create a civil society focused as a result on the essentially moral issues of noble wealth and property ownership and their abolition. Thus, in contrast to "successful" struggles for constitutionalism in Great Britain and Finland, where liberalism supposedly defended the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie (a mythology now challenged in the West), in Russia the peasantry's centrality to the political debate ultimately undermined the liberals' goals.

In the end, this book denies the First Duma the title of Russia's first parliament. The critical factor, however, was not the behavior of the Duma but the enabling legislation. To be sure, both government and society violated the law, but in the view of the volume's contributors, it was the tsar who was the greater violator (although, contradictorily, they also note that it was the State Council, not the tsar, that effectively limited the Duma's power with its own veto). Nonetheless, they ultimately agree with the liberal professorial elite that the First Duma offered the "possibility" for Russia's evolution along a Western path, even if the promise was never realized.

One final reflection: although the contributors to this volume clearly believe they are at the cutting edge of "modern," computer-based methodologies, they have in fact boarded a train that left its Western

station some two decades ago and then got lost, it would now appear, in the Russian steppes. As this work makes clear, the limited results hardly justify the work required to set up the analysis in the first place. A more traditional exegesis of the Duma debates would, I believe, have produced more sophisticated results.

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I. P. SMIRNOV. "*Ot Marksizma k idealizmu*": M. I. Tugan-Baranovskii, S. N. Bulgakov, N. A. Berdiaev. ["From Marxism to Idealism": M. I. Tugan-Baranovskii, S. N. Bulgakov, N. A. Berdiaev]. Moscow: Russkoe knigoizdatel'skoe tovarishchestvo. 1995. Pp. 285.

The publication of the *Vekhi* collection in 1909 set off a firestorm among the Russian educated public. Thinkers who had been identified with Marxism in their youth and with political liberalism at the time of the revolution of 1905 now exhorted Russia's intelligentsia to overcome its alienation from society, tradition, and religion; if not, they prophesied, Russia, under the influence of the intelligentsia, would suffer a calamitous future. Representatives of all the political groups that identified themselves as part of the "Liberation Movement" attacked the *Vekhi* authors for betraying their previous beliefs and for blackening the reputation of the intelligentsia, those educated radicals who for generations had devoted their lives to overthrowing autocracy and oppression.

It was Petr Struve, outspoken, combative, and increasingly conservative, who drew the most sustained and bitter criticism; the others were condemned as Struve's followers. After the Revolution of 1917, Struve was active in the anti-Bolshevik movement and soon emigrated. Others of the *Vekhi* authors, including Nikolai Berdiaev and Sergei Bulgakov, were deported from Soviet Russia. Until the last years of the Soviet regime, *Vekhi*, and Struve in particular, remained symbols of bourgeois betrayal and were regularly attacked by Soviet historians.

I. P. Smirnov's book may be the first post-Soviet monograph to reevaluate these thinkers. He has chosen to examine three Marxist theorists, two of whom, Berdiaev and Bulgakov, contributed to *Vekhi* while the third, Mikhail Tugan-Baranovskii, was one of its critics. In linking them, Smirnov attempts to show that these three held significant elements of an idealist, post-Marxist outlook in common. At the same time, he tries to separate Berdiaev and Bulgakov from Struve by showing that the former never repudiated the demand for social justice and theoretical sophistication that had drawn them to Marxism in the first place. Smirnov reviews significant facets of the ideological development of all three thinkers and shows that they all came to believe that a satisfactory Russian social philosophy had to take into account Russia's social and intellectual traditions and had also to be based on

Christianity. The implications for Russians attempting to reorient themselves after the collapse of communism are clear.

This book is disappointing, however. Smirnov does not attempt to present coherent portraits of the thinkers, nor does he provide a critical analysis of their views. His technique, which is simply to summarize the works of the three authors from the beginning of their careers up to the appearance of *Vekhi*, results in a flat and tedious account. The reader frequently loses track of chronology and even of whose work is being examined. Smirnov's thematic approach would surely have dismayed his subjects, for he gives substantial (and deserved) attention to youthful work of revisionist Marxist theory but passes over the content of the religious philosophy and theology that became the substance of Berdiaev's and Bulgakov's careers. Moreover, in his attempt to separate his thinkers from Struve, he repeats Semën Frank's contention that the *Vekhi* authors did not see each other's work until the book was published; letters published in recent years refute that assertion. And while Berdiaev and Bulgakov certainly criticized the intelligentsia's tradition in similar terms, their positive religious and philosophical views were quite different.

By concentrating on published works, Smirnov leaves their context—the intellectual and cultural ferment of Russia's Silver Age—largely unexplored. Thus, he gives the impression that Berdiaev, Bulgakov, and Tugan-Baranovskii developed their ideas in an intellectual vacuum; only Vladimir Solov'ev is mentioned as an inspiration, but Smirnov does not examine the manner of his influence. Perhaps most disappointing is Smirnov's approach to the historical literature. He devotes almost fifty pages of a short book to detailing every criticism of the *Vekhovtsy* by Soviet writers but does not refer to a single work not written in Russian, thus depriving his readers of all the work that has been done by European and American scholars. In regard to Russian documentation, Smirnov's bibliography has a useful list of archival sources for letters by his subjects. His footnotes refer only to recent printed sources, however.

In short, this work may provide Russian readers with a useful introduction to three thinkers who have been more vilified than examined over the past three-quarters of a century, but the author scarcely begins to provide the scholarly analysis his subject deserves.

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JONATHAN AVES. *Workers against Lenin: Labour Protest and the Bolshevik Dictatorship*. (International Library of Historical Studies, number 6.) New York: Tauris Academic Studies of I. B. Tauris; distributed by St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. x, 220. \$59.50.

In February 1921, workers in Petrograd, Moscow, and other industrial centers of Soviet Russia engaged in

protest actions—misleadingly and self-servingly dubbed *volynka* (go slow) by Communist authorities—against the regime's food supply and forced labor policies as well as its intensification of political repression. Lists of demands approved at general meetings of factory workers included the abolition of privileged rations for specialists and soviet officials, a general relaxation of controls on local exchange between town and country (including the removal of trade pickets who confiscated foodstuffs from workers returning by train from foraging expeditions), and more political demands such as the replacement of "appointmentism" by secret ballot elections to the soviets and trade unions and even the restoration of the Constituent Assembly that had been dispersed by the Bolsheviks in January 1918. Arrests of protest leaders combined with the release of emergency supplies of food and promises to correct abuses in the rationing system brought an end to the strikes by early March.

Few historians have paid much attention to these protests, partly because of the difficulty of evaluating sketchy and tendentious accounts, and partly because the protests were soon overshadowed by the far more bloody Kronstadt mutiny and the peasant rebellions in Tambov and western Siberia. Yet, as Jonathan Aves contends in this fine-grained study, the *volynka* was not merely a prelude to Kronstadt but, drawing on "a specific tradition of protest by workers that had developed before and after 1917 . . . had its own political character" (p. 111). Aves's analyses of the protests, the role of Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik activists in articulating but also misrepresenting workers' demands, and the divisions within Communist Party organizations and trade unions over what to do are the signal strengths of this monograph.

The interpretation of the Communists' food and labor policies, which precipitated the *volynka*, is less persuasive. Buttressed by frequent but unsubstantiated references to party leaders' "self-delusion," "mood of euphoria," and "false optimism" is the assertion that with the end of the civil war, the party's "utopian vision of a rapid advance towards establishing a society based on communist principles" (p. 2) blinded it to the necessity of removing restrictions on trade to alleviate workers' hunger and reduce peasants' hostility. In 1989, when Aves submitted the doctoral dissertation from which his book is derived, this was the conventional wisdom among historians. But as Lars Lih subsequently argued, historians have been misled by Lenin's and others' *post hoc* comments about War Communism, which were intended to legitimate the New Economic Policy (NEP) inaugurated in March 1921. The myth of utopianism and false optimism may make for a more dramatic narrative (pride before the fall?). It nevertheless flies in the face of numerous statements from food supply officials and the Central Committee of the party—some of which Aves cites—that justified the tightening of restrictions not in terms of building Communism but because of shortfalls in supplies reaching the cities and the army.

Moreover, as Aves himself notes, the food and fuel situations did improve in the latter half of 1920. This enabled many factories to reopen and ironically, gave workers the opportunity to organize. No less ironically, the introduction of NEP actually worsened conditions for many workers, precipitating a new wave of strikes in 1922. As blame could now be placed on the workings of the market rather than the repressive policies of the Communists, however, these strikes lacked the political punch of the *volynka*.

As a careful reconstruction of an important episode in early Soviet labor history, this book has much to offer. Consultation of more recently accessible archival sources and works published since 1989 would have made it even more attractive.

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N. G. O. PEREIRA. *White Siberia: The Politics of Civil War*. Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 261. \$44.95.

N.G.O. Pereira has contributed a focused study of Siberian regional politics during the Russian civil war to the growing literature on anti-Bolshevism based on newly available Russian archives. (Interested readers might also wish to see Jonathan D. Smele's more expansive *Civil War in Siberia: The Anti-Bolshevik Government of Admiral Kolchak, 1918-1920* [1997].) After setting the historical and physical context and contrasting the revolutionary experience in Siberia with that of European Russia, Pereira concentrates on the period 1918-1919. He offers a particularly useful narrative of the interplay between national and regional political movements in the period before Aleksandr Kolchak's November 1918 coup and their relation to local pressures for autonomy. Two subsequent chapters deal with the "ascendancy" and "decline" of the Kolchak regime. The volume, which is organized chronologically, concludes with an examination of the regional consolidation of Soviet power between the spring of 1920 and the fall of 1922. Pereira has based his study on an enormous range of published and archival sources, all of which have been thoroughly and intelligently mined (although the Harold Williams collection in the British Museum and the Library of Congress holdings of G. G. Tel'berg, Kolchak's minister of justice, might have added to the already rich detail).

Pereira's central thesis is that the White failure in Siberia was "more political than military" (p. 172), and he believes that "even at the very end of the Civil War the difference between victory and defeat was very small" (p. 175). These two positions are not so easy to reconcile, however, especially if one conceives of "politics," as the author does here, in the traditional sense of parties and programs rather than the forms and locations of power. In general, Pereira does a nice job of elaborating the roles of different parties and their programs and positions (although he tends on occasion

to flatten the internal divisions of Mensheviks and Kadets); but, in my view, these were less important to the outcome of this awful human drama than the radical changes that occurred with the end of the old regime in the nature and forms of power itself. In various complex ways, these created an environment in which the "appeal" or "popular support" for one or another program was less important than the ability of those claiming authority "from above" to connect the power they commanded with that being exercised "below." Policies and programs were the important ideological fields in which these linkages could be attempted, but it was the nature of the practical connections themselves that structured the actual fields of power and hence the historical outcomes.

The spatial metaphor has its limitations, but at least it helps us appraise the predicament embedded in Pereira's statement that because critical Siberian railway lines "were so susceptible to sabotage by Red sympathizers, partisans, and the railwaymen themselves," Kolchak "was obliged to declare martial law and order his troops to shoot striking workers on sight" (p. 131). In effect, as Pereira himself nicely documents in a number of interesting descriptive sections, Kolchak's "obligation" to condone the wanton ruthlessness of his underlings, for whom the category "striking worker" was fluid and all-purpose, largely reduced the Supreme Ruler to another local warlord, fighting brutally with and against his rivals for survival. Kolchak's claims to national authority had little local resonance. In these circumstances, as Pereira further argues, it may well have been that concerted Allied intervention and the recognition of the 1917-1918 land transfers were necessary preconditions for White success (p. 172), but only if the seizures of foodstuffs did not continue to incite a furious and bitter armed resistance and only if the Allies were somehow perceived locally as the protectors, rather than the destroyers, of partisan authority and local control. Absent these linkages, it is unlikely that the key to understanding the Whites' failure was that they "vacillated and thus missed their historic opportunity" (p. 172); rather, the nature of the "opportunity" itself had changed beyond all common recognition.

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STEPHEN BLANK. *The Sorcerer as Apprentice: Stalin as Commissar of Nationalities, 1917-1924*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 145.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1994. Pp. 295. \$59.95.

Stephen Blank's purpose in writing this book seems to have shifted in the course of his labors from a documentation of the brief, feeble life of Narkomnats (Commissariat of Nationalities) to a broader examination of the ways in which Joseph Stalin used Russia's "nationality question" to shape his subsequent dictatorship. The fact that the leaders of the USSR were still grappling with nationalism seven decades later,

may have made the first of Blank's purposes seem weightier when he began his book than it does now.

This is not to fault Blank, for his study of Narkomnats brings together an enormous quantity of material from a huge variety of sources, which Blank has astutely sifted for evidence that might explain the curiosity that Narkomnats was the only administrative assignment at which Stalin ever failed. Still, the collapse of the Soviet system has made the biography of what Blank himself calls "a weak and vulnerable organization" (p. 64) look somewhat arcane, as now do most studies of Soviet policy formation.

It is, however, Blank's close reading of mountains of newspapers, Communist Party documents, and other sources that accomplishes his second purpose of substantiating that "Stalin's [failure] . . . makes sense only in terms of his insight that any effort to invest Narkomnats with real federal power opened the way to decentralization . . . and diminution of the prospects for realizing his dreams [of dictatorship]" (p. 223–24). Despite the title of his book, which suggests a focus on Stalin, in the second half Blank really concentrates on the inherent tension between centrist and federative visions of how the lands to which Moscow laid claim might be organized. Although that tension frequently is discussed in the vocabulary of nationalism, it more properly is a debate about who would have more power, the rulers or the citizens; in Blank's formulation, "As self-rule withered for the minorities, it did so for the party" (p. 208).

Blank demonstrates that, alone of all the senior Bolsheviks, Stalin understood the broader implications of nationalist aspirations and so could play aspirants off against one another, always to the increase of Moscow's control. Blank shows how Stalin connived to make a brilliant fiasco of nationalism policy, turning apparent support of nationalists into the very tool by which the monolithic USSR came about. Even more fascinating, Blank shows how Stalin used the "fight against Sultangalievism" to hone the knives he soon was to turn against Trotsky and others. Although Blank's quip that the Twenties were a time when "the mad led the blind" (p. 209) undercuts his conviction that Stalin was wily, not mad, the remark does underscore Blank's wider point: that the indifference or hostility of most of the Bolsheviks to the various concerns of the non-Russians blinded them to the fact that Stalin could extend to all of the USSR the dictatorial principles he first laid down in controlling the "national minorities." Had they understood the aspirations of those minorities as well as Stalin did and been more sympathetic to them, Stalin's opponents might have found themselves less alone when the turn came for them to be his victims.

The collapse of the USSR may have rendered part of Blank's book less urgent than it seemed when he began it; the central role of nationalism in that collapse, however, proves the value of the insight that Blank elaborates so well: the key to power in Russia lies in

understanding, and making proper use of, the fact that not everyone who lives in Russia is Russian.

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TIMOTHY J. COLTON. *Moscow: Governing the Socialist Metropolis*. (Russian Research Center Studies, number 88.) Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 939. \$45.00.

Timothy J. Colton's history of government in Soviet Moscow focuses on changes in governmental structures and loci of power, the succession of plans for the city's long-term development, and the provision of amenities—housing in particular—to the population. He also explores the impact of national on local politics, examines in considerable detail the emergence of democratic politics in the last Soviet years, and concludes with an account of the first few post-Soviet years under Mayor Yurii Luzhkov.

The story Colton tells will particularly fascinate the many Western scholars who have spent time in Moscow, because he explains how the Moscow that we know came to be that way; previously shadowy histories of familiar landmarks in the city's social and architectural geography are now clearly delineated. It is remarkable, moreover, that in a narrative replete with local details there is so little about which to quibble. In addition to satisfying Russianists' curiosity, Colton gives us a first-rate study of how this swelling (from 2 million people in 1917 to 9 million in 1991) metropolis was managed and mismanaged by its Communist rulers.

Communists took power in Moscow without the slightest idea of how to govern the city, and Colton argues that they never really learned. The Communist Party's Moscow Committee assumed final authority during the 1920s, but the Moscow Committee was never complete master, since it could not command either the Soviet party (or government) leadership or—most debilitating of all—the industrial ministries that controlled resources and housing. Colton calls this pathology "disjointed monism": government by a multiplicity of uncoordinated central authoritarian directives. Party leaders could impose their will, but even under Joseph Stalin that will was divided. The complexity of the huge urban agglomeration overwhelmed the bosses.

Absence of unitary authority doomed all of the many master plans for city and regional development. Colton reviews these plans at length, but they had remarkably little impact. The 1935 Stalin plan commanded the clearing and monumental reconstruction of the city center, but most of Stalin's Moscow emerged as a haphazard and straitened offshoot of industrial expansion. Nikita Khrushchev's antipathy toward wasteful monumentalism and his remarkably successful low-rise building program reversed Stalin's social priorities. Yet Stalin and Khrushchev could not impose order on

urban development; under Leonid Brezhnev, even clearly articulated priorities were lacking.

Housing policy occupies a special place within Colton's account because it varied so dramatically over time and because the regime itself set so much store by it. The Bolsheviks at first pursued aggressively redistributionist policies (which were not always enthusiastically taken up by workers); in the 1920s they experimented with a variety of management schemes but added little to existing housing stock. Per capita housing space declined dramatically during the 1930s (and workers were effectively discriminated against in allocation), but then rose from 4.2 square meters per capita in 1950 to 6.4 in 1961, 9.3 in 1971, and 11.4 in 1985, even as the city's population mushroomed. Colton is inclined to point out short-falls in quality, siting, and services, but the policy of massive housing construction enormously improved the lives of millions of Muscovites.

Colton treats the waxing and waning of the assault on cultural edifices—primarily but not exclusively religious—as an ideological marker almost as important as housing policy. The assault opened in the mid 1920s, reached a high point during the 1930s, and then gradually tapered off. A few extremely courageous specialists in the history of art and architecture resisted the depredations even under Stalin, but they almost always lost. During the 1980s, grass roots political activism emerged in major part around the struggle to protect historical buildings from the developers' bulldozers.

It is churlish to fault a fine and already huge book for slighting social history (Colton says that he does so at the outset), but a few of his arguments cannot be supported without more research into social structure and behaviors. Colton asserts that Soviet Moscow was a city without communities, because neighbors were not neighborly. But communities may have been supraterritorial or centered on the workplace rather than the housing tract; there is no basis in Colton's data for deciding. Research into the actual utilization of urban amenities (theaters, cinemas, and the like) might have persuaded Colton that the post-Stalin failure to reach announced goals was no failure after all. Some sociological data show, for example, that theaters and cinemas were underutilized as early as the 1970s. In general, Colton often holds Moscow's leaders to impossibly exacting standards. Not only can problems worse than those in Moscow be found in cities outside the former Soviet Union, but Moscow offered a good and interesting life unavailable almost anywhere else in the Soviet Union. What Colton sees as persistent problems, many Soviet citizens took to be minor irritants well worth tolerating for the privilege of living in the capital.

Even after all of Colton's labor, in other words, there is still room for work on the history of Soviet Moscow. Luckily, anyone else who takes up the task

will have in this book a reliable guide to the development of Moscow's administration and infrastructure.

JOHN BUSHNELL

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KATHLEEN E. SMITH. *Remembering Stalin's Victims: Popular Memory and the End of the USSR*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 220. \$29.95.

Kathleen E. Smith, a sociologist teaching in a department of government, examines how Soviet people "dealt with repression not psychologically but politically" (p. xii). Smith is interested in "the conflict between state and society" over the past under Nikita Khrushchev and Mikhail Gorbachev; this story bears on the limits of reform under the former and the processes which finally unseated the latter. She focuses on Memorial, a grass roots organization founded in 1987 that probed and publicized political arrests under Joseph Stalin. The group, which eventually had perhaps forty branches across Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, became prominent in linking criticisms of Stalinism and official silence about it to political change.

Smith discusses the double-edged sword wielded by both Khrushchev and Gorbachev regarding the past. Both sought to use anti-Stalinism in a controlled way to bolster their own legitimacy, by indicating how their rule differed from earlier practices. But both, especially Gorbachev, discovered that they had opened the way to critiques of the Communist Party's legitimacy as the governing body. Smith argues that "reformers obviously believed they could draw a thick line between past and present administrations while maintaining legitimacy as the heirs of the existing system" (p. 19). But on the next page, she notes Khrushchev's recognition that "information about Stalin's crimes could be used to disparage Soviet socialism." Gorbachev was also smart enough to see the same problem, which partially explains his government's zigs, zags, and hesitations over examining the past.

Smith also cannot quite make up her mind about the nature and condition of Soviet society under Stalin and after. For the most part, she paints it in undifferentiated terms: society was "long abused, atomized" (p. 19), or "shattered and marginalized" (p. 171). Yet Smith also hints at a more complex view of society when she writes of "the real-life mix of complicity and innocence" in the past. While she touches on the problem of ennobling the populace by concentrating on suffering, she does not expand on the possibility of a broader range of humanity and responses to Stalin among the Soviet people.

Smith's distinction between state and society under communist rule also seems artificial. She does not explore the term "state" or draw on discussions of it by Michel Foucault, William Beik, Nicholas Henshall, or others concerned with the idea in the West. Historians of the Soviet Union often use the term "state" more as a blunt instrument than an analytical concept. Recent

research by myself and Nellie Ohr finds the line between state and society under Stalin and later leaders to be blurred. If such were not the case, it would be difficult to explain the rise of criticism and eventually of reform within the state apparatus, which played such a large role in frustrating the attempted coup of August 1991. Here Smith might have benefited as well from Moshe Lewin's work on the background to perestroika.

Smith uses the word "totalitarianism" to distinguish the entire Soviet period from the post-1991 era. Her definition has the "party-state" as "sovereign," using its "monopoly on power to penetrate all aspects of social economic, and political life" (pp. 9–10). She does not refer to recent discussions by Abbott Gleason (*Totalitarianism: The Inner History of the Cold War* [1995]) and Giuseppe Boffa (*The Stalin Phenomenon* [1992]), who have detailed its many uses and permutations. In any event, "monopoly on power" is uninformative on the ways in which the state could not effect its will, such as to inculcate respect for all nationalities. Nor is the extent to which life was penetrated by the state made clear. Of course there were no independent organizations and no Western-style public criticisms of national policy; yet these observations conceal as much as they tell us.

Smith does guide the reader carefully through Memorial's difficulties in contesting the regime, which naturally tried to defend its legitimacy. She provides valuable insights into the harassment of opposition groups, which continued for years under Gorbachev, although she is wrong to suggest that all efforts to thwart criticism were centrally directed. The conservative defense of Stalinism is also explored, although its representatives are never brought to life the way Memorial's are.

Smith's book is thus largely a tale of good versus evil, state versus society, and progress versus totalitarianism. While the undeniable suffering of millions of people under Stalin is moving to consider, the faith that other millions (among them more than a few victims) had in him and his rule calls for a more nuanced treatment of how the past is constructed and used.

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MIDDLE EAST

Yael Zerubavel. *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 340.

If we detach the core of this book, a systematic account of the state of Israel's generative myths, from its modish theoretical setting in neo-Jungianism (the collective unconscious transformed into "collective memory"), we are left with a thoroughly professional, workmanlike, and solid, if unexceptional, monograph about Israeli political culture ("collective memory").

Like all effective political movements, Zionism reconstructed the past of the political community it intended to define, beginning with its periodization into the ancient nation, the intervening dark ages of exile, and the modern nation rebuilt upon the lost homeland. Yael Zerubavel's study systematically expounds three principal components of Israel's formative national myth, effective so long as the left governed and now trashed into sentimental tourist-kitsch. She identifies these as the battle of Tel Hai (1920), the Bar Kokhba revolt (ca. 132–135) and the fall of Masada (73). The first represents "a new commemorative tradition, a myth of new beginning"; the second, "dual image and transformed memory"; and the third, "a myth of fighting to the bitter end." Collectively, Zerubavel shows, they formed the foundations of national propaganda ("memory"), explaining, to Zionists before 1948 and Israelis after, who they were, what they should do, and why they mattered. Zerubavel then spells out how the three mythopoeic moments have been translated into literature and ritual. Tel Hai moved from history to legend, Bar Kokhba from mourning to celebration, and Masada formed the goal of "a new Hebrew pilgrimage." She also shows how debates about these three events defined the agenda for political confrontation over public policy in chapters on: "Tel Hai and the meaning of pioneering," "the Bar Kokhba revolt and the meaning of defeat," and "Masada and the meaning of death." The book is well-researched, informative, and fresh for the English-language reader, much of the work of Israeli revisionist history being not well known overseas.

Zerubavel's opening and closing chapters, mercifully short and ignored in the core of the book, purport to supply an analytical occasion, borrowed from murky postmodernist ruminations about "history and memory," for "Israeli collective memory." By "memory," she means merely the manipulation of the past tense in the formation of contemporary discourse. The category of "memory" is invoked to gussy up a good study of political propaganda, and "collective memory" or "Jewish memory" turns out to be a fancy way of talking about plain facts. Everyone knows that the Second Temple priests wrote up the history of the Israelite monarchy to suit their purposes, Augustus remade the Republic, the Evangelists worked out pictures of Jesus in response to communal concerns decades *post facto*, and so on through time, down to Joseph Goebbels, Benito Mussolini, the Bolsheviks, and the postmodernist "historians" themselves (as the debate over Hiroshima demonstrates). As to the Jews' alleged racial memory, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi's *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1982) rather pretentiously covered the same ground, most of it already well plowed by others. How do we benefit by invoking the category of "memory" for things that people do not actually remember at all but only fabricate or manipulate? I do not know. But perhaps new names for old things—"collective memory" in place of the racist and discredited "collective unconscious"—are meant to

mark as elegant what is, in its own terms, a perfectly fine, old-fashioned historical study of political culture. My advice is, skip “the dynamics of collective remembering” and “history, memory, and invented tradition” and read the rest. The publisher does not help with a cascade of extravagant blurbs, flowing mostly from people quoted in the book itself. But despite the fabricated glamor and postmodernist glitz of its cover, the book is solid and informative.

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NACHMAN BEN-YEHUDA. *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1996. Pp. xxi, 401. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.95.

There is much that is good and rich—and some things that are troubling—about this book. Written by an Israeli sociologist with a passionately personal as well as scholarly engagement with twentieth-century narratives about Masada, it is not a book of history as much as it is a book about sociopolitical uses of particular historical events. Nachman Ben-Yehuda sees it as an analysis of how nation-building myth-making works, and as such I think it is excellent. Wonderfully detailed and well-researched, the book documents both the intentional interventions of particular individuals and the nation-building practices whereby huge numbers of people came to promote and consume a story of what happened to some Jews at Masada nearly 2,000 years ago.

Part two explores the involvement of an appropriate array of institutions in the telling and retelling of a heroic story of Masada. Included are divisions within the Israeli Army, the Israeli tourist industry, and that part of Israel's publishing industry that produces school textbooks, guidebooks, and “children's literature.” Also examined in a usefully illuminating way are similarities, differences, and historical changes in the views of “Masada” found among seven of the country's twelve main youth movements, four “pre-state Jewish underground groups,” and the two most widely circulating Hebrew newspapers in the years (1963–1965) during which famed archeologist Yigal Yadin excavated Masada.

In these chapters, we see ideological differences leading some youth movements and “defense groups” (more than others) in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s to pay special, and even ritualized, group visits to the mountaintop and to invoke “Masada” as a story of inspiration, dedication, and historical attachment. Ben-Yehuda documents a major decline in such visits and textual references in the early 1970s, a period that saw the transformation of Masada into a major tourist site attracting large numbers of foreign tourists. Figures from the Israeli National Parks authority show a rise from 34,000 visitors (foreign and domestic) in 1959 to 90,160 in 1968–1969 to 357,690 in 1971–1972 and 646,000 in 1994. But the author is only in part inter-

ested in these historical transformations. It is clear that Ben-Yehuda, while personally invested in exposing the typical Masada narrative as a nation-building fabrication, is equally invested in using this case study to advocate “contextual constructionism” as an analytic framework in the social sciences. This is sociological work in both form and content. Parts one (“The Puzzle and the Background”) and three (“Analysis, Discussion, and Summary”) sandwich the “data” section, a format that echoes the structure of scientific articles and allied social science publications. Chapter titles, not surprisingly, include “The Research Puzzle,” “Methodological Framing,” and “Theoretical Interpretation.”

Ben-Yehuda explicitly frames Masada as a case study to endorse the superiority of “contextual constructionism” over what he calls “strict constructionism” (pp. 20–22). Although he never really offers an explicit critique of “strict constructionism,” he does describe what he sees as the virtues of “contextual constructionism,” namely, that it “offers a solution for the problem focusing on the nature of reality [and] sets the defining parameters of reality and hence provides the researcher with a powerful analytical docking anchor” (p. 21). To put it differently, this is a position that insists on distinguishing between “objective” and “constructed” versions of reality and contrasting them.

Thus Ben-Yehuda, arguing for a particular paradigm in the sociology of deviance, contrasts what presumably “objectively” happened between 66 and 73 A.D. on or near the Masada mountain with the narratives about it that have developed and become popular since then. He articulates a strong belief in the ability of a researcher to get at the “real facts”—a much stronger belief than I have—and this results in some missed interpretive opportunities. The most glaring is his refusal to treat the earliest known and widely read account of what happened on Masada before and during the Roman siege as a narrative itself, subject to the same kind of critical analysis as more recent printed and oral narratives. Ben-Yehuda's privileging of Josephus Flavius's text to this degree and his insistence on the falseness and “fabricated moral claims” (p. 3) of recent accounts make me wonder if he is not unconsciously but problematically attributing authenticity and objectivity only to very old texts and inauthenticity, even duplicity, to contemporary ones.

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ASHER SUSSER. *On Both Banks of the Jordan: A Political Biography of Wasfi al-Tall*. Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass; distributed by ISBS. 1994. Pp. x, 208. \$35.00.

Too often, the swinging of the historiographical pendulum between proponents of the “Great Man” theory of history and advocates of various sorts of historical determinism leaves out the “near-great,” the “behind-the-scenes great,” and the “great helpers.” Historiography of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan provides a

good example. There are, on the one hand, autobiographies, biographies, and, in some cases, hagiographies of King Hussein bin Talal, the man who has ruled Jordan for more than four decades and shaped its politics, society, and history like none other. On the other hand, there are an increasing number of theoretical studies that variously give preeminence to economics, ethnicity, and Great Power politics as rationales for the founding and continued survival of a state that, in the view of many, was created artificially and therefore has no right to be. For too long, what was missing from these two types of history were the Jordanians themselves—that is, the men and women largely of “East Bank” (i.e., Transjordanian) origin who valued the kingdom as an idea as well as a polity, who understood its unique role in the wider Middle East, who threw in their lot with that enterprise, and who built it, brick by brick, battle by battle, day by day.

Asher Susser’s excellent biographical study goes a long way toward filling that historiographical lacuna. Although generally forgotten today, Wasfi al-Tall was a powerful presence on the Middle East scene in the decade from 1962 to 1971. This was a period in which Arab politics was divided, on the global level between allies of East and West and, on the regional level, between advocates of Arab nationalism (of the Nasserist, Ba’thist or revolutionary Palestinian variety) and of pragmatic, state-interested, *realpolitik*. If Egypt’s Gamal Abdul Nasser represented the former, al-Tall—King Hussein’s closest collaborator and frequent prime minister—energetically sought to personify the latter. As a realist at a time of self-destructive romanticism in the Arab world, al-Tall was much less known than his larger-than-life Egyptian antagonist. His dynamism was also diluted by the larger needs of his patron, King Hussein, leader of a small, poor, weak state who understood that Jordan’s survival depended on never angering would-be enemies too much. Yet with the passage of a quarter-century, it is clear that al-Tall’s brand of conservative pragmatism, born of the sense of embattlement that the kingdom’s “Transjordanism” ruling minority still feels, today animates the decision-making of a clear majority of the region’s leaders to a much greater degree than the residue of old-style radical ideologies.

Al-Tall’s genius was in knowing when to act and, often more important, when not to act. Although he fought in the 1948 war to prevent the establishment of Israel, over the years he repeatedly cautioned against being dragged by lowest common denominator Arab rhetoric into confrontations with Israel for which Jordan—home to the longest border with the Jewish state—would pay dearly. He also recognized the strategic threat that Palestinian *fida’iyyun* posed to the independence of Hashemite Jordan and, when Hussein wavered, provided the backbone to launch a war that drove a young Yasser Arafat and his cohorts out of Jordan, thereby saving the state. On occasion, al-Tall was too far ahead of his time. In 1967, he urged Hussein not to enter the war against Israel; the king,

fearing that he would lose all his kingdom—not just half—if he did not fight, rejected the advice and was probably proved right. When the next war came in 1973, Hussein did take al-Tall’s advice and stayed on the sidelines, but by then al-Tall was dead, felled by the bullet of a Palestinian assassin.

Susser draws on a wide array of Arab, Israeli, British, and American sources to provide a vivid, comprehensive portrait of an often-overlooked Arab statesman. Even before Jordan and Israel made peace in 1994, the year this book was published in English, an earlier Hebrew edition had been recognized (and cited) by Jordanian scholars for its professional, dispassionate account of al-Tall’s life. But this book is more than biography; in sketching al-Tall’s world and worldview, Susser brings to life a group of people—the Transjordanian elite—whose interests, fears, and desires are too often forgotten or ignored in the rush to simplify the region’s politics to “Arab versus Israeli” or, on the inter-Arab level, to “Hussein versus Arafat.” In telling al-Tall’s story, he reminds us that the future of Jordan (and perhaps of the Palestine issue itself) will not be determined by a manichean confrontation between the royal Hashemites and the majority Palestinians but by a triangular struggle in which “East Bankers” may cast the decisive blow. In so doing, he provides a powerful and much-needed tonic to the dominant version of contemporary Jordanian and wider Arab politics.

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MALIK MUFTI, *Sovereign Creations: Pan-Arabism and Political Order in Syria and Iraq*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. vi, 286.

Historians of the Middle East have found the notion of pan-Arabism particularly difficult to pin down. Most agree, however, that one essential feature is the belief that the Arab states should form some type of political union, and they tend to write as though this belief were the driving force behind the various attempts at unity in the 1950s and 1960s. In this challenging new study, Malik Mufti puts forward a much more persuasive explanation based largely on the concept of “defensive unity,” in which struggling regimes seek to counter challenges to their weak legitimacy and lack of support by negotiating unions with stronger partners.

Mufti’s approach has a number of significant advantages. First, by treating pan-Arabism as an instrument of political policy rather than what Mufti calls a “popular ideological objective in its own right” (p. 2), it explains why some regimes, like those in Iraq and Syria, were involved in so many unification schemes and others, like Jordan, in so few. Second, it explains the fact that most schemes were clearly short-term affairs, quickly abandoned by politicians when they had served their immediate purpose of mobilizing pan-Arab sentiment to counter dangerous domestic rivals. Third and most important of all, it places

pan-Arabism firmly within a domestic political context, where it becomes a function of the process of state building, a gambit to be introduced when regimes are weak but no longer necessary when, as in the case of Syria under President Hafiz al-Assad or Iraq under Saddam Hussein, strong, centralized systems are based on the military, a powerful security apparatus, and control over significant material resources.

Mufti's book is firmly anchored in a concise study of twentieth-century Arab political history that draws not only on its author's considerable knowledge of the region but also on an unusually rich variety of memoirs, speeches, and other primary sources as well as interviews with some of the participants (for example, Colonel Afif al-Bizri, who played a central role in the tangled events leading up to the 1958–1961 attempt at political union between Syria and Egypt). This not only adds greatly to the power of his basic arguments but also allows Mufti to demonstrate that certain periods were much more supportive of defensive unionist attempts than others: notably the years 1954–1967, when the appeal of Gamal Abd al-Nasser's Arabism was strong and the United States often supported Arab nationalists in the belief that they posed less of a threat to American interests than the local communist organizations they were trying to destroy.

Mufti's close attention to history also draws attention to the variety of different factors that underlay most unity schemes. One is the sheer intensity of political competition, which forced each rival group to search for outside support. Another is the threat posed to politicians by an increasingly politicized officer corps, something that they believed might be contained by union with more powerful neighbors. Mufti makes trenchant comments about the folly of politicians like Michel Aflaq, the ideological Pied Piper of the Syrian Ba'th party, who constantly preferred to use unionism as a short cut to power rather than take the longer and more difficult path of building up a political coalition strong enough to win elections and to govern. His final judgment is that defensive unionism ended up by "exacerbating" the very instability it was designed to counter (p. 194).

This book puts forward a number of challenging hypotheses worthy of further consideration and research. One stems from Mufti's comments on the extent of U.S. involvement in the Arab politics of the 1950s and 1960s: not just the Central Intelligence Agency's well-known attempts to destabilize the Syrian regime in 1957 but also its alleged assistance to the Ba'this during their overthrow of President Abd al-Karim Qasim in Baghdad in 1963 and its involvement in thwarting the plans for a tripartite union between Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Another is raised by Mufti's partial rewriting of the early stages of Qasim's own regime. Contrary to received wisdom, he argues that the struggle in 1958 between Qasim and his second-in-command, Abd al-Salam Aref, did not stem from different nationalist convictions but was structured entirely by a situation in which any challenger was

driven to use the pan-Arab card against a well-entrenched head of state.

Given the book's large ambition and wide historical compass, it is inevitably somewhat overly schematic in places; it often skates over important issues and employs a general, and not very useful, notion of civil society to indicate the direction that state building might have taken in the past and might still do again in a post-Assad Syria or post-Saddam Hussein Iraq. There are also two major omissions. Mufti fails to underline an important corollary of state building in what he calls the "Praetorian" phase which was the policy—employed by the Ba'th in Syria, 1966–1970, and in Iraq in the 1970s—of deliberate isolation from Arab affairs so as to avoid any possibility of being forced into a union. And he seems deliberately to avoid the central question of why popular Arab nationalism seemed so strong for a time: why, for example, a Syrian politician could say in 1958 that the "masses are drunk" with pan-Arabism and that they would "tear the heads off" anyone who said anything against it (p. 91). If this was really the case, how is such enthusiasm to be explained? If it was not, why did so many politicians exaggerate pan-Arabism's power? We still need a much more nuanced, properly contextualized study of this puzzling phenomenon.

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R. SCOTT APPLEBY, editor. *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 429. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This book brings together eight studies of contemporary religious leadership in the Middle East. Five essays consider Muslim spokesmen: Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran (Daniel Brumberg), Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah of Lebanon (Martin Kramer), Hassan al-Turabi of the Sudan (Judith Miller), Shaykh Ahmad Yasin of Palestine (Ziad Abu Amr), and Shaykh Ahmad Isma'il of Minya, Upper Egypt (Patrick Gaffney). Two essays deal with Jewish fundamentalist leaders in Israel: Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook and his son Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook (Gideon Aran), and a collective study of the rabbinical leadership of Gush Emunim (Samuel C. Heilman). The final essay (Yaakov Ariel) examines the career of Jan Willem van der Hoeven, spokesman of the International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem. Editor R. Scott Appleby provides an introduction and a conclusion.

The essays are substantial pieces, and most provide well-documented accounts of their subjects based on intensive research in the writings of the individuals under consideration and/or on interviews with them and their followers. In terms of focus, the essays divide into two groups. Five (those by Brumberg, Kramer, Miller, Gaffney, and Aran) concentrate on individuals and their ideas. Three (those by Abu Amr, Heilman,

and Ariel) deal as much or more with the history of fundamentalist movements (Hamas, Gush Emunim, and the International Christian Embassy respectively) as with individual fundamentalist leaders. The pieces dealing with leaders who are still active (the essays by Kramer, Miller, Abu Amr, Heilman, and Ariel) provide valuable information and discussions of developments into the mid-1990s.

I found four essays to be particularly valuable contributions. Brumberg begins with an original analysis of what he sees as the three main and not always compatible components of Khomeini's intellectual makeup (a "mystical asceticism" deriving from his early Shi'ite education; a "utilitarian" strand influenced partly by contemporary Sunni thought; and the "revolutionary Shi'ism" he developed during his years of active opposition to the regime and in exile). He then examines the tension that manifested itself among these elements during Khomeini's years as supreme guide in the 1980s. Although the documentation concerning the "utilitarian" dimension of Khomeini's thought is a bit thin, Brumberg's essay provides a stimulating exploration of the fitful but definite movement of the leader of the Iranian Revolution in a more pragmatic direction emphasizing the authority of the state over the supervision of the jurist by the time of his death in 1989.

Kramer offers a thoroughly researched and elegantly written account of the career and thought of an important but little-known fundamentalist spokesman, the Ayatollah Fadlallah of Lebanon. It demonstrates the subtlety and ambivalence of the positions taken by this "fundamentalist" leader on many issues and is equally impressive in relating the hesitations and ambiguous signals found in Fadlallah's utterances to the complex religious and political universe in which he operates. Blending an evocative account of the Shi'ite religious and Lebanese political scenes with a careful textual analysis of Fadlallah's works, this is the richest and most illuminating intellectual portrait in the book.

Gaffney's account of the career of Shaykh Ahmad Isma'il is a unique contribution in two respects. As a case study of a popular preacher who gained brief notoriety with his fiery denunciations of the regime in the late 1970s, it is the only study of the modalities of fundamentalism on the local level in the book. Focusing particularly on a close examination of the Shaykh's sermons, it also provides a discussion of the rhetorical techniques of Muslim fundamentalism that explains the charismatic appeal of this popular preacher and may be of broader applicability.

Aran offers what might be called a longitudinal study of fundamentalism. By presenting with great clarity the thought of Kook the elder (d. 1935), then the politicization of his father's thought by Kook the younger (d. 1982), and finally the manner in which the disciples of the latter have shaped their mentor's sometimes-cryptic pronouncements into fundamentalist dogma, Aran provides an incisive account of how what was originally a relatively open-ended and

manistic understanding of the relationship of Judaism and Zionism evolved into a rigid and exclusivist nationalist doctrine.

Two of the essays fit uneasily with the other pieces in the collection. Although Ariel's account of van der Hoeven and the International Christian Embassy is comprehensive and balanced, it is difficult to see van der Hoeven as a "charismatic" figure similar to the others under discussion. The spokesman of a spokesman and an organization with no mass base, only a limited appeal to Christians, and no appeal (other than the strictly utilitarian one of its support for Israel) to Jews seem marginal to the central concerns of the book as a whole.

Miller's essay is an anomaly for other reasons. Based primarily on the author's interviews with Turabi and on (largely hostile) accounts of the man and of the current Sudanese regime, it lacks the documentary base of the other essays. It is weak in its evaluation of the historical data presented by its largely contemporary sources and offers simplistic historical generalizations such as "Turabi partakes of a long Muslim tradition that includes not only such modern activist philosophers as al-Banna, Qutb, and Khomeini, but also the Prophet Muhammad himself" (p. 219). Miller consistently conflates Turabi with the government now in power in the Sudan, tarring the former with the abuses of the latter without undertaking an examination of the precise relationship between the two. Her lengthy denunciations of the brutal and repressive character of the Sudanese government and of Turabi as an unprincipled scoundrel interested only in power do little to illuminate either the dynamics of fundamentalism in the Sudan or the nature of fundamentalist leadership.

What broader points emerge from this collection of studies of fundamentalist leadership in the Middle East? The essays reinforce conclusions about fundamentalism developed in other studies of the topic: the selectivity with which fundamentalist leaders plunder the treasures of their respective religious traditions to construct ideologies meaningful to the present; the political character of the fundamentalist emphasis on the role of the state, which itself marks a substantive inversion and partial secularization of the religious legacy; and the diverse bases underlying the appeal of charismatic leaders both within and across religions. These are not new points, but they receive ample illustration in these essays.

Two related points about fundamentalist leadership stand out most prominently in these studies. One is what Appleby terms the "studied ambiguity" of the message of the individuals under consideration (p. 6). Many of the figures analyzed demonstrate an ideological dexterity that allows them both to appeal to diverse audiences and to shift their position with changing circumstances. The other point concerns "situational leadership" (p. 404), or the intimate relationship between a leader's example and ideas and the particular situation in which he finds himself. Without

the sheer political savvy and ability to read the nuances of their environment demonstrated by the Ayatollahs Khomeini and Fadlallah, Shaykh Yasin, and some of the leaders of Gush Emunim, the fate of fundamentalism in the Middle East might be quite different.

Collectively, the essays raise some interesting questions about the concept "fundamentalism." They clearly show that fundamentalist leaders differ widely in their ideas. Equally clearly, they demonstrate the flexibility and adaptability of the views propounded by theoretically fundamentalist spokesmen. Although the subject is not developed as fully in most cases, the studies also suggest that the "charisma" of fundamentalist leaders can have quite different bases, not only across religions (Khomeini vs. Kook the younger) but also within religions and even within subsets of religions (Khomeini vs. Fadlallah).

In many ways, "fundamentalism" seems to dissolve the more closely it is examined. A term first developed in reference to North American Christianity and subsequently applied to other religions and areas of the world, the appropriateness of the term as a global referent has often been questioned on formal grounds. Both the diversity of the ideas and the flexibility of the positions taken by the leaders discussed in this volume suggest that there may also be substantive grounds for reconsidering the utility of "fundamentalism" as an analytical category.

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AFRICA

CATHERINE COQUERY-VIDROVITCH. *African Women: A Modern History*. Translated by BETH GILLIAN RAPS. (Social Change in Global Perspective.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1997. Pp. xviii, 308. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95.

The first in-depth, continent-wide survey of African women's history by a single author, Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch's book is a welcome and valuable addition to the literature. Encyclopedic in its coverage, the book focuses on a wide range of themes extending from the precolonial period to the modern day. These include women's involvement in peasant production, trade, informal sector and wage work, rural to urban migration, prostitution, politics, religion, and culture. Attention is also paid to women's health, education, and emancipation. Illustrative examples and case studies are taken from across the continent, demonstrating a vast array of similarities as well as differences.

While the broad scope of the work is its strength—it would be useful as a general reference guide or course text—its breadth is also its weakness. How has the author decided what to include and exclude? While there is an emphasis on some important subjects such as work and marriage, motherhood does not even appear in the index. There is relatively little reference to exciting developments in African women's litera-

ture, the role of women in indigenous religions, and women's associations within Christian churches.

One omission is even more striking. Surprisingly, Coquery-Vidrovitch's book exhibits a tendency to regard African women as victims who passively submit to their subjugation by dominant males. Scholars of African women's history have, for the most part, gone beyond this sort of oversimplified characterization. Although women are often complicit in their own subordination, women across the continent have resisted patriarchal structures in extremely public, as well as more private, ways. The book contains little information about these initiatives.

The dated nature of some of the source material is also problematic. The twenty-page bibliography is relatively up to date, including English and French sources published as recently as the early 1990s. Material from many of the more recent sources is not incorporated into the text, however, either in terms of historical fact or interpretation. For example, discussions of prostitution, women's factory work, and political involvement cite older works, even though newer ones are included in the bibliography. Hence, the bibliography is somewhat misleading; the text does not, in fact, benefit from many of the new perspectives represented in it.

There are other problems concerning source citations. In some sections, sources are cited frequently. In others, one might read a page or two before learning the source of (some of) the information. Much of this material is not common knowledge. Who should be credited, and who should be held accountable?

Despite its flaws, Coquery-Vidrovitch's book remains a valuable contribution to the field. Possessing an extremely comprehensive index, it is a useful reference guide and should be on the shelf of every historian of modern Africa. It would work well as a basic text in African history or women's studies courses at the advanced undergraduate level. Finally, the book is a must for all college and university libraries.

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RICHARD L. ROBERTS. *Two Worlds of Cotton: Colonialism and the Regional Economy in the French Soudan, 1800–1946*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 381. \$55.00.

In recent years, historians of Africa have stressed the vitality and resilience of African industries in the face of European colonial policies aimed at molding local economies to fit metropolitan needs. In this well-written and thoroughly annotated study, Richard L. Roberts demonstrates the resilience of the Sudanese cotton handicraft industry in the face of French efforts to convert the Niger Valley into a source of raw cotton for the French textile industry.

La politique cotonnière in French West Africa began as early as 1817 when the French encouraged the production of raw cotton in Senegal, but it was not

until the end of World War I that the French colonial administration launched a concerted program to make the Sudan a replica of the Nile Valley as a source of raw cotton and thus liberate the French cotton industry from dependence on the Georgia fiber. Promoted by a number of enthusiastic government officials such as Emile Béline and Jules Carde, the French employed an arsenal of techniques ranging from soil testing, seed selection, pilot projects with new plows, crop rotations, and ginning to a grandiose plan to irrigate one million hectares of land by damming the Niger River. Béline was a veritable dynamo who overrode those who questioned the feasibility of such a massive investment. But the real problem lay less with French faith in technology than with their assumptions about the psychology of the Sudanese and their response to market forces.

Two approaches jostled for favor in the French administration. On the one hand, entrepreneurs, public works officials, and some agronomists favored the massive irrigation project linked to European-managed cotton plantations using African wage labor. On the other hand, senior administrators favored a pro-peasant policy backed by seed hybridization and price incentives to encourage sale of raw cotton produced on small plots for export to France. Both projects failed because the French assumed that the Sudanese would act as "economic men" and respond rationally to wage and price incentives. In the case of plantations, sufficient labor could not be attracted by higher wages, and when coercive methods of recruitment were used, desertions increased dramatically. Ambitious plans for a major resettlement of Sudanese labor failed miserably. In the pro-peasant case, the world market price for raw cotton was too low compared to the prices offered by the Sudanese handicraft industry, so peasant cotton-growers sold their harvest to their own spinners, weavers, and dyers. Although the French were willing to interfere in the Sudanese labor market, they considered the "free market" in cotton sacrosanct and respected the growers' choice of clients.

The French then tried to saturate the colonial market with imported cloth in order to create a surplus of raw cotton for export, but even when prices were lower than the local product, consumers preferred Sudanese cotton cloth. Roberts attributes this to the elasticity of African demand and also to the well-developed precolonial networks of production and exchange. A glance at the map of French West Africa shows that marketing operations extended almost a thousand kilometers, from Ségu on the Niger to Dakar in Senegal or to Abidjan in Ivory Coast. The French had not only misapplied their economic psychology but also failed to appreciate the vitality and persistence of the Sudanese handicraft industry. Roberts concludes that the Sudanese did indeed make their own economic history, even under conditions of European colonialism. Ironically, when cotton productivity on peasant farms finally responded to French technology in the 1940s, it was too late for the French. The

Popular Front ended forced labor in 1938, and the Brazzaville accords of 1944 prepared the way for Sudanese independence.

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SHUBI LUGEMALILA ISHEMO. *The Lower Zambezi Basin in Mozambique: A Study in Economy and Society, 1850-1920*. (The Making of Modern Africa.) Aldershot: Avebury. Ashgate. 1995. Pp. xii, 292. \$72.95.

At first glance, this book looks promising. It is part of the "Making of Modern Africa" series that has distinguished itself by publishing African authors. The title recalls Elias Mandala's textured analysis of East Central Africa's peasant economy in the lower Tchiri Valley of Malawi and raises the hope that Shubi Lugemalila Ishemo will extend a similarly sharp analytical lens to Mozambique. Ishemo acknowledges Mandala's work from the outset and confirms that the historiography of this part of East Central Africa is particularly well developed. What does Ishemo intend to contribute to this well-tilled ground?

Unfortunately, whatever Ishemo's intention, this study is seriously compromised by poor editing. It is unsettling to see the second word of the prefatory quote by Amílcar Cabral misspelled. The text is strewn with typographical errors, misspellings, and errors in grammar and syntax. Moreover, characters appear and disappear without introduction or context. The glossary includes or excludes words with no apparent regularity. It is probably just as well that the book has no index.

These technical problems are not merely annoying; several are fundamental. The key historical coordinates of time and space are confused. The title and chapter headings, for example, locate the study in the lower Zambezi Valley between 1850 and 1920, but the introduction defines its scope as the region that today constitutes the province of Zambezia during the time from 1850 to 1914 (p. 2). Did the press simply decide to round up the title and chapter headings to the next decade and to include the southern basin? The book never seriously engages the critical events from 1915 to 1920; indeed, its focus is on the three decades from 1870 to 1900, and the regional scope is largely Quelimane District.

Ishemo states his task and analytical framework more clearly. He offers a Marxist class analysis of the region's key political and economic shifts during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, assuring those who might consider Marxism and nationalism dated, discredited, or both that "[t]he contemporary epoch, characterized by neo-liberal triumphalism, is temporary" (p. ii). Whatever the ultimate fate of neo-liberal triumphalism, Ishemo's work does not take us significantly beyond the already well-developed analysis of events and relationships in Vail and White's *Capitalism and Colonialism in Mozambique: A Study of*

Quelimane District (1980) and White's *Magomero: Portrait of an African Village* (1987). Ishemo raises some small points of disagreement, but his emphasis on structure, classification, and economic terminology often restates and sometimes obfuscates relationships. Language like "peasant domestic production units" belies the gendered, negotiated, variable, and complex nature of the area's contemporary, small-scale agricultural producers.

Ishemo focuses his class analysis of the region's late nineteenth-century transformation on the institution of the *musokho* or "hut tax" system. He argues that, as the slave trade diminished, the *musokho* increasingly became the principal means of surplus extraction from small farmers. Rather than stimulating and developing productive forces and enhancing surplus creation, the *musokho* undermined productive forces and led to popular immiseration (pp. x, 7). Ishemo's conclusion does not illuminate his parallel argument that the *prazo* holders and subsequently the colonial state increasingly emphasized and depended on *musokho* collection.

Ishemo's most effective work emerges from his use of the British Foreign Office and Portuguese colonial files. The careful incorporation of African perspectives on late nineteenth-century transformations that distinguishes the works of Mandala, Vail, and White is muted or absent. The book simply ends with no compelling conclusion. It is a disappointing, rushed, and incomplete work that may have been a satisfactory doctoral dissertation but has not been reworked successfully into a monograph.

JEANNE MARIE PENVENNE
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PHYLLIS M. MARTIN. *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*. (African Studies Series, number 87.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 278. \$59.95.

European and North American historians of leisure and sport have frequently lamented their roles as the Rodney Dangerfields of academe, getting no respect from fellow historians. That old complaint no longer has any basis in fact. Despite the occasional grunts of dismissal from ossified departmental Neanderthals, sport history courses proliferate at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. As no reputable survey of American or European history can any longer ignore the ludic aspects of popular culture, numerous monographic studies of sport and leisure can now be found in AHA book exhibits.

The place of sport and leisure in African historical studies is quite another matter. Except for the South African scene, where the imposition of imperialist and racial attitudes on sport has fascinated British and American historians, African sport remains largely *terra incognita*. Schools, churches, private clubs, police forces, and armies now sponsor athletic programs throughout the continent, and at least one large soccer

stadium can be found in every capital city. But few scholarly articles and fewer monographs document the relation of leisure to labor, the connections of traditional competitive rituals to their modern counterparts, or the making of today's urban leisure and organized sport patterns in response to various economic and political interests.

The paucity of secondary literature makes Phyllis M. Martin's study of leisure and sport in colonial Brazzaville a welcome contribution. The thorough, sophisticated character of this book is to be applauded, for it sets leisure firmly within the larger picture of African history.

Martin earned her stripes with several other monographic and general histories of central Africa. Now, in a fashion common to African studies, she works in paradigms borrowed from distant climes. Many of the questions posed by Hugh Cunningham's *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution* (1980), focused on Britain, and Jacques Le Goff's European-centered *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (1980) inform her study of colonial Brazzaville. In brief, these questions pertain to conflicting urban definitions of time and space for the enjoyment of fashion, food, drink, music, dance, and sport.

For making sense of these topics in the African context, the old simplistic polarities of tradition and modernity are not very helpful, nor are the self-contained categories of imperial domination and native resistance. Rather, as Martin explains, questions of status, control, and identity barged to the fore shortly after Brazzaville was founded in 1880 as the capital of French Equatorial Africa. European and African sub-communities fiercely debated the appropriate use of "free time" and the ownership of urban space. In the end, they negotiated a new order of time and space.

At first, the Catholic Church dominated that conversation just as surely as the gothic cathedral and bishop's palace sat atop a hillside overlooking the town. In addition to their moral authority, the clergy's longevity of tenure carried inordinate weight. Monseigneur Augouard served as bishop of the Upper Congo for thirty-one years, and Mother Marie headed a Brazzaville convent for thirty-seven years, at a time when few Europeans survived boredom and tropical fevers for more than two years. Monopolizing education and youth organizations until well into the 1920s, the church quite literally replaced African drums with bells and informal spontaneity with the punctuality of clocks and daily routines.

The church also contributed to the making of Sunday as a day free from labor. With "time to spare," African townspeople turned to family gatherings, promenades, group dancing, and recreational and spectator sports. By the 1920s, football (soccer) was "the game in greatest demand" (p. 100) by African youths. As elsewhere, Europeans organized the first teams for their own spare-time activities. Bands, banners, and colorful uniforms (provided often as not by

priests and colonial administrators) quickly turned informal games into festive occasions. Football appealed to Africans because it resonated with the competitive sportslike activities they had enjoyed in their villages.

Football also served many cultural functions. A street game as well as a stadium game, it provided African youths with a physical outlet for urban play. It gave communities—especially Brazzaville's two largest ones, Poto-Poto and Baongo—a focus of pride around which they could cohere. Finally, football became a battleground for conflicting colonial and native interests. In 1936, a "shoes controversy" erupted, with Africans refusing to adhere to a newly imposed European rule that they play without shoes. Between 1945 and 1951, in a kind of prologue to African independence, several African teams broke all ties with European patrons who had previously provided uniforms, a stadium, and general supervision of the game.

Whether playing or watching a soccer match, dancing in the Grande Palace of Poto-Poto, or playing cards in the home of a friend, Brazzaville people eagerly sought pleasant ways to fill their spare moments. As Martin makes abundantly clear, these activities were far from trivial. Amid all the tensions that stemmed from racial, economic, and gender conflicts, leisure and sport were supremely important to the inhabitants of colonial Brazzaville.

WILLIAM J. BAKER

University of Maine [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

IAIN R. SMITH. *The Origins of the South African War, 1899–1902*. (Origins of Modern Wars.) New York: Longman. 1996. Pp. xix, 455.

Iain R. Smith's new book is the latest—and the longest—contribution to the Longman series on the origins of modern wars. Like other authors in the series, Smith seeks to provide a comprehensive, up-to-date synthesis of existing work in a form accessible to students; however, he departs from his predecessors by incorporating "very considerable primary research" (p. xii) and, more controversially, by justifying its inclusion on the grounds that such detail is necessary to redress recent neglect of the war's political origins by historians more concerned with the military experience of the conflict itself or the region's social and economic development.

Smith does not disavow social history altogether, devoting a chapter to the deeper roots of the conflict, but his real point of departure is the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886. If the Transvaal could once have been dismissed, from London or Capetown, as merely a pastoral region of marginal importance, it was now clearly destined to dwarf its neighbors as southern Africa's new economic center of gravity. Ultimately, the mineral revolution in the Transvaal

accelerated British intrusions in the internal affairs of the Boer Republics, which, despite formal British suzerainty, bitterly resented any interference. Obviously, fresh sources of gold were of paramount interest to a Britain dedicated to the maintenance of the gold standard and the profitable equilibrium upon which the nation's finance and trade depended. Gold also promised profit and demanded labor. The lure of the one and the necessity of the other precipitated a surge in investment by major mining concerns and a massive influx of new immigrants, the largely British "Uitlanders" whose arrival spurred the expansion of the city of Johannesburg from 3,000 to some 100,000 residents over the course of a decade. Smith is especially good at dissecting the far-reaching implications of these changes for the Transvaal government of Paul Kruger. The mining companies' interest in recovering the gold as cheaply as possible conflicted with Kruger's conviction that preserving state monopolies over dynamite production and rail transport, even if they increased costs, was the only guarantee of future Afrikaner leverage. The growth of the Uitlanders posed a cultural and political challenge. Despised by most Afrikaners as alien transients, they were systematically denied real influence in politics, education, or urban administration, affording Her Majesty's Government the opportunity to argue that the rights of (white) British subjects were being summarily ignored.

By 1898, these tensions had escalated to war, a process Smith describes clearly in almost overwhelming detail. The author attempts to impose order upon his material by distinguishing between economic and political explanations for the war's outbreak. According to Smith, those historians who are inclined to the former position argue that the mineowners successfully enlisted the support of Salisbury's government, though these "randlords" cared little for the British flag, which was incidental to their quest for unencumbered access to the gold. Scholars who favor political explanations, Smith contends, regard British sovereignty as the crucial issue and the mines themselves as incidental. In this view, the impetus toward war came from a British government fearful of Afrikaner consolidation of South Africa to the exclusion of British influence.

Smith is not impressed by the economic explanations, and he goes to some length to exorcize what he regards as "Hobson's ghost," making effective use of confidential Johannesburg bank records to document the apprehensive rather than bellicose outlook of the financial community. It is, therefore, to the more strictly political questions at issue between Britain and the Transvaal that Smith devotes the bulk of his analysis. Whatever the diplomatic distinctions between suzerainty and sovereignty or the complexities of contending proposals to enfranchise the Uitlanders, what really was at stake, he argues, was the question of whether Britain would be the paramount power in South Africa. In practice, this did not require formal territorial annexations but rather a free hand in Trans-

vaal affairs, granted by a compliant government. Kruger's government clearly was unwilling to grant such leeway, but most British statesmen, including the energetic Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, were convinced that the threat of military force would elicit desired concessions. They misjudged both the fatalism of Kruger and the determination of the British High Commissioner, Lord Milner, a self-described "British Race Patriot," who disdained his Boer opponent as an obstacle to the inevitable consolidation of a Greater Britain.

Milner's attitudes and machinations come across clearly enough in this study, although the role of public opinion in Britain and of political influence in the Transvaal (other than that of Kruger himself) remain shadowy. Moreover, Smith's restrictive definition of economic interest enables him to demolish exaggerated claims of capitalist conspiracy and the omnipotence of the mining companies, but it arguably deters him from considering the interplay of less tangible, but no less significant, material and political considerations (the "unspoken assumptions," to recall James Joll's telling description). Despite its many virtues, this book falls betwixt and between: it includes too much detail for students and too much familiar material for specialists, while its ambitions to provide a novel perspective on the relevant historiography are sometimes submerged in a more traditional narrative.

FRANS COETZEE

George Washington University

FREDERICK COOPER. *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*. (African Studies Series, number 89.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 677. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$27.95.

For those familiar with recent Africanist historiography, the main title of this book reads as somewhat of an oxymoron. Decolonization was clearly an important event but one that, in retrospect, seems quite distant (except in its disappointing consequences) from the grass roots concerns of African society. Conversely, the kind of social history that has become so prominent in recent scholarship on the African past (with Frederick Cooper as one of its most distinguished practitioners) has tended to restrict its canvas to the struggles of local communities against various forms of economic and political hegemony rather than analyzing changes in the institutions of domination themselves.

The power and problems of Cooper's very important book derive from this dilemma. For the most part, this is more a macrohistory of colonial thought and decision-making (covering a very wide range of both British and French territories) than a close study of any particular groups of Africans. The author's stated goal is to look at "political projects and social projects" [emphasis added] in a manner that "lays the groundwork for understanding how Africa ended up with the

kind of independence which it for the most part got" (p. 5), i.e. those regimes that have so sadly failed to live up to the promises of liberation from European rule.

The major agents in the ensuing narrative are European administrators and planners, and their principal characteristic is a persistent inability to understand the processes over which they presumably presided. At the start of the period under discussion, their view of Africans as "primitive" or "traditional" populations blinded them to the new social formations created by the urban economy. The "modernization discourse" of the 1940s and 1950s proved to be equally unrealistic. When this approach failed, Africa was abandoned to indigenous rulers who are little more than "gatekeepers" between whatever remains of external "development" resources and internal patronage networks.

The social history in this book, as its subtitle suggests, derives from a focus on labor, although even here, Cooper mainly examines how European authorities and African union or party leaders understood the situation of African workers rather than the actual lives of these laboring communities. For both the actors in the decolonization era and subsequent historians, the definition of an African "working class" and its relationship to nationalist politics has been a matter of great controversy, and Cooper very effectively transforms the terms of this debate. He views the decision by Europeans to accept unionist demands that African laborers be treated on the same basis as their European counterparts as a mutual failure to comprehend African social reality. It was a very consequential failure, since the cost of providing European-scale wages and benefits under African economic conditions could not be borne by either colonial or postcolonial regimes. European governments were thus encouraged to withdraw from Africa, while their local successors coopted some of the labor leadership but rather quickly suppressed the unions as an autonomous force. An important segment of African society, as represented by labor movements, thus does play an important role in Cooper's story, but less as a positive shaper of its outcome than as a dilemma of both colonial definition and indigenous self-definition.

Given its emphasis on decision-making at the top, the primary documents for this study come from colonial archives and provide direct insight into how responsible Europeans perceived—or misperceived—their tasks. This approach allows Cooper to spell out his claims about the colonial origin of Africa's current difficulties, but it also raises some historiographic, or at least narrative, problems of its own. The power of Cooper's analysis comes from his characteristically sober, thorough, and yet engagingly written account of the colonialists' endeavors. This is no small accomplishment in a field where much of the scholarship fails to place colonial thinking in its historical context, either identifying with the self-contained world view of European rulers or endowing them with exaggerated hegemony over their African subjects.

The problem with this approach lies in the limitations, one might say mediocrity, of most colonial thought. Cooper is well aware of this situation, and its revelation is one of the main points of the book. However, the very decision to commit so much effort to digging up old colonialist debates makes Cooper somewhat their prisoner: he has to replay them for us at much greater length than they deserve (or at least than the attention of most readers will bear).

From my own perspective as a sometime economic historian of this era, such an account also tends to exaggerate the significance of both colonial authorities and African subjects in determining the stages and outcomes of the decolonization process. The decisive power over African affairs ultimately lay at higher levels of European public and private sectors, reacting to their own perceptions of Africa's role in the international economy. It was the crises of the Depression and post-World War II eras, rather than colonialist understandings of what were still very small African urban populations, that drove the modernization and development policies analyzed by Cooper. It was likewise recognition, by the mid-1950s, of Africa's irrelevance to the reinvigorated European and global economies that made the cost of misconceptions about managing newly growing African cities so unacceptable. Cooper draws some very insightful comparisons between tropical and South African developments during his period but fails to consider whether the white regimes to the north of this divide might also have held on a good deal longer, with different post-colonial results, if their stakes had been higher.

It would be very wrong to conclude this review on a negative note, since even the problems raised by Cooper's attempt to link macrohistory and social history are instructive and his accounts of the issues which he addresses directly are both authoritative and valuable. Indeed, it is far easier to understand the global economic basis for African malaise than to trace its internal roots in the kind of colonial dialectic that Cooper delineates. Cooper is also right to see contemporary attempts to subject bankrupt African states to global market discipline via structural adjustment programs as a replay of late-colonial modernization errors. He is further justified in insisting on recognition of colonialism as the crucial, if often impotent, intermediary between Africa and the larger world into which it is so imperfectly integrated. His book provides a monumental account of a major stage in this mediation, even if, as Cooper himself recognizes, other forms of analysis are needed to round out the picture of decolonization, let alone deal positively with its results.

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ROBERT MALLEY. *The Call from Algeria: Third Worldism, Revolution, and the Turn to Islam*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. x, 323. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$18.00.

This book is primarily a work of intellectual history that, to provide necessary contextualization, moves frequently in and out of socioeconomic, political, and institutional history as well. It traces the gestation, apogee, and decline of third worldism, the term Robert Malley uses to define the ideology that dominated elite discourse in much of the developing world between the 1950s and the early 1980s. Malley provides a chapter of global overview of each of these phases, followed by separate chapters detailing the experience of Algeria during the same phase. As the author admits, using Algeria as the main case study does not in every case provide a perfect fit with other third world experiences, but it does so sufficiently often to justify the choice of methodology and add substance to the more abstract chapters. This is the most detailed and compelling overview I have seen of the emergence, spread, and disappearance of a discourse that underlay the ideologies of a number of developing countries and that, for about a quarter of a century, dominated much of the North-South dialogue.

Although most of the material Malley deals with is accessible to the scholarly world, he uses and recasts it in ways that are often highly original and that bring refreshingly new insights to old issues and problems. The term "third world" is the 1952 invention of French economist Alfred Sauvy, and third worldist ideology was greatly influenced by the European left. Malley nevertheless rejects the contention of many scholars that it was an artificial graft imposed by the left on the countries of the southern hemisphere. Third worldism was, in his view, the product of fecund encounters among three seemingly incompatible ideological attitudes: assimilationist, traditionalist, and socialist. At the heart of the process lies the frustration of Western-educated elites seeking acceptance and upward promotion within colonial systems structurally incapable of granting them. These elites were often in contact, directly or indirectly, with Europe's leftist intelligentsia, and that experience blended with elements of native history and culture and from the traditionalist discourse propounded by many of their less Europeanized compatriots. The most unlikely component in the mix is the third, which blends French revolutionary ideology of the awakening of the *tiers état* with Marxian paradigms of class conflict to create the oppressed, revolutionary *classe/people* of the south.

During its apogee, third-worldist ideology postulated the notion of historical inevitability and its link to human agency, in this case a united "people" with a single will, which is expressed by the state. Related to the latter is an image of power, which the north had previously used to oppress, but which the people's state now uses for purposes of liberation and progress. Associated with the notion of a cohesive people within each state is the concept of third-world solidarity as it seeks to reverse the power balance between north and south.

The discussion of decline addresses the questions of the validity of the underlying theses of third worldism

as well as the objective failures of elites and institutions in delivering on their promises. Malley makes thoughtful distinctions between the analyses of those who had never believed in third worldism and those who were bitterly disappointed at its failures. But the most compelling part of this section is the author's complete rejection of the essentialism of Samuel P. Huntington and others, who see the failures of the third world as flowing from the primordial tribalism, religiosity, and clannishness of these societies as well as from their insistence on substituting ideological economic paradigms for the "objective" validity of the free market system. According to Malley, the demise of third worldism is related to more specific issues, such as changes in the balance of power, the state's shortcomings, its relinquishment in the 1980s of key social responsibilities, its cultural realignment with the north, and the marginalization of ever-expanding segments of the population, who are forced to fall back on more traditional forms of solidarity and support.

The author's overview of the paths taken by Algerian elites and the trajectories of their ideologies is excellent. The specialist will find much that is creative and even brilliant in the analyses and interpretations in the three Algeria chapters. The non-specialist, however, might wish for a fuller, more detailed background of modern Algerian history.

This book should attract a very wide audience among scholars and students of the third world, of Algeria, and of Africa. It will also be a godsend for teachers of world history grappling with the broad and difficult task of synthesizing accounts of the postcolonial era.

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ASIA

D. R. HOWLAND. *Borders of Chinese Civilization: Geography and History at Empire's End*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 341. Cloth \$52.95, paper \$22.95.

This book by D. R. Howland examines some very important historical questions. But as a revised dissertation, it is not yet ready for publication. The author needed to establish clearly stated purposes, to see those through, and to disallow diversions along the way, and he needed further to ground his analysis of Chinese texts fully in Chinese textual traditions.

The book's title refers not to geography or geographical borders but metaphorically to borders of the Chinese mind. "At empire's end" means 1877–1890. The study's division into three parts—Encountering Japan, Representing Japan, and Representing Japan's Westernization—is unexpected, because Japan does not appear in the main title. These divisions are truly meaningful, however, since Howland sees Chinese views of Japan as a barometer of a changing Chinese

mind and world view, and he believes that Chinese writings can serve "as problems of knowledge and representation" to probe "the epistemology underlying Chinese perceptions of Japan and Japan's Westernization" (p. 5). This legitimate and ambitious purpose is not realized. Instead, relevant detail and insights end up lost in a confusion of shifting interests and categories of analysis.

The categories of analysis in this study are variously Chinese, non-Chinese discourse, or a confusing mixture of the two. Howland's stated objectives necessitate grounding in certain genres of Chinese writings, most notably poetry and the "geographic treatise" (Howland's term). Those sections dealing with poetry are generally rooted in Chinese poetic traditions and make a substantial contribution, particularly with respect to Huang Zunxian. The important section on geographic treatises, by way of contrast, is hopelessly problematic. These writings are said to be modeled on Chinese *fangzhi* or local treatises. The problem is that not one of the six geographic treatises examined fits the mold of a *fangzhi*. Failing this, attention is diverted to discourse- and stream-of-consciousness-type analysis that detracts from and confuses the picture. For example: "A first and perhaps most obvious strategy of objectification is abstraction, which refers most simply to the placement of things in the geographical representation" (p. 178). Howland's lengthy explication of "objectification" in this and related passages makes no reference to a Chinese world view. Chinese texts have long, complex, and well-researched traditions, and any analysis of meanings must respect their integrity. Instead, Chinese elements are too often forced into poorly conceived discourse categories. This approach "Orientalizes" Chinese studies; that is, it imposes *unsuited* alien categories and constructs on Chinese texts—a great step backward from the present advanced state of Chinese studies.

Moreover, the use of terms is often problematic. For example, Howland examines the word *Wo* for the country of Japan, drawing attention to its pejorative extended meaning of "dwarf" as in "dwarf pirate" or "dwarf country." He then chooses to translate *Wo* as "dwarf" even when inappropriate, as when he renders the phrase of a prominent Japanese, "our Confucians of Wo [Japan]," as "our Dwarf Confucians" (p. 58). The Chinese term *wenming* or "civilization" is at the heart of Howland's thesis about "Chinese civilization" and the Chinese world view. The Japanese reading of the Chinese characters for *wenming* is pronounced *bunmei*. By the 1870s and 1880s, *bunmei* had strayed radically from its earlier meaning of "Chinese civilization." This point, compellingly important to Howland's study of *wenming* at China's "borders," is entirely neglected until late in the book (pp. 211–213).

I believe in evaluating a book on its merits and within its own given framework. The present work, however, has defeated me, because it shifts its framework and bases of analysis so frequently. With so many scholarly monographs begging for publication, I am

disappointed to see this one published prematurely by a university press. Handsomely produced and error free, the book's flaws lie not in its production but in its content.

DOUGLAS R. REYNOLDS
Georgia State University

DANIEL H. BAYS, editor. *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xxii, 483. \$55.00.

JUN XING. *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution: The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China, 1919-1937*. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses. 1996. Pp. 238. \$39.50.

Daniel H. Bays has edited a lengthy collection of essays by scholars specializing in the history of Christian missionaries and their converts in the Middle Kingdom. Although it has taken a generation for scholars to respond to John King Fairbank's 1968 AHA presidential address calling for study of the "forgotten" China missionaries, this volume testifies to the diversity both of the missionaries themselves and the Chinese who responded to their message. Anyone tempted to stereotype China missionaries and their converts would be well advised to read these essays carefully. The volume deals with topics as diverse as Roman Catholic women converts in Sichuan in the mid-Qing era to Pentecostals in contemporary Taiwan. Together the essays offer a rich view of one of China's smallest minorities: Christians.

Essays on Roman Catholic converts by Robert Entenmann, Alan Sweeten, Charles Litzinger, Roger Thompson, and Ernest Young indicate that the converts were an integral part of the communities in which they lived. The disputes in which they became involved were usually the result of local conflicts—refusal to contribute to village festivals, lawsuits over unpaid debts—rather than specifically related to the converts' foreign religion, although Young's essay on the murder of the local magistrate at the Nanchang mission is a whodunit without an answer. Tsou Mingteh's essay on Gilbert Reid, who went to China first as a missionary but soon determined that his true role was as a "bridge" to China's literati, demonstrates the broad range of interests typical of many of the more liberal members of the nineteenth-century mission community in China.

The appeal of Christianity to China's ethnic minorities is the subject of essays by John Shepherd on Taiwan's plains aborigines, Norma Diamond on the Hua Miao, and Nicole Constable on the Hakka. All indicate that marginalized groups in China were the focus of missionaries' work and often heeded the message. Women converts are the subject of a second essay by Entenmann on Christian virgins in Sichuan, as well as essays by Kwok Pui-lan on Protestant women converts and by Emily Honig on Cora Deng Yuzhi, head of the Young Women's Christian Association's

(YWCA) Labor Bureau and organizer of women for the Chinese Communist Party. Two essays about secondary schools for girls—Heidi Ross on the Methodist McTyeire Home and School in Shanghai, and Judith Liu and Donald Kelly on the Episcopal St. Hilda's in Wuchang—detail the powerful influence single women missionaries had on young Chinese girls. As role models, they helped to transform the role of Chinese women in this century.

Indigenous Christianity is covered by essays by Jessie and Ray Lutz on Karl Gutzlaff's Chinese Union; Peter Wang on Protestant publishing; Bays on independent Christianity, specifically the True Jesus Church, the Little Flock, and the Jesus Family; Timothy Brook on Christianity during the Japanese occupation; Gao Wangzhi on Y.T. Wu's career under communism; and Murray Rubinstein on Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians in Taiwan. Each of these essays demonstrates ways in which Chinese recipients adapted the Christian message the foreigners had brought to China, making it suitable to their local situations.

The scholarly yet readable approach taken by each of the contributors to this volume adds greatly to our understanding of the complex relationships between foreign Christian missionaries who sought to teach their religion, and in many cases a Western world view, to the Chinese and those Chinese who heard their message and adapted, adopted, and/or rejected it in various ways. The book is highly recommended for all those interested in modern China, international relations, women's issues, religion in China, and cross-cultural studies.

Jun Xing's book is an institutional study of the Young Men's Christian Association that draws heavily on the organization's archival materials. Unfortunately for such a short book (only 175 pages of text), the author devotes the first chapter to the YMCA's identity in Britain and the United States, discussing the organization's many internal struggles to determine what its position should be vis-à-vis the social gospel. The YMCA's Christian message and its relationship to the various American and European churches established in China, its reaction to the May Fourth movement, and the international scope of its organization are the central issues that Xing addresses. Insistence on using Chinese secretaries as leaders of the organization helped YMCA representatives avoid some of the problems experienced by those missionaries in China who were reluctant to turn over authority to their Chinese converts; yet, as Xing notes, all these Chinese secretaries were the products of American universities or at least of American mission schools in China. Xing agrees with Shirley S. Garrett (*Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese Y.M.C.A., 1895-1926* [1970]) that the YMCA was unable to help solve the problems of China's laboring class, partly due to its paternalism and partly due to its established nature.

Some curious errors appear in Xing's book. For example, although some women were employed by the

YMCA as clerical workers (secretaries with a small "s") to do the typing of the male Secretaries (capital "S"), none of the former appear in the book. Yet Maud Russell is referred to as a YMCA Secretary who served in China for twenty-six years (p. 125). Russell, a vocal and committed feminist long in the service of the YWCA in China, would not have been amused by being thus reassigned to the male organization. Even more worrisome is the non-standardization of Chinese names in the book. For example, the Nationalist leader's name appears as Chiang Kai-shek in the index and in some parts of the narrative, but in other places (pp. 76, 89) it is rendered Kiang Kai-shek with no reference as such in the index. Is proofreading a thing of the past? This work will be of interest only to the well-informed specialist.

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XI LIAN. *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907-1932*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 247. \$38.50.

Lian Xi has written a fascinating account of the response of certain liberal American Protestant missionaries to early twentieth-century China. The first half of the book looks closely at the experiences of three well-known liberal Protestants: Dr. Edward Hicks Hume, the first president of Yale-in-China (also known as Yali); Reverend Frank J. Rawlinson, long-time editor of the *Chinese Recorder*, the most famous journal for and by China missionaries; and Pearl Buck, ex-missionary and novelist. Lian admits that these three individuals were chosen somewhat arbitrarily (p. 13), but argues that even though they represented different aspects of the American Protestant mission to China (medical, evangelical, and educational, respectively), they had a common intellectual experience.

This common experience, Lian asserts, was their gradual transition from enthusiasm for the American Protestant missionary cause to uncertainty or even rejection of that cause, based on a new and deep regard for indigenous Chinese religions and culture. Hume developed a profound respect for Chinese medicine and was sympathetic to Chinese nationalism. When the nationalist movement forced him to leave Yali in 1927, he spent the rest of his life as a quasi-missionary of Chinese culture to Americans. Rawlinson's increasing interest in and tolerance for Chinese religions led him to break with his sponsoring board, the Southern Baptists. Buck's dramatic and public rupture with the Southern Presbyterian mission board similarly stemmed from her affinity for the Chinese people and her eventual conclusion that the missionary movement was arrogant and imperialistic.

Lian argues that the experiences of Hume, Rawlinson, and Buck recapitulate the broader shifts of opin-

ion among liberal missionaries in general. The second half of the book focuses on the development of liberal thought among American Protestant missionaries in China. Lian claims that liberalism emerged from the union movement among missionaries (an effort to unite Christian institutions in China without regard for American denominationalism), theological liberalism within the United States, the rise of Chinese nationalism, and the concomitant efforts of liberal missionaries to sinify Christianity. He traces missionary liberalism in China to the 1907 Centenary Missionary Conference in Shanghai and dates its peak in 1932, when the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry publication, *Re-Thinking Missions*, asserted that missionaries needed a more sympathetic and tolerant approach to missions. In particular, the Laymen's Report urged greater acceptance of Chinese culture and religion.

The notion that American missionaries in China underwent a dramatic change in their attitude toward native culture from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries is not, of course, new. American missionaries noticed and congratulated themselves on how enlightened they were becoming. Harold Isaacs's *Scratches on Our Mind: American Images of China and India* (1958) noted the shift from an "Age of Contempt" to an "Age of Benevolence." But Lian's study is the first full-length treatment of this transformation among missionaries. What Lian misses, however, is the degree to which changes in social mores in the United States and the West were significant. It is true that many American missionaries were self-consciously "modern" in their new tolerance for Chinese traditions; it is also true that many missionaries embraced those traditions in opposition to certain aspects of "modernity" that they rejected, such as racy movies, bobbed hair, cocktails, cigarettes, dancing, and jazz. Ironically, just as many liberal missionaries were discovering how wonderful Confucianism was after all, many "modern" Chinese were rejecting it—and Christianity.

Lian does note the defensive edge to missionaries' liberalism, in that they came to identify their enemies not as non-Christians but as those who scorned all religion. But he goes too far in claiming that liberal missionaries in fact wished for a syncretic religion that would blend the best of the East and the West. Acknowledging that missionaries *did* reject syncretism, Lian insists that this was only "in public" and was not very "convincing" (p. 191). My reading of the private papers of missionary educators (probably the most liberal among missionaries) has turned up no subterranean urge to meld Christianity, Buddhism, and Daoism; Lian himself has only utilized the private papers of some half dozen missionaries and provides little evidence from these that their authors were closet syncretists. Lian's conclusions must thus be regarded with some skepticism, but his study does highlight the need for greater research into the theol-

ogy of China missionaries and their influence on popular religion within the United States.

GAEL GRAHAM
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GAIL HERSHATTER. *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 591. \$45.00.

How does one write a history of prostitution? As a moralized narrative of exploitation and vice? As a story of the regulatory strategies of the state and its allies? As an exploration of the changing modalities of sexual politics? Gail Hershatter's long-awaited book on prostitution in twentieth-century Shanghai recognizes the pull of all these approaches and the pitfalls each holds for the feminist interpreter. In tracing the rapid decline of the late imperial Chinese culture of courtesan entertainment and its replacement by a stigmatized commercial sex trade, Hershatter has chosen to emphasize changing patterns of discourse that construct a parable of culture and modernity. At the same time, she alternates the lens of an interpreter of culture with that of a historian of labor. Massively documented and thoughtfully narrated, this is an important work, even when it sometimes seems overwhelmed by the excess of its own riches.

In the late nineteenth century, the patronage of courtesan entertainers was still a socially acceptable elite male pastime, and Hershatter skillfully exploits a literature of connoisseurship that was echoed by the guidebooks and gossip columns of the early republican mosquito press. In these texts, Hershatter finds threads of nostalgia and longing, anxieties about elite masculinity, and occasional worries about the nation. Primarily this was a literature of male pleasure. Her narrative exposes the cult of celebrity that sustained the business: the carefully cultivated images of glamour and inaccessibility, and the accoutrements of wealth that surrounded the courtesan; the challenges to charm and to spend that inveigled her would-be lovers. But as she gradually ceased to be thought of as an artist, as she left her private "house" to work in restaurants, hotels, and dance halls, the aura of the courtesan ceased to veil the commodification of bodies and of sexual services that had always been the lot of the vast majority of working prostitutes. Colonial, Nationalist, and Communist governments all pursued disciplinary policies toward prostitution. It was medicalized, as the problem of venereal disease occupied public health authorities; it was labeled a modern social pathology by nationalists of all ideological stripes concerned with social morality as an index of the health of a threatened body politic.

In tracing the replacement of a discourse of "pleasure" with one of "danger," Hershatter shows how little differentiated the reform agendas of political adversaries. Christian colonialists, Guomindang Na-

tionalists, and Communist revolutionaries all condemned trafficking (although hesitating to outlaw prostitution altogether). All experimented with licensing and public health monitoring and sponsored a variety of reform programs designed to reeducate and restore fallen women to the "natural" authority of the family. In a final section on the resurgence of prostitution under today's market socialism, Hershatter makes clear that state strategies remain similar: intermittent low-level police prosecution punctuated by occasional campaigns to steer women into rehabilitation programs or to "reform through labor" camps. Whereas earlier reformers explained prostitution as a pathology of China's feudal culture or of class exploitation, however, in the 1980s it has been recast as a bourgeois vice, a product of the pleasure-and-profit-seeking excesses of the marketplace. As a container echoing with the rhetoric of every problem of twentieth-century China, the discourse of prostitution appears now to have reached a thoroughly modern dead end.

Throughout Hershatter writes as a practitioner of discourse analysis and also as someone uncomfortable with its limitations. Her critique of her elite sources is that, despite their verbosity, they render the prostitute herself invisible and her voice unheard. The subaltern voices Hershatter hears in the interstices of her texts are those of "sex workers," laboring women choosing the best of the limited economic options available and with luck achieving a modicum of autonomy unavailable to the housebound wife or the farm or factory drudge.

The construction of the prostitute as a sex worker is an attractive option for the feminist researcher. Who, looking at Shanghai prostitution, would not be wary of the masculine myth of the glamorous Oriental courtesan, or the reform narratives of sexual victimization, or the moralists' tales of vice and corruption? But the risk here is that the prostitute becomes a transgressive heroine in our own feminist discourse, sexually liberated and independent of family constraints, maximizing available economic opportunities in a society that puts her down in both class and gender terms. Although some of Hershatter's facts support such a picture, the construction of the "sex worker" elides just those issues of the politics of gender and sexuality that are central to feminist analysis in general and that make the topic of prostitution a troubling one for feminists.

While using Foucauldian models of discourse, Hershatter also boldly stakes out a claim for the agency of her female subalterns. But when she constructs that agency as the radically oppositionist one of the worker, she has to locate her subjects "outside of discourse" altogether. None of her sources, whether mosquito press, Marxist revolutionary tract, or modern market reformer's social science surveys, speaks of prostitution simply as a form of work. She reports that the contemporary Chinese feminist scholars and activists she interviewed for the final section of her book also

rejected the idea when it was suggested to them. This leaves discourses as simply the voices of elites, and we are not shown how they might have informed the outlooks and practices of these particular working women, as well as those of their clients, families, and communities. Rather than exploiting fully the resources of her preferred analytical method, Hershatter turns instead to a more familiar Marxist social history of ideology and resistance.

Discourse has more to teach us, however. It is a powerful methodology because it claims the power of cultural representations to shape subjectivity, even if they do not totally determine all aspects of it. Neither just work, nor just sex, nor just vice, prostitution is constructed at the confluence of all of these. In China, the discourses of feudal exploitation and family shame, of abused beauty and seductive *demimondaine* artist were culturally specific resources available to prostitutes and their clients alike. Agency may also be constructed out of materials like these. Further, it is through Chinese (and our own) feminist discourses of reform and redemption (including our discourse of the sex worker) that we can see how a specifically female sexual politics is in play here: we good women rescue bad women while evading our own privileged position in the political economy of sex. Although I wish that Hershatter had pursued such avenues more fully, I find this overall a rich book and a brave one.

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XIAOBING TANG. *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse of Modernity: The Historical Thinking of Liang Qichao*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 289. \$39.50.

Tang Xiaobing submits a well-researched subject—the thought of the preeminent, late-Qing intellectual, Liang Qichao—to an innovative rereading. Relying on the discourse of modernity as his theoretical framework and on the concept of spatiality as his main interpretive category, Tang examines not Liang's better-documented roles as publicist and political theorist but his historical thinking. He focuses on two particular periods—the first years of the twentieth century and the 1920s—and traces a shift from Liang's commitment to a “global imaginary of identity” to his understanding of a “global imaginary of difference,” from his preoccupation with homogenous, universal time, to his appreciation of incongruous space.

Beginning with an examination of the importance of nationalism in Liang's early historical thinking, the book establishes the aporia in nationalist discourse—a discourse that springs from a territorial imagination while subscribing to universal time—as one of its key themes. Analyses of a number of Liang's key texts form the core of Tang's narrative. A reading of “New Historiography” (completed in 1902) highlights the author calls the modernity of Liang's understanding of history as a political intervention and his consciousness

of time. A series of historical biographies of Western figures, also written in 1902, raise questions concerning the problematic nature of historical representation and agency for social change. Liang's incomplete novel, *The Future of New China*, sets the stage for dialogue with the French Revolution continued in his well-known debate with radicals in Tokyo between 1904 and 1907. The final chapter of Tang's book scrutinizes Liang's later writings, inspired by his trip to a devastated Europe from late 1918 to early 1920. It posits his reimagination of modernity through spatiality and his conviction that the project of modernity could be completed as a global rather than a European enterprise. In the conclusion, Tang traces theoretical developments in the West from modernist historicity through nationalist discourse to the postmodern epoch of space, invoking an impressive number of theorists, many of whom have been engaged in the text.

Focused as it is on issues of space and history, it is unfortunate that this study does not pay more attention to the historical context in which Liang's texts were conceived. Recent scholarship in Japan has shown that the historical biographies examined by Tang were essentially plagiarized from the Meiji journal *Taiyō* and publications of the Minyūsha. An example of what Liang himself described as his “desperate searching” in the early years, his use of the Japanese texts (and this is not the only instance of it) might help to explain the shifts in his thinking that Tang detects and provide a source for Liang's historical vision. Such contextualization might also raise relevant issues of space, history, and modernity, such as Liang's conception of the (non-)spatiality of historical narratives and the complexities of a multiply mediated “translated modernity.” Treatment of Liang's numerous historical biographies of Chinese figures, which Tang does not examine, is also lacking. This might have balanced Tang's examination of Liang's relationship to modernity with a fuller and more complex appreciation of his relationship to China's historical past and his ultimate understanding of its value as a transnational cultural system.

Tang's application of current approaches and interpretive categories to Liang's thought is the most important and fascinating aspect of this study. At the same time, however, the voices of Liang, Tang, and the theorists he invokes are often merged so seamlessly that they risk overdetermining Liang's meaning. Tang does convincingly demonstrate Liang's heightened awareness of space in his later years, and he skillfully complicates Joseph Levenson's analysis of Liang's global thought in this period (*Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China* [2d ed. 1959]). However, Liang's calls for a merging of cultural systems, a synthesis of science and Buddhism, a combination of native traditions and modernized knowledge, and completion of what was absent in Western modernity by Chinese values cannot be too readily equated with a postmodern, postnationalist celebration of difference. His vision ultimately remained harmonious and global.

The importance of Liang's new cultural politics as a repressed narrative cannot be denied, however, nor can the potential power of his belated realization of the need to "engage the populace" within what might be called a new "national imaginary of difference."

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SUZANNE PEPPER, *Radicalism and Education Reform in Twentieth-Century China: The Search for an Ideal Development Model*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 610. \$59.95.

Should the radical educational innovations of China's Cultural Revolution, 1966–1976, be remembered? China's Communist Party renounced them soon after 1976, but just twenty years later, Suzanne Pepper has taken 600 pages to reconstruct them. In doing so, she seeks to place them in the context of ties to pre-1949 educational reforms in China. Even more central to her objectives, Cultural Revolution policies are reviewed for their relevance to models of international development.

Schools of thought in international development during the 1970s were not misguided, Pepper argues, in the interest they took in the Cultural Revolution, because it addressed problems that many Third World countries faced in educational development. Unlike existing European models, China used political mobilization to confront the problem of rural-to-urban migration, discrimination favoring mental over manual labor, agricultural versus industrial distinctions, and the issue of equity in access to education. Her detailed examination of how schools functioned in the Cultural Revolution is informed by eighty-two Hong Kong emigré interviews, primarily with individuals who were teachers or students during the Cultural Revolution decade.

Pepper argues, however, that the innovations in question were not original with Mao Zedong, who was publicly credited with their development. Rather, a little-known cultural revolution in the Soviet Union from 1927–1930 inspired the Chinese version. Therefore, China's Cultural Revolution was less a distinctively Chinese rejection of the dependency afflicting Third World modernization than a socialist mass movement that had a Russian precedent. The link was Khrushchev's 1958 reforms of Soviet education, which had immediate echoes in Great Leap Forward policies in China and became the precursor of post-1966 educational radicalism.

Pepper carefully probes for the origins, within Chinese educational history, of the radical solutions offered by the Cultural Revolution. She treats the interest in rural education in the 1920s and the failure of early Chinese Marxist experiments in mass education. The 1949–1957 period of explicit emulation of Russian education is considered a mechanical imitation of foreign models by China's new socialist state, much as

the example of the American school system dominated Chinese educational reforms in the 1920s.

The logic of this book mixes developmental modeling with historical method. Asking what internal Chinese precedents existed for the questions addressed in the Cultural Revolution can be historically justified if causal continuities connect the similar issues confronted in the past with Cultural Revolution practices. Instead, the logic of social science model building directs the narrative. Pepper cites examples of past Chinese reformers addressing issues similar to those addressed in the Cultural Revolution, from the self-strengthening efforts of the late nineteenth century to Warlord Shanxi. But historical continuities are not proven, and often the relevance of the comparison is to point out that the issue had not been resolved by a pre-Cultural Revolution model. Rather than providing a history of the origins of educational radicalism in China, this volume explores themes from China's twentieth-century educational reforms relevant to Pepper's search for an ideal development model.

The author integrates the primary material from her interview sample with sociological precision into existing scholarship on the practice of education from 1966 to 1976. Also sparkling is Pepper's careful reconstruction of earlier issues, such as the roles of local elites and the financing of Chinese education from 1906 to the mid-1930s. The relevant political context for each educational reform explored is presented with scholarly care making Pepper's book valuable to researchers in several periods of twentieth-century history.

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XIAOYUAN LIU, *A Partnership for Disorder: China, the United States, and Their Policies for the Postwar Disposition of the Japanese Empire, 1941–1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 343. \$59.95.

As its subtitle suggests, this model study of diplomatic history centers on Sino-American interaction during World War II regarding the postwar fate of former Japanese territories (except Southeast Asia). The emphasis is on U.S. relations with the Nationalist Chinese, but the Communists are not ignored. Liu demonstrates, in fact, "that while upholding conflicting prescriptions for China's diplomatic problems, the KMT and the CCP embraced many of the same goals in China's foreign affairs" (p. 5). Thus Chinese diplomacy represented more than "a mere partisan undertaking disguised as a national policy"; rather it "reflected a genuine national essence" (p. 6).

That "national essence" often conflicted with U.S. aims. While China tended to approach issues of the postwar order "with a spirit of absolute nationalism, an Asian-centered calculation, and a confrontational perception of international politics," the Americans held to "an inclusive and world-systemic view" (p. 7). Given China's weakness relative to the United States, the Nationalists failed to achieve their goal of engaging

U.S. support for the recovery of such lost territories as Outer Mongolia, Hong Kong, and the Ryukyus or the reestablishment of influence in Korea. In negotiations with the Soviets in Moscow during the summer of 1945, the Chinese had only partial success in soliciting U.S. backing for its position regarding the Northeast. Yet Nationalist China succeeded in renegotiating unequal treaties with the West and recovering Manchuria and Taiwan from Japan. If China was clearly the weakest of the Big Four, the war "saw an unprecedented activism" in its diplomacy (p. 2). Indeed, Liu argues that the central weakness in Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek's strategy in World War II rested in his overemphasis on diplomacy rather than domestic reform.

For their part, the Americans were far from successful in achieving their postwar aims. The wartime settlements off the coast of East Asia held up well, but the continent quickly became embroiled in conflict. As Liu puts it, "if the phrase 'cold war' is used to characterize the postwar international history of both Europe and Asia, 'cold' was for Europe but 'war' was, for Asia, hot and bloody" (p. 289). U.S. leaders believed "that their power politics would be omnipotent," and in so doing they ignored "radical nationalism—which operated too unconventionally to be handled by ordinary diplomacy" (p. 301).

Such arguments are not altogether original. The document collections employed in the United States, Taiwan, and mainland China have been used before in John W. Garver's *Chinese-Soviet Relations, 1937–1945* (1988) and Odd Arne Westad's *Cold War and Revolution: Soviet-American Rivalry and the Origins of the Chinese Civil War, 1944–1946* (1993). Liu's emphasis on American confidence in power politics unwisely downplays the very real sense among U.S. officials in Washington and in the field of their country's limited interests and influence on continental Asia. Still, the depth of analysis and breadth of issues covered in Sino-American relations is impressive and unique. So is the coverage of historiography in the introduction and rich expository footnotes throughout. The writing is always clear, polished, and, for a detailed research monograph, well-paced. In a word, Liu has written a fine book that should dominate the literature on an important topic for a long time to come.

WILLIAM STUECK
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YAN JIAQI and GAO GAO. *Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution*. Translated and edited by D. W. Y. KWOK. (SHAPS Library of Translations.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, for the School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Hawai'i. 1996. Pp. xxv, 659. \$48.00.

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has attracted more international public attention than any other event in modern Chinese history, both at the time it occurred and subsequently. Although the ana-

lytical literature on the event has been rich and diverse, what we might call the mainstream—consisting of social scientific and assorted "China-watching" (that is, Kremlinological, or the reading of protocol evidence) studies—has focused on power-political aspects of the struggle at the elite level and on the dynamics of Red Guard factionalism at the mass level during the first two years of spontaneous mobilization (1966–1968). This magisterial tome by Yan Jiaqi and Gao Gao represents a departure from the mainstream in three respects. First, it is the first history of the Cultural Revolution with a detailed and comprehensive chronological coverage of the entire ten years of that movement. Second, it is the first book-length history of the Cultural Revolution written by one who was on the scene to be openly published in the People's Republic of China (PRC). To some extent, the authors incorporate a participant-observer's perspective (though the main primary sources are the mass media and Red Guard posters and tabloids). Third, although no longer unique in that respect, it still represents a relatively unofficial and independent Chinese perspective; that is why the original edition was pulled from publication shortly after its publication in Tianjin in 1986 (though it continued to circulate underground) and why Yan himself was placed under house arrest during the campaign to criticize "bourgeois liberalism" following the demotion of Hu Yaobang in January 1987. Along with their involvement in the 1989 Tiananmen protests, it is also why the authors now live in exile, having become prominent members of the overseas democratic reform movement.

This book essentially represents a translation of the thoroughly revised second edition of the Chinese version, which was published as *Zhongguo "wenge" shinian shi* [The ten-year history of the Chinese cultural revolution] in Taiwan and Hong Kong in 1990 and became a bestseller among overseas Chinese. It is substantially improved, however, benefiting not only from D. W. Y. Kwok's scrupulous translation but also from a new introduction, foreword, and conclusion: some thirty pages of annotations (the first two editions were footnoteless); a detailed glossary of (Chinese) names, events, and organizations; an exhaustive author's bibliography of Chinese works (plus a more cursory English reading list); and a forty-four-page index. This is clearly the edition of the work that research libraries and scholars will be most eager to acquire.

The book is not animated by a central argument, though it does have a theme, which is that China's Cultural Revolution inflicted great and needless suffering upon China's body politic. This theme is illustrated in detail by myriad otherwise disjointed episodes. Although truly groundbreaking upon first appearance, the fact that this is a translation of the 1990 edition means that its revelations have already been superseded, to some extent, by subsequent research. Still, there are many new insights for the careful reader. Although availing themselves of Red

Guard materials, the authors' approach is elitist; they view the masses in one metaphor as sheep awaiting a shepherd. Their explanation of the origins of the movement follows the "two lines" model, specifically the power struggle between Mao and his heir apparent, Liu Shaoqi, but by implication it is more complicated than that, and the authors go into considerable detail on the successive exposure and disgrace of erstwhile notables Luo Ruiqing, Wu Han, Peng Zhen, Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, Ho Lung, Ye Jianying, Chen Yi, and many others. From this haphazard string of targets, it is difficult to discern any clear design by Mao or any other elite symbol manipulator beyond the vision of the masses rising up and overthrowing a mysterious cabal of "capitalist roaders," leaving gaps for one makeshift expedient after another to be improvised to keep the movement viable. The dynamic of the movement was oscillatory, veering between elite control and mass cooptation of central symbolism, between united radical initiatives and convoluted internecine factionalism. Each major radical initiative devolved into chaotic local conflicts that finally obliged Mao to impose military discipline on the "revolutionary masses" (only to unleash them again, however, repeatedly).

Yan and Gao throw new light on many of these incidents, including the period of complex maneuvers between different Red Guard factions and their elite patrons between the 8th Plenum of the 11th Central Committee and the Central Work Conference (August-October 1966), the reorganization of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Cultural Revolution Committee in January 1967, the "February Adverse Current" that provided the pretext for renewed mobilization of April 1967, the September 13 incident that resulted in the death of Lin Biao and much of his family, the campaign against Lin Biao and Confucius, and the April 5th (Qing ming) incident that precipitated the second fall of Deng Xiaoping. Mao emerges as a true philosopher-king who spends three months of his last year of life reading the classic Chinese novel *Water Margin* in search of a moral for the Chinese masses, a visionary whose thirst for praise is matched only by his suspicion of flatterers; Jiang Qing as a wilting beauty enjoying a second run at stardom but terrified of the "black material" in her past (it turns out she was a Kuomintang prisoner who signed a false confession to get out of jail in 1934 and then resolved to pin that transgression on her enemies); Zhou Enlai as the skilled sycophant who overheard Mao telling Chen Yi's widow not to confuse Liu Shaoqi with Deng Xiaoping in January 1972 and promptly set about clearing the way for Deng's rehabilitation. Politics seems reducible here to a tiny hothouse of intrigue, yet subdivided into stage and backstage, explicit slogans and implicit codes (to praise Mao's first wife Yang Kaihui was to impugn Jiang Qing), bereft of hard information and haunted by rumors, but with surprising faith in truth (An Ziwen's refusal to provide material on Liu Shaoqi's "renegade" history, even in

face of death; personal letters to Mao with revelations that might change history).

The book is not without flaws. It is essentially the history of a series of episodes, arranged for the most part chronologically but with several overlaps and flashbacks that may be confusing to the untutored reader. There is little attempt at thematic, institutional, or economic analysis (Yan and Gao might point out, on the other hand, that institutions disintegrated and personal politics was in command). The coverage is exclusively urban and much more thorough for the capital than for other cities. Although the translation is generally on the mark there are occasional lapses (the Chinese term *chuanlian*, usually translated as "link-up," is rendered as "networking," which seems to me unfortunate; the sense of the English term is gathering career contacts, whereas in China it has connotations of a sacred pilgrimage). The analysis of the Lin Biao incident continues to posit a coalition between Lin and Jiang Qing (in line with the official story, articulated in the 1980 trial of the "gang of ten"), whereas Frederick Teiwes's more recent research finds no love lost between the two since the 9th Congress. Some incidents are mentioned but remain rather unclear, such as the endless investigation of the May 16 incident, or the aim-inhibited criticism of Zhou Enlai. Did Mao want to get rid of Zhou or not? Still, this definitive edition is an invaluable contribution to the history of a great upheaval that continues to fascinate scholars.

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DALI L. YANG. *Calamity and Reform in China: State, Rural Society, and Institutional Change since the Great Leap Famine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 351. \$49.50.

Mao Zedong spent the final years of his life worrying that his successors would turn back the clock on his socialist project and restore capitalism to China. Yet the irony is that Mao's best efforts to forestall capitalist restoration only hastened and made more thorough that outcome. With the dismantling of collectivized agriculture, the revival of private ownership, the surge in direct foreign ownership and investment, and the creation of new stock markets, the institutional order of China has changed dramatically since Mao's death in 1976. Even though the economy remains a hybrid rather than a fully capitalist system, reform-era China has embraced a range of capitalist measures.

How are we to explain this dramatic reversal? A number of explanations come to mind, including simple revenge on the part of Mao's successors (particularly Deng Xiaoping, who was purged and humiliated by Mao not once but twice during the final decade of Mao's life). A more compelling case can be made that the radical experiments that Mao tried to carry out produced consequences that eventually undermined much of his socialist institutional order. Dali L. Yang

presents an impressive array of evidence to indicate that the dramatic, nationwide dismantling of collectivized agriculture in 1978–1983 had its roots in the Great Leap Forward of 1958 and in the massive famine that was its immediate outcome.

China had completed a relatively smooth collectivization of agriculture by 1956. Yet Mao was not satisfied with the resulting Soviet-inspired system of farming, and in 1958 the Great Leap Forward was launched. That campaign saw the transformation of China's version of collective farms into people's communes, organizations more than thirty times as large as their predecessors, which were based on radical socialist and military organizational forms. Because of the irrationality of these mammoth organizations and the refusal of the leadership to respond to danger signals, a massive famine ensued in 1959–1961 in which an estimated 30 million or more people died. Desperate peasants and village leaders responded to this crisis by breaking up commune lands and contracting them out to individual farming households. In 1962, however, Mao denounced household contracting as a deviation from socialism and demanded a return to collectivized farming (albeit in more modest communes shorn of their radical elements). That organizational form persisted until Mao's death, but soon afterward spontaneous experiments in household contracting spread in many locales. Within a few years, these experiments had become a tidal wave, and China's leaders eventually gave their blessing to decollectivization and a full return to family-based farming.

These aspects of the story have been known for some time. Yang's most impressive contribution is to show that the areas that experienced the worst famine conditions during the Great Leap Forward were most likely to experiment with household contracting prior to 1962 and also most likely to lead the way in reintroducing household farming after 1978. Given such evidence, Yang argues persuasively that the Great Leap Forward disaster foretold the demise of collectivized farming in China, even though it took two decades for the conditions to arise in which the communes could collapse. By the same token, Yang argues that this case study qualifies the conventional view that peasants in China and elsewhere are passive political actors helplessly manipulated by states and urban elites. Even though China's leaders eventually gave their full support to household contracting, the initial pressures for decollectivization came from below, not from above.

This impressive book makes a number of other contributions. Although it does not document the impact of the famine in as grisly detail as some other recent works, it does a masterful job of describing how the famine's impact varied across the face of rural China. The book also contains original research on elite politics surrounding rural policy at the time, research demonstrating that initially Mao appeared open to the possibility of allowing household contracting to deal with the famine. This work also contains

very insightful discussions of rural politics and trends in the 1980s and 1990s. Readers can learn much about how the initial successes of China's agrarian reforms were followed by conditions that sparked rising rural protests in the 1990s and about the elite debate that changed the environment surrounding rural industrial enterprises from tolerance to active encouragement. All in all, this is one of the most important works on China's rural political economy to have been published in recent years.

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S. N. EISENSTADT. *Japanese Civilization: A Comparative View*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 581. \$39.95.

S. N. Eisenstadt, a veteran student of social change, here asks why Japan is the only non-Axial civilization (in Karl Jaspers's scheme) "to have had a continuous, autonomous—and very turbulent—history" (p. 13) and why it has experienced the only "fully successful non-Western modernization" (p. 428) despite lacking a great religion (in Max Weber's terms). The answers, Eisenstadt argues, lie partly in elements that are absent in Japan compared with Israel, Greece, Iran, and China of antiquity or subsequent Christian, Hindu, and Buddhist realms: transcendental values, universalistic beliefs, and autonomous arenas of action. But he also finds answers in two distinctly Japanese phenomena. One is the "mutual embeddedness" of "nature and culture," producing a reality that is "structured in terms of shifting contexts rather than discrete, enclosed ontological entities or absolutist, dichotomous categories" (pp. 318–19). The other is a conception of an interactive "individual personality" that is "embedded in social relations or contexts" (p. 332).

A "schoolmaster" state and hegemonic ideas have controlled modern Japanese society, Eisenstadt believes, but without stifling dissent. Rebellions and protests, "while certainly not accepting the existing social arrangements, did not challenge the core premises and symbols thereof"; they were "usually subsumed under the canopy of the broader themes of harmony and loyalty" (p. 371). For this Eisenstadt uncharacteristically offers a monocausal explanation: the reconstruction or "extension of the range of trust" is what "provides the crucial key for understanding the dynamics of social interaction" in Japan (p. 372).

Compared with Europe, feudal Japanese cities and vassals lacked autonomy. There was no idea of the state "as a distinct ontological entity" (p. 193), and both Buddhism and Confucianism became Japanized and thus immanentist, no longer transcendental. The Meiji restoration of 1868, unlike modern revolutions elsewhere, "aimed at the revitalization of the Japanese nation" but not at "a new, universalistic, future-oriented utopian vision" (p. 271). Eisenstadt believes that "Japan's relatively low level of ideologization" (p. 298)

sets it off from Axial civilizations, despite certain institutional similarities.

By far the sharpest aperçus and wittiest lessons are to be found in the final 128 pages of this hastily edited, unduly elaborated volume. Eisenstadt has little use for structuralist, convergence, or rational-choice interpretations; instead, culture and social experience are fundamental. His brilliant summary of contextual (not logocentric) ontological reality in chapter thirteen points out that Japanese discourse devalues “the subject vis-à-vis the environment” (p. 329) and emphasizes performative indexing (on a continuum) as against referentiality (to binary poles). The framework of reflexivity depends not on evaluating “existing reality in terms of transcendent principles, but rather on the continuous and rather complicated ‘mirroring’ of the different principles inherent in the construction of reality” (p. 331). Thus personhood and social interaction are better understood via “the processes through which symbolic and organizational aspects . . . are interwoven” (p. 381) than in terms of structure or ideas alone. The “combination of historical contingency, structure, and ‘culture’” (p. 383) best explains Japan’s distinctive development.

Eisenstadt energetically harvests, if not always winnows, vast acres of Western-language scholarship (yet would scholars appreciate a comparable study of Germany or Russia, no matter how nuanced, if it did not draw on vernacular sources?). Comparatist in approach, scornful of essentialist writings on Japanese uniqueness known as *Nihonjinron*, Eisenstadt nonetheless verges on saying that Japan is incomparable. He might have set Japan’s affirmation of trust and the moral economy of protest in a broader international perspective. Japan is far from alone in defining selfhood in relation to a social context. Nevertheless, many readers are likely to conclude that Jaspers and Weber have finally met their match in Eisenstadt’s erudite, perceptive, and altogether wise volume.

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HERMAN OOMS. *Tokugawa Village Practice: Class, Status, Power, Law*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 425.

Herman Ooms offers us a new and highly welcome perspective on early modern rural society in this study of intravillage politics through the four, interconnected focal points of class, status, power, and law. His book is a creative work, reflecting considerable research in secondary sources and printed documentary works, with a heavy theoretical debt to Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault. Much of the case material is drawn from the Shinano (Nagano) region, but as Ooms states, “in good part, this is a study *in* rather than *of* a region” (p. 9).

Ooms’s main concern is with what peasants did

“within and with institutions” (p. 2); that is, how did bakufu, domainal, and local institutions relate to social and political practice in Tokugawa villages? Importantly, while often pushing his examinations back into the early eighteenth or seventeenth centuries, Ooms reveals the dynamic way in which law was used in the village both by the bakufu and domains to maintain their power and social order, and by the village elite to maintain and legitimize their social status. Of particular interest are the actions of former samurai, who opted to stay on the land and go against the tide of the so-called “sixteenth-century revolution.”

The heart of the book lies with chapters two and three (“Class Politics” and “Status Power,” respectively). Here, Ooms demonstrates the importance of dealing with class and status not as mutually exclusive terms but rather as complementary ones, related to power through Bourdieu’s model of convertible (economic, social, and symbolic) capital. Working against the view that socioeconomic factors were paramount while status considerations became less important over time, Ooms uses several case studies to reveal how power was manipulated through status positions in the political struggles that took place in villages throughout the period. Economically declining elites used law—their officialized status—to offset politically their loss of material assets. This, however, as Ooms points out, did not preclude some peasants from making class congruent with status by using economic means to obtain access to, or to displace, the old village elites. But common villagers often viewed the law as a source of justice and used it as a mechanism by which to contest the power of elites around them.

Through his focus on actual practice rather than simply on legal texts, Ooms is also able to offer a new approach to the old question of village autonomy. The evidence in chapter four reveals the manner in which supra- and intravillage authority—lordly justice, as manifested in village laws, and village justice, as in village codes—were imbricated within what he terms a single “juridical domain.” The result was the creation of a distinct space that allowed each type of legal authority to decide whether or not to use the other. How this worked and the manner in which peasants sometimes played the two legal systems off against each other are of much interest and work to counter the false image of the village as a static and harmonious social unit.

The book is full of case studies, new information, and insights. For example, the story of Ken, although drawn out, is fascinating in its detail of one woman’s challenge to feudal authority over the wrongful death of her troublemaker husband at the hands of his relatives, fellow villagers, and the village headman. In this and other incidents, our knowledge that written documents played a crucial role “in the power field encompassing both village and supravillage authorities” (p. 69) is reaffirmed in new contexts. Ooms’s analogy of the bakufu to a colonial regime exercising indirect, quasi-military control and his characteriza-

tion of it as a regime of conquest are useful and creative concepts.

The book includes a chapter on the hereditary "nonstatus" category of peasants known as *eta* or *kawata* (literally, "leather workers"). Ooms asserts that the discrimination leveled against them was in fact a product of eighteenth-century Japanese society and culture and not a legacy from earlier times. He provocatively describes this discrimination as "state racism," because of the "discriminatory and segregationist laws, racist in their effect, being enacted throughout Japan against the *kawata*" (p. 248). To equate all discrimination and racism seems problematic, however, and given the author's qualifications of the expression as "intra-race racism" (p. 246) and "status racism" (p. 272), its further use appears unwarranted. Still, his apt demonstration of how notions of pollution were flexible, "activated and propelled by social, economic, or political forces . . . [that were] appropriated and applied in some situations but not others," is compelling (p. 275).

As engaging a book as this is, I do have some personal reservations, largely methodological in nature. In my view, the dense, institutional description, replete with full texts of documents and numerous tables, many of which require specialized knowledge to interpret, makes too many demands on the reader. Related to this is the fact that each chapter can be read, according to the author, on its own, "independently and in almost any sequence" (p. 10). This forces the reader to impose his own intellectual order on the work. In particular, the first chapter (about Ken's protest) together with the fifth (on state racism) comprise one-third of the text, but collectively they do not advance the book's main interpretive points sufficiently to merit their length. A more integrative final chapter perhaps would have obviated some of the difficulties posed by this methodological approach.

These cavils notwithstanding, Ooms's imaginative work is must reading for anyone with an interest in early modern Japan or in larger issues of village society, status, and class.

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SALLY ANN HASTINGS. *Neighborhood and Nation in Tokyo, 1905–1937*. (Pitt Series in Policy and Institutional Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1995. Pp. x, 274. \$59.95.

This is a useful study of the interrelations among bureaucrats, local city elites, party politicians, union organizers, and members of various voluntary associations in modern Japan. With respect to the last of these, Sally Ann Hastings provides a great deal of new information on the activities of local welfare committees and neighborhood associations as well as of the Imperial Military Reserve Association and young men's associations. The particular focus of her study is

Honjo Ward, an area of Tokyo that will be familiar to readers of Andrew Gordon's *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan* (1991).

In addition to its detail and the comprehensiveness with which it depicts the Japanese state and its relationships with various social and political groups and organizations, the primary strength of Hastings's book lies in its attention to what she calls "participation bureaucrats." The author's main thesis is that the civilian bureaucracy, and particularly officials within the Home Ministry, played a vital role in the production of a modern citizenry. She argues that these bureaucrats encouraged the involvement of commoners in multiple and overlapping aspects of political life, fostering popular activism in concerns ranging from local sanitation to electoral politics, nationalism, and even moderate forms of labor union activity.

I have two significant reservations about the ways in which Hastings uses her local study to address large historical issues concerning class and democracy. First, she argues that because the bureaucracy was so actively involved in fostering what she describes as "pluralism"—where, for example, even the poor might mingle with the elite in local political life—the state was "autonomous" rather than representative of dominant class interests. It is important to remember the obvious fact that the defense of private property was as central to the modern Japanese state as was maintenance of the monarchy. As is well known, the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 specifically outlawed the formation of associations that advocated a change in the "national polity" (a code phrase for the emperor-centered system of domination) and the system of private property. Although it is probably true, as Hastings suggests, that the conventional Marxist Kōza school's view—that the post-Meiji restoration state was the product of an alliance between feudal elements and capitalists—should not be accepted uncritically, the theses that the modern Japanese state was "relatively insulated from ties to currently dominant socioeconomic interests" (quoting Theda Skocpol, p. 198) warrants a far more involved theoretical and empirical discussion.

My second reservation concerns Hastings's framing of what is in fact a rather old question about democracy in prewar and wartime Japan. Rather than ask "what went wrong," she wishes to investigate "what went right?" (p. 7). Yet the question is too simply posed, and Hastings ultimately avoids analyzing the social, economic, and political contradictions and ambivalences of the prewar and wartime era that Andrew Gordon has already analyzed in a provocative way. "What went right" cannot be so neatly separated from "what went wrong." In fact, it was the very success of the state in mobilizing the masses in politics in the 1910s and 1920s, a democratic accomplishment in Hastings's mind, that helps to explain grassroots involvement in Japanese fascism of the 1930s. One of the framing strategies that enables Hastings to extricate "what went right" from "what went wrong" is the

decision to end the book in 1937 rather than in 1945. This allows her to exclude from close inspection the conditions in Japan most comparable to those found in fascist Italy and Germany. By bypassing the late 1930s and early 1940s and identifying a direct linkage between the twenties and the postwar era, Hastings avoids the most uncomfortable questions concerning the thin line that has separated, but at times also bridged, "pluralist" and parliamentary democracies and regimes that we might consider to be fascist.

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LESLIE PINCUS. *Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan: Kuki Shūzō and the Rise of National Aesthetics*. (Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, number 5.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 271. \$45.00.

This book deftly analyzes the elite edge of prewar Japanese culture, focusing on an author and text known (if at all) for deploying neo-idealist philosophy to combat the anxieties of Japan's gathering modernity. The text, "*Iki*" *no kōzō* (Structure of Edo Aesthetic Style), was published in 1930 by Kuki Shūzō (1888–1941) and became a sort of postmodern icon before its time.

Who was Kuki? In an age that diminishes narrative and disparages biography, what makes him worthy of a book? Western studies of Japanese thinkers tend to favor famous "enlighteners," but here is a major study of a figure so minor that textbooks do not refer to him. Kuki was a Kyoto professor and cultural nationalist who identified Japan's prize asset as a lifestyle cultivated a century earlier in Edo/Tokyo. By reviving the aesthetics of old Edo, he hoped to check the progress of the modern (read Western), thereby "authenticating" Japanese identity and cultural "difference."

Kuki's European adventure (1921–1929), following graduation from the First Higher School and Tokyo Imperial University, turned out to be a key episode. His quest for experience took him first to Germany; then, in Paris, he came into contact with Henri Bergson as well as Jean-Paul Sartre, who tutored him in French. The European tour made Kuki a philosopher; it also helped him face his own spectacularly ambiguous past. He was the son of a prominent diplomat whose wife, Shūzō's mother, had an affair with Okakura Kakuzō, the famous cultural critic known as Tenshin. Kuki may have been Tenshin's son and spoke of Tenshin as his "spiritual father" (p. 29).

His dalliance with Europe led Kuki to fashion an aesthetic cosmos featuring himself, nattily attired but bereft of intimacy, a creature of the anonymous pleasure centers that mark the modern city. He came home determined to recuperate Japanese culture on the basis of a master concept, *iki*, referring to the style and tone of Edo life (and nightlife) before Commodore Matthew Perry reached Japan in 1853. Martin Heideg-

ger's hermeneutics gave Kuki a framework for his ramblings, and the 1930 book was a phenomenological treatise presenting a critical inventory of the attributes of *iki*.

How then shall we characterize Kuki: scholar or voyeur, philosopher of culture or victim of an oedipal urge to reclaim his mother from the potent modern "fathers"? In English (as in Japanese), next to nothing has appeared about him or his text. Comments surface here and there linking him with ultranationalism or with the argument for Japanese exceptionalism (*Nihonjinron*). Peter Dale devotes a dozen caustic pages to Kuki (*The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* [1991]), but Dale ignores the range—revealed by Pincus—of his paradoxical project. Here was Kuki, a Europeanized fop with aquiline nose and aristocratic mien, proclaiming the transhistorical virtue of Japan based on his own reading of European philosophy, even announcing that a timeless *iki* could save Japan from its modern history. Irony so proud was new to Japanese thought. True, Kuki dehistoricized the role of Edo, but how does this differ from Watsuji Tetsurō's attempt, in the ashes of 1945, to valorize all of Edo-period culture as compensation for Japan's missing out on the scientific revolution while the country was "closed"?

There are defects. Pincus tries middlingly to situate Kuki vis-à-vis Japanese fascism. Little comes of it except a caveat that aesthetics can sometimes displace politics as a form of "countermediation" against the West (pp. 220, 232). Kuki's other works, including a cunning study of contingency (*Gūzensei no mondai* [1935]), receive only passing attention. Too much effort goes into teasing out every last theoretical reflection, leaving Kuki as incorporeal as the image he projected. The problems of his real body, and his early death at fifty-three, are touched on only in a footnote (p. 212 n. 5). At the technical level, several dozen macrons ("long marks" to clarify pronunciation) are misplaced, the lack of a character glossary inhibits easy reference, and repeat misspellings occur ("Freiberg," "principle" as an adjective).

Kuki attracted new interest during the Edo boom of the 1970s and 1980s. Pop psychiatrist Doi Takeo even credited "*Iki*" *no kōzō* with inspiring his notion of *amae* (*The Anatomy of Dependence* [1981]). The reclusive philosopher who had affected the look of a European gentleman began to figure in schemes to revive the wartime dream of "overcoming modernity." So ambiguous a sensibility lends itself to abuse despite its intellectual sophistication, and a Heideggerian system can be turned to unintended purposes, as the German experience shows. In his own time, Kuki's bold move to make culture the standard of value was coopted into the rightward drift of Japanese ideology in the 1930s.

The *Iki* text, like its author, is arcane and forbidding. Pincus's prose, happily, is precise and inviting. She has produced an important case study in the new intellectual history, about a figure who mastered Western

ideas for their own sake but also in order to resist Western cultural hegemony.

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CHENG-TIAN KUO. *Global Competitiveness and Industrial Growth in Taiwan and the Philippines*. (Pitt Series in Policy and Institutional Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 267. \$49.95.

The industrializing nations of East Asia and Latin America have enjoyed a decade of rapid economic expansion and, despite the 1997 financial crisis, continue to produce a substantial portion of the world's textiles, ships, cars, telecommunications, and other industrial and consumer goods. Efforts to explain this rapid economic growth can be grouped into three major perspectives: global systems, social or cultural factors, and the developmental state. The global systems approach focuses on economies rather than states and on capitalist market forces external to the political economy of any given nation. In this view, the newly industrializing countries (NICs) are structurally dependent on external factors such as foreign capital and international markets. A second view explains the rapid growth of NICs in terms of social or cultural factors such as land reform, class structure, or religious norms. For example, Chalmers Johnson argues that a cultural capacity for loyalty and cooperation enabled Asian political leaders, business elites, and workers to agree on and jointly pursue the goal of economic development, whereas Michael T. Taussig finds that, in Latin America, an Ibero-Catholic inheritance and a rapacious culture of conquest were obstacles to such cooperation and rapid economic growth (see Johnson, "The Internationalization of the Japanese Economy," *California Management Review* 25 [1983]: 5-26; and Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* [1980]).

A third major perspective holds that political and institutional factors are key to the success of industrializing nations, particularly to the emergence of a "developmental state" that intervenes in the economy to promote rapid capital accumulation and industrialization. A crucial precondition for the success of this strategy is the existence of a strong state apparatus. In East Asia and Latin America, for example, the state has tended to be centralized, authoritarian (even military), and actively involved in economic affairs.

This third perspective is taken up by Cheng-Tian Kuo in his comparative analysis. Kuo argues that "effective 'developmental' policies are not initiated by the state but by corporatist business associations, that state autonomy often retards economic growth instead of assisting it, that a 'committed leadership' either does not exist or is irrelevant to economic performance, and that state capacity increases as a result of

the suggestions and pressure from business associations" (p. 48).

How, then, do we explain different experiences of economic growth? Kuo demonstrates that, in recent Taiwanese and Philippine history, corporatist links between industry and government are key factors in explaining rapid economic progress. Taiwan and the Philippines are similar in important ways, but their economic development has been very different. Relations between state and society in Taiwan moved from clientelism to state corporatism, whereas in the Philippines clientelism remains dominant.

Kuo conducts careful case studies of the textile, plywood, and electronics industries to support his general findings that a laissez-faire approach is too unpredictable, that clientelism almost inevitably leads to economic problems, but that close cooperation between business and government yields optimal economic success. Much of this cooperation is conducted through trade and business associations. Using new research data on the proceedings of business associations, recently published government documents, and newspaper reports, Kuo reassesses the impact of private sector alliances on state industrial policies and national economic vitality. His comparative studies are both useful in themselves and support his central argument in favor of a corporatist approach to economic development.

Although his argument is closely reasoned and well supported by evidence, Kuo does omit materials that might seriously limit or strengthen his contentions. He does not address the external market and financial forces that may shape a country's chances for success, especially a poor country with low capitalization and a small internal market. The 1997 collapse of the Thai baht and other East Asian currencies, the relative success of export-led growth in East Asia, and the relative failure of import substitution in Latin America could all be at least partly accounted for in terms of world system theory or neo-liberal economics, but Kuo dismisses both of these perspectives. Conversely, Kuo also overlooks much evidence on East Asian countries that lends support to his position. For example, in the 1980s, the South Korean state moved from interventionism toward cooperation with the private sector. As in Taiwan, business became more influential in creating industrial policy. Although relations between business and government are now more adversarial, productivity in South Korea has continued to grow.

Similarly, the relatively lower growth rates of Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines compared to those of Taiwan and South Korea may be due to the relative weakness of the state apparatus respectively in Southeast and Northeast Asia. The Southeast Asian states have been more vulnerable to corruption—Kuo's clientelism—than those of Taiwan and South Korea.

In the case of the Philippines, the dominant political class supported Ferdinand Marcos's imposition of martial law and authoritarian government. Members

of this class are commercial landowning and business people, provincial and local elites, Philippine agents of foreign countries, and managers of major bureaucracies in the civilian and military sectors as well as in public enterprises and government corporations. Rather than supporting either state-led development or laissez-faire capitalism, however, this largely Western-oriented group worked to establish an oligopolistic clientelism that continued under the regimes of Corazon Aquino and Fidel Ramos. Contrary to Kuo, weak states may be as corruptible as strong interventionist ones.

Although Kuo does not draw on these comparative historical data, they largely support his findings. In all these cases (and some in Latin America and Africa as well), policies of state-directed import substitution yielded low productivity, heavy debt, and fiscal crises in the 1960s and 1970s. When nations followed the examples of Taiwan and South Korea, however, liberalizing their economic policies and shifting toward export-led growth, economic success rapidly followed. Differences in the extent and type of state intervention in the economy affected economic growth, with high rates generally achieved in periods of "close cooperation" between business and government.

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B. A. HUSSAINMIYA. *Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III and Britain: The Making of Brunei Darussalam*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xxx, 447. \$45.00.

This political biography of the late sultan of Brunei, until 1984 a British protected state on the northwest coast of Borneo, is a meticulously researched work on a fascinating topic. In great detail, B. A. Hussainmiya takes us through a background discussion of the British residential system set up in 1906 to foster development in Brunei and save it from "inevitable" absorption by neighboring North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak.

A modest degree of nationalism and political activity emerged in Brunei, as in the rest of Southeast Asia, following World War II. Partially to answer demands from below for political participation, and perhaps to forestall more unwelcome pressures for political change, both the British administration and the sultan moved in the 1950s to introduce a modern constitutional government. Unfortunately, however, the new structure left power firmly in the autocratic hands of the sultan's court, and in December 1962, the state faced a "tempest in a teapot" rebellion by the only effective political party, the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB). The rebellion accentuated the larger political picture of the 1950s and 1960s, which revolved around several "plans" for the future of Brunei: a northern Borneo federation of Brunei with the British colonies of North Borneo and Sarawak (favored by Britain and the PRB); a joining of Brunei with Malaya, North

Borneo, Sarawak, and Singapore in the Federation of Malaysia (pushed by Malayan prime minister Tunku Abdul Rahman and the British after the failure of the North Borneo Federation, but strongly opposed by the PRB and ultimately by the sultan); and a plan for greater autonomy within the British protectorate. The last plan won out, largely because of the stubborn insistence of the sultan, now in control of large wealth from oil revenues, and, Hussainmiya suggests, the sultan's adroit persuasion of the British government.

Brunei reluctantly moved toward complete independence during the years following the sultan's abdication in favor of his eldest son in 1967, but even then the negotiations bore the imprint of the old sultan, now the Paduka Seri Begawan (the Venerable One). Independence finally came in 1984.

Because this book purports to convey a Brunei perspective on late colonial issues, it is an important study. Hussainmiya presents an erudite and finely argued account of issues often written about by foreign scholars with less understanding of local sensitivities, particularly those of the traditional Islamic nobility. We are unlikely soon to see a better written Bruneian account.

The book has some shortcomings: an affected, pro-sultan bent, which is perhaps inevitable in a biographical work; a barely concealed anti-British stance, evident in references to "a snobbish British colonial official" (p. 84) and to British "pontification" (p. 182); and a serious misreading of Britain's decolonization policy that insists on "Britain's will to preserve its empire by coercive means" (pp. 1, 125), its desire to bring Brunei "into line with British ideas of controlling a colonial state" (p. 149), and the British retention of political and financial control "until they were forced out" (p. 71).

One is compelled to ask whether such a ponderous tome (447 pages, 1,564 footnotes) under the imprimatur of the venerable Oxford University Press is appropriate to its subject. The late ruler of a tiny, 2,200-square-mile state of about 100,000 people was locally revered as much for his charisma and humanity as for the generosity with which he shared the largesse from oil revenues. He should be remembered for his deeds on behalf of his family and people. The restoration of royal dignity that Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin so often cited as the reason for his long "struggle" against British domination of internal affairs was illusory, however. His true dignity lay in the love and reverence of his subjects, not in his grasping for control of oil revenues and insistence on the continuation of autocratic power. Much of Bruneian royal governance since the middle of the nineteenth century had as much to do with greed as it did with dignity and status. The record of financial management, allowing for much state ostentation and self-indulgence, suggests how wise the late British administra-

tors were to direct fiscal matters in a more prudent manner.

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WILLIAM J. LINES. *An All Consuming Passion: Origins, Modernity, and the Australian Life of Georgiana Molloy*. Paperback edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 400. \$14.95.

Bushfires are one of nature's oddities in Australia. Far from being an omen of death and destruction, they bestow life and renewal on the arid landscape. Burning the barks of the eucalypts prompts new growth; seed pods fall on ashbeds and take root in the sun and space of the cleared scrub. The Australian bush fired the soul of Georgiana Molloy as well, igniting her confined and arduous domestic life with a botanical interest that became "an all consuming passion." In 1829, Molloy accompanied her husband, Captain John Molloy, to Augusta, Western Australia, a remote area 200 miles south of the Swan River colony, where John took up property and became the first local magistrate.

William J. Lines's engaging study provides not only a detailed and intricate portrait of the transformation of Georgiana Molloy from a pious, middle-class English border lass to one of Australia's most renowned botanists but also an account of the growth of the colony, the fortunes of its first settlers, and those of the Nyungar Aboriginal people they dispossessed. His is the view of a micro-historian, which skillfully manages to draw readers into the larger political, religious, cultural, and philosophical debates of the time.

The book is filled with the details of Molloy's everyday life: fatiguing domestic rounds made all the more difficult by the independence and recalcitrance of servants; her acceptance of additional clerical duties attached to her husband's position as magistrate; management of the property during his long absences, sometimes lasting up to five months; and her eight pregnancies, including several miscarriages and the drowning of her nineteen-month-old son. Molloy escaped the drudgery and isolation by fashioning a garden of Australian, British, and South African flowers. When asked by Captain James Mangles, a retired British naval officer, to collect seeds and send them to him in England, she reluctantly agreed, believing herself unworthy of the task. This began a five-year correspondence during which time she collected, described, mounted, and carefully packaged seeds and dried specimens of virtually every native plant in the region. These were subsequently classified and sent to some of the most prominent gardeners in England, thus spreading her botanical fame.

Surrounding Molloy's diligent life and central to Lines's historical concerns were the growing tensions between settlers and the Nyungar, a conflict not only over land and resources but more fundamentally one of world views. Whereas settlers viewed the land as

empty and barren, the Nyungar, who had populated the area for over 50,000 years, knew it as a highly cultivated region. Whereas settlers named the land in order to possess and conquer it, the Nyungar lived in an essential social and organic unity with it. For Aboriginal people, the world came into existence through the actions of their spirit ancestors who inhabited the Dreaming, which provided the means and meaning of life. Aboriginal tracks, camps, waterholes, sanctuaries, birthplaces, and landmarks all connected the people to the Dreaming. White settlement destroyed it. By 1837, encroaching settlement provoked the Nyungar to steal food for survival. This incited the fears of an insecure settler population and set the scene for (white) war hysteria and the wholesale slaughter of native peoples.

Lines details this inexorable "progress," with reference to a myriad of documents, including private letters and diaries, public records, and legal proceedings as well as a wide range of secondary works. Blending history, biography, ethnography, and botany, he forges an illuminating and incisive interdisciplinary study of the rise of Western culture in the antipodes.

KAY SCHAFFER
University of Adelaide

KAY SCHAFFER. *In the Wake of First Contact: The Eliza Fraser Stories*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 320. \$49.95.

A version of the story of shipwrecked Eliza Fraser's fifty-two-day "captivity" by offshore Queensland Aborigines in 1836 first appeared two years later. John Curtis, a reporter for *The Times* of London, published *The Shipwreck of the Stirling Castle* in 1838, thus beginning the rapid circulation of a sensationalized, sexualized, and racialized colonial encounter within the United States and British Empire press. Fraser herself contributed to the process of telling and retelling her story. Possibly suffering "sexual abuse as well, leading to severe mental derangement" (p. 5), the forty-year-old Scottish woman appeared as a sideshow attraction in London's Hyde Park, "telling her tale of barbarous treatment and miraculous escape" (p. 8) for sixpence. Rapidly entering into colonial popular culture, Fraser—as an icon and as a fiercely contested and recontested site—continued to inspire reinterpretation throughout the twentieth century.

Kay Schaffer's extraordinary study interrogates the multiple versions of the Eliza Fraser stories from the basic premise that all are contested, disputable, and indicative of fundamental dynamics of colonial, neo-colonial, and postcolonial cultures. This book is deeply historiographical, commendably multidisciplinary, and creatively transnational. Historians of the colonial and antebellum United States will find Schaffer's comparisons and the contrasts between captivity narrative genres extremely illuminating, particularly her sharp critique of recent readings by United States feminist historians such as Carroll Smith-Rosenberg.

No one version of the Fraser story prevails. Instead, Schaffer locates and offers convincing context for each version. Colonial sexual and racial politics play a central role in informing the various "readings." Most compelling for Schaffer is the process of almost compulsive cultural boundary-marking involved, including the boundaries between "civilization" and "savagery," race and gender, and imperialism and aboriginality. On these themes, Schaffer is at her analytical best. Particularly fascinating is her scrutiny of the obsession—on both sides of the colonial encounter—with cannibalism. Her deployment of theories of corporeality and spirituality in relation to rumors of cannibalistic rituals is both persuasive and historically grounded.

Historians may lose patience with the framework of the final chapters. These are devoted to postwar cultural production incorporating the Eliza Fraser story. Here Schaffer offers feminist critiques of masculinist and misogynist elements in the work of artist Sidney Nolan, writer Patrick White, and the film *Eliza Fraser* (1976), directed by Tim Burstall and starring Susannah York and Trevor Howard. She also explores the revisionist Aboriginal perspectives of Gillian Coote's film (*Eliza Fraser* [1991]) and the disturbing canvases of Fiona Foley, all addressing the Eliza Fraser "myth." Moreover, Schaffer identifies other postcolonial Pacific Rim and Asian voices in contemporary fiction, drama, art, and film, spotlighting current white Australian tensions about Japanese economic influence built on the older historical paranoia concerning "the yellow peril." In these chapters, the study's theoretical edifice becomes less subtle, more explicit. For some, the chapters may seem repetitious and their argument overextended.

Yet, this portion of the book grounds one of Schaffer's most significant contributions: the critique of neocolonial and postcolonial white appropriations of Aboriginal culture, in disavowal of two hundred years of violence, attempted genocide, and Eurocentric cultural imperialism in Australia. While some U.S. historians will find the purchase of this critique unfamiliar, others will draw illuminating parallels to regional appropriations of Native American culture. Schaffer has bypassed the parochialism of so much history framed by "nation" and has self-consciously "positioned" her own project by admitting its idiosyncrasies and peculiarities at the outset. Abandoning the voice of authority may be suspect to some, but Schaffer's study readily demonstrates the exciting promise of such critical approaches to the historical narrator's voice.

JUDITH A. ALLEN
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ROS PESMAN. *Duty Free: Australian Women Abroad*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 271. \$45.00.

Some of the most interesting recent writing on gender has examined the importance of empire in the formation, policing, and challenging of gender regimes. Ros Pesman's engaging account of the travels of young Australian women between 1870 and 1970 examines how these women negotiated identity within a Eurocentric worldview in which Australia was considered a distant and culturally inferior outpost of the metropolis, Great Britain.

Pesman focuses on what was until about 1970 one of the young Australian woman's major *rites de passage*: "the overseas trip." This was almost always to "the Old Country," or, as it was generally called, even by people whose parents and grandparents were born in Australia, "Home." A participant herself in the last days of this colonial ritual, Pesman looks back at a set of attitudes and behaviors that have only recently disappeared. As she points out, when an event ends, its history begins. The complicity of Pesman's earlier self in the phenomenon she describes thirty years later adds piquancy and a sense of immediacy to her account.

Pesman quite clearly situates her history of the trip "Home" within the structures of patriarchy and colonialism: as she points out, her own "escape to Europe" at the end of the 1950s was fueled by the belief that "everything that was important lay on the other side of the world" and by a compulsion to run away from the "complacency, conformity and puritanism" of "the rule of the fathers." But she is more interested in demonstrating the complex ways the experience and meaning of this journey from the notional periphery to the imagined center was mediated by time, education, class, and individual opportunity, fantasy, and desire. One of the most compelling themes that emerges from this rich account is the way young women used these cultural pilgrimages for their own ends. In chapters organized around motivations and occasions for travel, Pesman shows how young women acquired cultural status, pursued professional aspirations, served in wars, took part in reform movements and politics, satisfied their curiosity and sense of adventure, developed personal independence, and fashioned new identities in the liminal space provided by the overseas trip. Empire, Pesman's case studies demonstrate time and time again, allowed young women to leave home and to develop resources they would not otherwise have had access to.

Pesman allows these conclusions to emerge from a series of stories about young women's travels and their own travelers' tales. This technique is most explicit in the nine "Interludes" she places before each topical chapter. Each Interlude tells the story of, and draws on the accounts of, one or two representative women whose experience exemplifies the more general analysis of the following chapter. One of the most intriguing of these exemplary women is the artist Stella Bowen, who left Adelaide for London in 1914 when she was 21 years old, became Ford Madox Ford's lover, the mother of his child, and one of the legendary party-givers of Paris in the 1920s and 1930s. In Bowen's own

account, she left Australia a "rubbishy young colonial" and went to Europe in the hope of becoming an adult, artistically and emotionally (p. 181). Pesman's telling selection of detail in stories such as Bowen's allows clear patterns to emerge from a seemingly random selection of tales that convey a strong sense of the richness and complexity of the travel experiences of these young colonials.

Pesman's opening chapter, "Travel and Travellers' Tales," provides a very useful overview of the way representations of women's travel have intersected with tropes of the journey as exploration, adventure, pilgrimage, recreation, escape, quest, and desire and with more particular discourses of migration, colonialism, and notions of center and periphery. She points out that at the outset of any consideration of women and travel what needs to be distinguished is the type of travel: "What forms of travel have been represented as transgression for women, and what forms have been permissible? In which travel discourses have women participated, and from which have they been excluded?" In this historical study of Australian women abroad, Pesman has succeeded admirably in conveying the richness—and, as she points, the dullness—of the travels of women in a particular time and place and the constraints within which these journeys have taken place. Although the book's title gives only a hint of this, it nevertheless makes an important and entertaining contribution to our understanding of the historical conjunction of travel, gender formation, and a particular fragment of empire.

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STUART PIGGIN. *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 290. \$39.95.

This book joins other recent volumes by Edmund Campion (*Australian Catholics* [1987]), Ian Breward (*A History of the Australian Churches* [1993]), and Brian Dickey (ed., *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* [1994]), as well as colloquia edited by Mark Hutchinson and colleagues from the Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, as a sign of the growing vitality of Australian religious history. Stuart Piggin offers an interpretive essay intended as the curtain-raiser for a full-scale history under preparation with Hutchinson and Robert Linder. Piggin defines evangelical Protestantism as a movement marked by efforts to follow the Scriptures ("Word"), cultivate religious experience ("Spirit"), and engage the broader society ("world"). His thesis is that Australian evangelicalism has been religiously healthy and socially beneficial when the strands of Word, world, and Spirit have balanced one another, but that just the reverse has been true when one element predominated at the expense of the others.

Piggin supports his thesis with a brief examination of

the founding era and the nineteenth century. While acknowledging that early evangelicals were never thoroughly successful with convict, Aboriginal, and settler populations, he shows that the churches (Catholic as well as Protestant) shaped Australian society more beneficially than traditional accounts acknowledged. The book's research—many personal interviews along with thorough use of publications—is strongest for the twentieth century, wherein, Piggin argues, the synthesis of Word, world, and Spirit has seen both its best and its worst days. In his view, it functioned best at the time of American evangelist Billy Graham's first visit to Australia in 1959. The book's greatest contribution to broader historiographical concerns arises from its treatment of this visit. To justify his claim that Graham's work stimulated "the most effective engagement with the Australian community ever achieved by evangelicals" (p. 154), Piggin offers a definition of revival derived from the internal standards of evangelicalism, but he proceeds by documenting external behaviors open to empirical historical investigation. He phrases his effort in these terms: "As an evangelical Calvinist I can believe that [revival] is a sovereign work of the Spirit of God which consists of the conviction, conversion, and rebirth of sinners. But as a historian I have to find evidence of those things in the lives of human beings" (pp. 157–58). Whether or not Piggin is completely successful in this effort, his results are intriguing, for he shows that in the wake of Graham's visit, church membership increased, crime throughout Australia declined for about two years, and a wide range of evangelicals cooperated in unprecedented ways for both religious and social purposes.

By contrast to periods of propitious balance, Piggin finds several episodes when the opposite resulted. One of these was in the 1930s, when a group of talented but also high-strung individuals so stressed the inward leading of the Holy Spirit that they disrupted regular church life and retreated from healthy engagement with society. A second, more recent episode occurred during debates over the ordination of women in the Australian Anglican church. As Piggin sees it, the opponents of that ordination exalted conceptions of doctrinal purity ("Word") so highly that internal spiritual vitality and outreach to the broader community have been damaged.

Although Piggin's account concentrates on developments within Australian Anglicanism, he also includes helpful snapshots of Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Plymouth Brethren, and others in the evangelical orbit. A special strength is his attention to newer Pentecostal groups as well. Non-Australians will appreciate Piggin's unpacking of singularly Australian situations, such as the cultural clash between "wowsers" (evangelicals scorned by opponents as legalistic) and "mates" (irreligious persons scorned by evangelicals as irresponsible). Piggin's full attention to how circumstances in England and the United States affected Australian religion opens up important comparative questions. Even more, frequent references to

parallel situations in Wales, Northern Ireland, Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand hint at the great potential in drawing together accounts of religious communities that have existed as out-riders to the mighty engines of English and American evangelicalism. Piggin's essay does not offer the detail of David Bebbington's *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (1989) nor the attention to political culture of George Rawlyk's edited collection, *The Canadian Protestant Experience* (1990), but with its well-documented argument for a thought-provoking thesis, it joins these two books as the best single-volume efforts at writing national histories of evangelical Protestant movements. The forthrightness with which Piggin expresses his own religious convictions may put off some readers, but more should be attracted by his skill at exploiting those convictions to illuminate so many dimensions of Australian religious history.

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GREGORY MELLEUSH. *Cultural Liberalism in Australia: A Study in Intellectual and Cultural History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 226. \$59.95.

This monograph explores aspects of modern ideology in Australia from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. Gregory Melleuish proposes that, by 1900 or so, the country's reformist intellectuals were open to three major influences: "civic humanism," encouraging such people to see themselves as community guides and leaders; "culture," offering a deeper, spiritualized interpretation of social issues; and "scientism and utility," which stressed more rationalist and manipulative approaches. The three influences overlapped, but Melleuish declares his central interest to lie with those who put "culture" first.

These are big issues, and many pages of this not-large monograph expound their background from Plato onward. Melleuish, that is to say, is very conscious of telling a story of European-world provenance. In due course, the seeds of relevant ideas are brought to Australia, their most important source being the idealism of Oxford and Scotland. As Melleuish sees it, culture found its most congenial reception at the University of Sydney, which indeed was the first university in Australia. In the colony of New South Wales whose capital Sydney was, reformist ideas were linked with Free Trade doctrine. He sees this as an ambience stimulative to idealist culture, whereas in the neighboring colony of Victoria (Melbourne its capital) notions of state interventionism prevailed, and scientific utility had greater play.

Pioneers of the idealist story were the first two principals of the University of Sydney, John Woolley and Charles Badham. Both were classicists, Badham one of great and enduring fame. He had worthy successors among the humanists at Sydney, but early in the twentieth century, social scientists there and elsewhere in Australia claimed primacy as the truest

upholders of civilization. On another tangent, a very remarkable native son, philologist and poet Christopher Brennan, abandoned socially conscious idealism for romantic agony and introspection. The humanists fought back, however, most notably Francis Anderson, holder of Sydney's chair of philosophy from 1890 to 1921.

World War I posed its terrible challenge to Australians as to everyone else. Some of the most notable scholars of the interwar years adopted a more realist stance; among them were the archaeologist Gordon Childe and the historian W. K. Hancock. Even they, however, retained idealist foundations and aspirations, while others of their generation were firmer in upholding that tradition. Here Melleuish places social psychologist Elton Mayo and active churchman Ernest Burgmann. Among more recent thinkers, Melleuish discusses poet James McAuley and historian Manning Clark, both explicit in their rejection of idealist culture. His book ends with a picture of cultural humanism suffering grim straits in contemporary Australia, although he has some hope for revival of its happier parts.

As already suggested, one mark of Melleuish's work is its breadth of reference and background. Any historian of European ideas would find this book interesting. Melleuish is still more impressive when focusing on particular individuals, presenting them with sympathetic and acute perception in essays that are clear, concise, and comprehensive. At their best, and the standard is even, they comprise first-class intellectual history.

Some faults remain. It is commendable to be aware of background and intricacies, but their rehearsal can become tedious and confusing. The decision to include essays on Brennan, McAuley, and Clark, *repudiators* of cultural idealism, seems open to question. There is plenty more to say about men of culture, even within Melleuish's particular definition. "Es ist für Ihr Land von grosser Bedeutung, daß dort ein Ethischer Idealismus fest Würzel schlägt," wrote Rudolf Eucken in 1911 to a young Melbournian. The latter, E. M. Miller, had for his supervisor R. W. Boyce Gibson, whose scholarly achievement (importantly but not only in studies relating to Eucken) far outstripped that of Francis Anderson. For Melleuish to refer neither to Eucken nor to Gibson is very strange indeed. Of lesser import but still upsetting to a colleague in the field is the dust jacket's claim that "cultural liberalism and its role in Australia's intellectual history, has been not so much discredited as ignored." In fact, every one of Melleuish's subjects has received a meed of attention. Melleuish has failed to keep up with such scholarship; surely he should have given at least a last-minute reference to books like P. J. Hempenstall's *The Meddlesome Priest: A Life of Ernest Burgmann* (1993) and Jan Roberts's *Maybanke Anderson: Sex, Suffrage and Social Reform* (1993).

MICHAEL ROE
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JAN TODD. *Colonial Technology: Science and the Transfer of Innovation to Australia*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 300. \$59.95.

During the nineteenth century, Europeans in search of raw materials, markets, and investment opportunities created a new wave of overseas colonization by transferring labor, capital, and technology to the non-capitalist parts of the world. The impact of European expansion varied widely, because although some regions were settled by people who wished to build a permanent home, others were places where Europeans were interested in settling only briefly, making a fortune by exploiting the local resources and/or population, and then returning home to spend it. The "colonies of settlement" (chiefly in North America, Australia, and New Zealand) enjoyed the lasting influence of governments that were committed to local economic development, while the "colonies of sojourn" (in Latin America, Asia, and Africa) were hampered by lingering poverty and insecurity.

One of the characteristics of the colonies of sojourn was that they remained dependent on imported technology, which, as Daniel Headrick argued in *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850–1940* (1988) widened the economic gap between them and industrial Europe. These supply regions were efficient producers of commodities, but they were at the mercy of technological changes that, after World War I, developed product substitutes and contributed to global overproduction of food and raw materials. By contrast, the colonies of settlement were able to use imported technology in a way that promoted economic development. Furthermore, because governments nurtured the incentive for entrepreneurs to innovate, there was considerable scope for local populations to contribute to technological change, either through inventions of their own or by modifying imported technology to suit local conditions.

Jan Todd's book is an important addition to the literature relating to these matters. She explores how two imported technologies, anthrax vaccination and the cyanide process of gold extraction, were diffused in Australia. The anthrax vaccine, developed in France by Louis Pasteur, was an effective way of controlling the disease, but Australian wool growers, who handled far greater numbers of livestock than their counterparts in Europe, were at first reluctant to accept it. The vaccine deteriorated in hot conditions and so a second inoculation was needed, which was difficult and expensive given the size of sheep runs. The high price of the vaccine, at a time of falling wool prices, also limited its use. This provided a market opening for a locally produced vaccine, and experiments by a New South Wales sheep station manager, John Alexander Gunn, resulted in a vaccine that stockowners found to be affordable and effective. Gunn was able to promote and handle inquiries about the product himself, which put the Pasteur vaccine at a disadvantage. Stockowners

began to switch to the local vaccine and the imported product soon disappeared from the market. The cyanide process, invented in Scotland, was diffused much more slowly in Australia than it was in South Africa, New Zealand, and the United States, because Australian mines were separated by vast distances that hampered the spread of new ideas. Australia's high costs of mining labor were also inimical to the adoption of new processes.

In the adoption of these new technologies, Todd detects a creative response on the part of Australians to the problems and constraints imposed by local environmental conditions. "Far from being passive victims of British manipulation and exploitation, local producers were prepared to engage in intense struggles for control of the technology they imported, often with considerable success" (p. 247). This creativity will certainly be familiar to historians of other sectors of the Australian economy, notably agriculture.

Todd's book, which is a revised doctoral dissertation, has a laborious introduction, but after that the writing is clear and never dull. The literature relating to technological change in Australia is sparse, and this is a welcome addition.

LIONEL FROST
La Trobe University

ROY MACLEOD and DEEPAK KUMAR, editors. *Technology and the Raj: Western Technology and Technical Transfers to India 1700–1947*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage. 1995. Pp. 348. \$32.00.

This volume, edited by Roy MacLeod and Deepak Kumar, consists of twelve contributions that examine the role of colonialism in the growth of modern agricultural industry, the development of transportation and communication systems, and in shaping the nature of technical education and educational institutions in India. Emerging from these essays, however, is a familiar conclusion: that the use of Western science and technology in the above sectors was undertaken by the British to promote the interests of the Raj.

Taking the example of irrigation development projects, which the British undertook in Avadh, R. J. Henry concludes that such colonial enterprises increased the production of cotton and tobacco and modernized the production of sugar. But why was the use of such technology not promoted in the production of subsistence crops? The option of infusing indigenous industry with new technologies was often disregarded by colonial authorities. The Madras groundnut and coconut oilseeds industry is the case in point. This industry, according to Nasir Tyabji, failed to benefit from the option of chemical-based industrialization because short-term profit goals were preferred to the long-term growth of this industry. Thus, the colonial government concentrated on the export of raw oilseeds rather than on the production of oil using chemical-based industrialization.

The telegraph and the railroad systems in India were

envisioned as tools of imperialism rather than as vehicles of industrialization. Mandated by the political and strategic interests of the Raj, telegraph technology, as Saroj Ghose argues, expanded rapidly in colonial India. While the nature of technology used in Indian telegraphs was the same as that used in Britain and the United States, its management and finance remained strictly under the control of the colonial government. The transfer of technology without appropriate diffusion also led to underdevelopment. The railroad enterprise in India, according to Ian Inkster, proved to be of limited value to the Indians in the long run because railroad construction in India was undertaken with exclusively British capital, technology, and technical expertise without allowing for any Indian participation except as laborers. And, according to Ian Derbyshire, India served as "a 'laboratory' for the fledgling railway industry in which construction engineers tested their skills and adapted their practices" (p. 201). Moreover, any possibility of using railways to stimulate new industries was stifled by London-based directors and the railway companies. How did such transfers of technology affect indigenous technologies? An example of this is Indian shipbuilding, which declined as a result of British shipbuilding. Driven by mercantilist values and monopolistic control, the colonial policy—"an all British affair," argues Satpal Sangwan—created numerous constraints that rendered Indian shipping vulnerable to overseas domination.

Several contributions address the question of how colonialism affected the growth of scientific education and technical institutions in India. Using the case of the Engineering College in Madras, S. Ambirajan shows the limited impact of technical education in India. Due to the lack of emphasis on research, the college failed to become a catalyst for transformation and change. Moreover, engineering education in India, as suggested by Arun Kumar, was organized from above. The Public Works Department (PWD), which implemented this policy, promoted civil engineering at the expense of electrical and mechanical branches of engineering education to cater to the needs and requirements of the colonial government.

How did the Indian scientific community respond to Western science and technology? Based on his analysis of the *Bhadralok* debate, S. Irfan Habib finds that a significant section of the scientific community at large had respect for tradition, but they felt they also had a lot to learn from Western science. They responded by articulating an alternative development philosophy that echoed the nationalist aspiration to self-reliance, including technological sovereignty. Similarly, the National Planning Committee (NPC) aimed at achieving self reliance as reflected by the *Swadeshi* movement. Operating within the confines of colonial rule, however, the NPC, as Jagdish N. Sinha suggests, only partially succeeded in creating a common platform for India's scientific and industrial development. Dinesh Abrol's study of the Science and Culture Group dem-

onstrates that its members envisioned in-house research and development as means to innovation and improvement of technologies employed by scientific laboratories. Given the political climate of the day, this group, too, was only partially successful in its mission. Similarly, the early history of the Center for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) shows that this organization reflected British policies prompted by the prevailing economic exigencies (p. 315). V. V. Krishna vividly points out that, in spite of the availability of scientific manpower and the increasing demand for industrialization, the CSIR was handicapped in its pursuit of research and industrial development by the structure of the colonial administration. In independent India, by contrast, the CSIR strategies resulted in some pathbreaking research.

This book grew out of presentations made at the 1988 Indo-Australian Conference on Science, Technology, and Colonialism. Although the contributors have used primary source materials, the bibliography lists only the secondary publications in the field. By publishing these essays in one volume, the editors have done a service to interested students and scholars of technology, colonialism, and development.

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SEYYED VALI REZA NASR. *Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 222. \$45.00.

Mawlana Mawdudi (1903–1979) is arguably the most influential figure in the Islamic revival of the twentieth century. His ideas have influenced and continue to influence Muslim thinking from Morocco to Indonesia. The sales of Mawdudi's voluminous writings have helped to fund his organization, the *Jama'at-i Islami*, which has played a significant role in the politics of Pakistan and other Muslim countries. Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr has already established himself as the leading authority on the *Jama'at* with *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan* (1994). In this new book, he extends that authority to Mawdudi.

One important result is that we learn much that is new about the man and his development. We discover that he had substantial training in the traditional Islamic curriculum and was very widely read in Western political thought; that the heightened Hindu-Muslim communal feeling of the 1920s and 1930s was central to his distancing himself from the *ulama* and to the development of his Islamic revivalism; and that, although he found this position for himself as early as 1933, his dress was firmly non-Islamic for some years afterward. His marriage in 1938 to Mahmudah Begum, of the wealthy family of the Bukhari imams of Delhi's *Juma Masjid*, left him financially secure. The picture is of an independent thinker of enormous self-confidence

who steadily came to think of himself as the *mujaddid* or reviver of Islam for his time.

Nasr's substantial contribution lies in his discussion of Mawdudi's key ideas. He shows how Mawdudi's reinterpretation of Islam as an ideology, a system, took place in the context of the need to secure Muslim fortunes in a Hindu-dominated India. Religion in this sense was no longer designed to save individual souls but was a means for creating a well-ordered and well-defined community capable of fighting the battles for survival that lay ahead. It was very much a this-worldly religion, in which paradise was gained by achievement for Islam on earth.

There is an intriguing discussion of what Mawdudi meant by the terms "Islamic Revolution" and Islamic state. The first is better understood in terms of his struggle for Muslim hearts and minds with the socialists and communists who held much of the high ground of progressive intellectual chic. The second was the logical outcome of faith meaning social action and therefore the acquisition of political power.

A further chapter assesses the extent to which Mawdudi succeeded in developing a new Islam. To this, Nasr's answer is yes, and this is demonstrated not least in his insistence that the interpretation of Islam can no longer be restricted to the *ulama* but is open to anyone who can embark on independent study of Arabic, the Qur'an, and *Hadiths*. In Pakistan itself, however, Mawdudi's vision has failed, and his *Jama'at* has come to align itself more and more with traditional Islam. His legacy, Nasr suggests, may rest finally not in institutionalizing a new school of thought but in transforming an old one from within. The book is rounded off with an instructive analysis of the sources of Mawdudi's authority.

Two substantial conclusions emerge. The first is the importance of the communal context of India in the 1920s and 1930s in generating Mawdudi's central vision of a hermetically sealed Islamic system. Often this vision is seen as his response to the threat of Western civilization. Nasr teaches us to see it as anti-Western in effect, and subsequently anti-Western in focus, but also as a vision crucially formed in an Indian environment of competing religious communities. The second major contribution is Nasr's demonstration of how Mawdudi's ideas changed as he moved from his marginal political position in India to a more central one in Pakistan. Democracy became increasingly important to Mawdudi's Islamic state as the defense of civil rights became crucial to the *Jama'at*'s survival in Pakistan. Because of Nasr's efforts, we now have a more rounded picture of this all-important figure in the Islamic revival and a clearer idea of the contexts in which his ideas emerged and changed. We can, moreover, enjoy the irony of his ideas failing in Pakistan, the key arena in which Mawdudi played politics, while continuing to be a major source of inspiration to Muslim revivalists throughout the world.

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PREM SHANKAR JHA. *Kashmir, 1947: Rival Versions of History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 151. \$15.95.

The dispute between India and Pakistan over the Himalayan state of Jammu and Kashmir has passed its fiftieth anniversary. Joining the ever lengthening list of books about it is this book by Prem Shankar Jha. One of India's most prolific journalists and former information advisor to Prime Minister V. P. Singh, Jha is no stranger to controversy. His reexamination of the events of 1947, the year in which the Kashmir dispute was born (and a year about which Indians and Pakistanis almost invariably disagree), is bound to stir up yet more.

Jha's focus is primarily on the brief period between Britain's transfer of power to the newly independent states of India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947, and the princely ruler of Kashmir's decision, taken formally in October of that year, to accede to India. Two fundamentally different versions of the history of this tumultuous time have emerged: an Indian version defending the accession and another, put forward by Pakistan and its sympathizers, assailing its legality. Especially prominent on the Pakistan side of the matter, and in many respects the real target of this book's argument, are British historian Alastair Lamb's widely read works on Kashmir, *Birth of a Tragedy: Kashmir 1947* (1994) and *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1990* (1991). Drawing heavily on declassified British documents at the India Office Library and Records in London, Jha contends that the Lamb version is "totally unfounded" (p. 11) and that the Indian version "tallies far more closely to the facts" (p. 119).

Jha advances three main arguments. The first is that Maharaja Sir Hari Singh's decision to accede to India was not the product of conspiracy hatched between the Hindu prince and the newly formed and Hindu dominated Congress government of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. On the contrary, insists Jha, Nehru's government did very little to encourage Kashmir's accession to India. Nehru was, in his opinion, one of the few members of that government to care much about Kashmir one way or the other. Indeed, according to Jha, had the maharaja been in a position to choose freely and peacefully to accede to Pakistan, the Indians would not have obstructed him. Jha's second argument is that the Dogra dynasty's virtual collapse near the end of October was not the product of uncontrolled communal violence in the state or of a loss of popular support but of a clandestine operation masterminded by Pakistan. There was neither a spontaneous revolt by Muslim Kashmiris against the maharaja's rule nor a spontaneous invasion of the Valley of Kashmir by Pashtun tribesmen. The attempted overthrow of the maharaja's regime, Jha contends, was systematically planned and ruthlessly executed by Pakistani authorities.

The third of Jha's main arguments is that the

departed British colonial overlords, far from siding with the Indian successor state, wanted Pakistan to become the custodian of British strategic interests in the subcontinent. Such custodianship, he asserts, included Pakistan's acquisition of Kashmir. "The correspondence in the India Office Records Library," he says, "shows that Britain not only expected, but wanted Kashmir to accede to Pakistan" (p. 92).

In support of these arguments, Jha assembles a fairly impressive array of evidence, much of it quite familiar from earlier accounts, some of it new and resourcefully gathered from archival and other sources. Countering Lamb's contention that the maharaja may actually never have signed an accession document, Jha produces eyewitness testimony from Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw, India's chief of army staff in the mid 1960s, that he, a colonel at the time of accession, accompanied Nehru's emissary, V. P. Menon, to Srinagar on October 26 to secure the maharaja's signature on the accession document. Jha also cites some official communications exchanged at the time between Britain's Commonwealth Relations Office and British authorities posted in the subcontinent that lend support to his argument that British feelings about India's potential place in Britain's strategic plans for the region, if not entirely negative, were at least remarkably ambivalent.

Jha contributes a refreshing, spirited, and well written study to the corpus of literature on Kashmir. He clearly succeeds in renewing awareness that there is an Indian version about Kashmir and that it can be argued persuasively. He is most effective when uncovering the moral presumptiveness and not infrequent anti-Indian bias of his adversaries. He raises provocative questions not only about the specific events of the accession era but about the scholarly standards employed in reconstructing and interpreting them.

Unfortunately, Jha's arguments are themselves laced with partisanship, and he repeatedly overstates the strength and finality of his findings. His research, while in some respects inventive, is too modest in scale to warrant the sweeping judgements he makes concerning the terribly complicated events of the accession period. Declassified British documents bolster his interpretation, but he seems to have gained no better access to India's own official archives of this period than other scholars.

In sum, this sometimes breezy but always thought-provoking book deserves a wide readership. Although it fails to deliver a knockout punch to Pakistan's version of events in 1947, it undoubtedly issues a serious challenge to it.

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UNITED STATES

JOHN BODNAR, editor, *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism*. Princeton: Princeton Univer-

sity Press, 1996. Pp. viii, 352. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$16.95.

Merle Curti's study of patriotism, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (1946), was published at a time of unprecedented national harmony at the conclusion of the nation's most successful and approved war, yet the ultimate nature of his subject remained problematical for him. Summing up, Curti predicted "that as long as conflicting interests within the United States struggle for existence and for power, so long will existing conceptions of patriotism continue to flourish" (p. 247). These same "conflicting interests" and more are the subject of John Bodnar's ironically titled collection of fourteen essays by as many authors, which appeared—perhaps by design—exactly a half century after Curti's book.

The contributors to this volume are members of a post-Curtian cohort generation who understandably examine American patriotism from the standpoint of the issues and concerns of their own time. While the dominant emphasis is on themes of race and sex, many traditional topics such as schools, the flag, patriotic societies, veterans, religion, commemorative ceremonies, and immigration are also reviewed, interpreted, and reinterpreted. The context is determinedly presentist. No matter what period of American history is being discussed, the reader is kept aware of the 1990s mood of cultural and social disaffection and the fact that the wound of our most notoriously unsuccessful and divisive war remains unhealed. When it comes to conclusions, however, the difference between the national climate of opinion in 1946 and 1996 seems to be largely erased, and this book's editor comes out pretty much where Curti did. According to Bodnar, "the nature of patriotism in the United States is controversial . . . Throughout U.S. history desires for a more equal society have clashed with sectarian aspirations for purity and dominance . . . [T]he meaning of patriotism was molded by competing aspirations of what the nation should be" (p. 11).

As is not uncommon with essay collections, these range from sophisticated analysis to presentations barely above undergraduate level. Of more consequence is an intrusive tendentiousness that leaves the answer to the old union song, "Which side are you on?," never in doubt. The contributors are plainly of one mind about the "aspirations of what the nation should be" or at least about what the nation should *not* be, which is what it actually *is*. A pervading sense of grievance and anger occasionally works itself into a fury of denunciation more suitable for political journalism than the writing of history. It seems to be taken for granted that detachment, objectivity, balance, or fairness are out of place when dealing with perceived injustice, so that Oliver Cromwell's "think it possible you may be mistaken" comes forcefully to mind. Terms such as "gender" and "hegemony" are brandished like magic weapons whose mere invocation is sufficient to carry all before them. In a tour de force of lexicograph-

ical virtuosity, *gender* appears as substantive, verb, adjective, and gerund, and in the form of *engender* (p. 334) introduces so novel a meaning as almost to baffle translation. Despite all excesses, however, readers should not allow offended sensibilities to drive them away too quickly, as those who grit their teeth and stay the course will come across some useful material.

FRED SOMKIN

Cornell University [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

THOMAS A. TWEED, editor. *Retelling U.S. Religious History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 302. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$13.95.

This collection of essays is a Religious Studies critique of the "grand narrative" of American religious history. While not all religious historians will be thrilled with the collection's postmodernist tone, many will agree, at least partially, with editor Thomas A. Tweed's claim that "Textbook narratives that attempt to tell 'the whole story' of U.S. religious history have focused disproportionately on male, northeastern, Anglo-Saxon, mainline Protestants and their beliefs, institutions, and power" (p. 3). Whether a persuasive, more inclusive "grand narrative" can replace the older versions is an issue upon which the contributors themselves disagree.

Tweed's introduction is instructive and provocative. Since all stories are socially and spatially situated, Tweed organizes the contents of this volume into two parts: the first four essays tell the nation's religious story from neglected social vantage points, and the second four examine American religious history from new geographical perspectives. This choice is aesthetically pleasing, but assessing the volume would be easier if different categories were used. Operating from the premise that we all use an implicit or explicit master narrative when we teach or write religious history, I will evaluate the essays in terms of their utility for telling a better, more representative American religious story.

Two essays supplement and enrich, rather than replace, current grand narratives. These examine sexuality and ritual, topics that are important but not central enough to structure the American religious story. Ann Taves argues that sexuality influenced America's collective religious past in three distinct phases. Native Americans and Europeans both used sexuality to define themselves and "the other" during early contact. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, political/religious attempts to control sexuality only masked a growing variety of religio-sexual practices. In the twentieth century, sexuality and religion were increasingly beyond legal jurisdiction, since both were viewed as private matters. Tamar Frankiel tells the American religious story from the perspective of ritual, outlining a four-step process—"independent

ritual communities in interaction, 1600–1730; enthusiasm and the ritualization of passion, 1730–1850; national conformity and diversity, 1850–1950; and experiments in embodiment, 1950 to the present" (p. 61)—as an alternative to more traditional narratives.

Six essays offer potential frameworks for a new grand narrative. Ann Braude's "Women's History *Is* American Religious History" presents the most intriguing possibility. Braude structures her mini-narrative primarily around women (who formed the majority of participants in virtually all religious groups) and secondarily around men who filled the vast majority of leadership positions. When female presence rather than male absence is the focus of inquiry, longstanding constructs such as declension, feminization, and secularization are turned on their heads. The possibility of a grand narrative that does not simply "include" women but gives them credit relative to their numbers and contributions is exciting.

In "The Illusion of Shifting Demand," Roger Finke uses the religious marketplace as a narrative framework. Finke's supply-side arguments have been presented in several other places, but this essay is the best short explanation of his paradigm. Although I find many of Finke's arguments persuasive, they rest on the unproven assumption that markets for mainstream religion and marginal religion stayed relatively constant over time.

Essays by Joel Martin and Catherine Albanese add necessary complexity to the market approach. Martin argues for a postcolonial religious history that examines Native American-European contact (the exchange of goods and ideas, often on "middle grounds") and colonialism (the forced exchange of goods and ideas that work to the advantage of a dominant group). His essay, while thought-provoking, could be more tightly focused; Martin spends considerable space discussing general Native American history and then fails to elaborate on issues that are clearly religious. Albanese presents the notion of exchange as an ever-present part of the American religious marketplace. Like Martin, Albanese shows how Native Americans and Europeans exchanged religious ideas and practices, but she goes on to show how Protestants, Catholics, African Americans, Jews, and Asians all borrowed ideas and practices from each other.

Essays by Laurie Maffly-Kipp and William Westfall view American religious history from an international perspective. In recent years, a number of historians have placed American religious history in an Atlantic context, but Maffly-Kipp and Westfall suggest that we need to go further. Maffly-Kipp's "Eastward Ho!" reveals the inadequacy of the western expansion paradigm for the five states on the Pacific Rim. Long before eastern Protestant missionaries arrived, California was shaped by indigenous Native American religion and by northward-moving Spanish Catholicism. Eastward-moving Russian Orthodox missionaries entered Alaska long before it became an American territory. Nineteenth-century Hawaiian religion was

influenced by eastward-moving Buddhists as much as it was by westward-moving Calvinists. Westfall's essay presents Canada as an alternative "Christian nation" that differs significantly from the United States. He reveals how many Christians fled to Canada in the face of American racial, political, and religious intolerance, how American Christians have accepted a comparatively rigid nationalism, and how Canadian transplants have enriched (or at least complicated) American religious history. After reading these two essays, it is not hard to imagine a grand narrative that integrates Canada, Mexico, and the Atlantic and Pacific communities in its telling of the American religious story.

This book will be welcomed by some scholars and will infuriate others, but it should be read by everyone who teaches, writes, or cares about the history of American religion. If we are to improve on past grand narratives, discussing the issues raised in this volume would be an excellent place to start.

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CARROLL PURSELL. *The Machine in America: A Social History of Technology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 358. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

Scholars in all historical disciplines have special dreams of what it means when their field comes of age. Many historians of technology dream of a time when technology will be regarded as an integral aspect of mainstream history. In pursuit of that dream, Carroll Pursell has written a remarkable synthesis that examines the ways in which Americans have utilized technology in creating their society and culture.

Pursell is uniquely suited to undertake this ambitious endeavor, having written extensively on many topics in technological history, including steam engines, the engineering profession, urban technology, and the role of the federal government in regulating and promoting technology. Drawing on this rich background, Pursell does not follow the traditional periodization of American history but instead tells the "stories of transplanting a medieval technology to a new setting, then replacing it with a borrowed industrial technology, reforming all this again through the agency of science, and finally perfecting and having to face what Lewis Mumford called the 'pentagon of power'" (p. xi). In the early chapters, Pursell outlines colonial technology and antebellum industrialization, but he adds fresh twists by comparing European and Native American technologies, mentioning Spanish influences, and consistently considering the impact of technology on women in the home and the workplace. In the middle chapters, Pursell imaginatively departs from the standard stories of the railroads, big business, and heavy industry and instead discusses how Americans of the late nineteenth century utilized technology to mechanize agriculture, shape cities, industrialize the West, and pursue dreams of empire. In his closing

chapters, Pursell turns to the twentieth century, focusing on the marriage of science and industry, the rise of mass consumption, technology policy between the world wars, and military technology.

Throughout, Pursell skillfully combines examples of specific machines with a discussion of social and political trends, but this is not a text to which one can send students to read about how a steam engine worked or how Thomas Edison invented his system of electric lighting. The volume is also not particularly strong on the business aspects of industrialization; Pursell says little about sources of capital or new forms of management and organization, preferring instead to document how technology qualitatively changed the ways in which people lived.

One of the distinctive features of this book is that Pursell is explicit in his political views about technology. Although he does acknowledge that Americans have created a remarkably abundant society, Pursell is profoundly concerned that this material abundance has come about only by establishing technological systems that undercut freedom, concentrate power in the hands of the few, and require the standardization of thought and action. Pursell's concerns reflect issues raised years ago by the social critic Mumford, and many readers will find Pursell's stance revealing and provocative. In the chapters on the twentieth century, however, Pursell tends to assert these political implications rather than demonstrate exactly how specific individuals and groups have used technology to achieve their ends.

Pursell has achieved the dream of integrating technology into mainstream American history in several ways. He has shown clearly how Americans used a host of machines and tools to create a distinctive civilization. But more than being just tools in an economic sense, Pursell demonstrates that technology in American history has also shaped social relations between men and women, managers and workers, engineers and laypeople. By looking at the technology used and celebrated by Americans at different times, he argues, we can gain more insight into their beliefs and aspirations. Pursell has demonstrated how technology can be used to provide students with a deeper and richer sense of the contours of American culture. His book deserves to be read and debated by a wide range of American historians.

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GLENN W. FISHER. *The Worst Tax? A History of the Property Tax in America*. (Studies in Government and Public Policy.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1996. Pp. x, 245. \$35.00.

More than a century ago, economist E. R. A. Seligman branded the general property tax as "beyond all doubt one of the worst taxes known in the civilized world" (p. 4). With this statement as his starting point, Glenn W.

Fisher outlines the story of the property tax from the colonial era to the present.

Property taxation in America did not emerge in anything like its present form until the late eighteenth century. Before then, it was only one of several revenue sources used by states and localities. As the property tax evolved, however, it became the object of heated political controversy. During the Jacksonian period, many states added provisions to their constitutions requiring uniform taxation of all classes of property (including personalty and realty). To a great extent, these "uniformity clauses" reflected widespread distrust of centralized and arbitrary political power. Uniformity "not only limited the way that the tax burdens could be distributed, but discouraged tax increases by making it more difficult to target politically weak groups" (p. 51).

While the theory of uniformity seemed attractive in the abstract, the reality, as reflected in administration and enforcement, was not so pleasing. Most states and localities, for example, shirked the almost impossible task of taxing "intangible" personal property such as stocks and bonds. Governments also strayed far from the ideals of tax reformers in their methods of real estate tax collection. They routinely violated the canons of uniformity, and assessments of comparable types of property varied wildly both within and between localities.

This bleak record of institutional failure prompted yet another wave of tax reform after the turn of the century. States framed new laws to impose uniformity on real estate assessments by limiting the discretion of local officials through tax commissions and boards of equalization. In many cases, they either abolished the tax on intangibles outright or significantly narrowed its scope.

During the 1990s, the seemingly endless cycle of tax reform and disillusionment has continued. Despite the advent of computers, the ideals of equal and uniform assessment and taxation are still elusive. As always, proposals for reform repeatedly fall prey to the time-worn law of unintended consequences. Yet, despite the general record of continuity, there have been some important new developments. Because of the recent drive to equalize school spending, for example, judges are becoming active players in tax code revision and administration.

While Fisher's book deserves praise for bringing these and other issues to light, it also suffers from some telling weaknesses. The bibliography is thin, especially for a study of this length. Although the historiography of property taxation is still sparse, Fisher does not mention such notable works in the field as Clifton K. Yearley's path-breaking examination of the urban personal property tax, *The Money Machines: The Breakdown and Reform of Governmental and Party Finance in the North, 1860-1920* (1970) or Robert P. Swierenga's provocative study, *Acres for Cents: Delinquent Tax Auctions in Frontier Iowa* (1976).

These omissions are unfortunate, because both books give added weight to many of the author's conclusions.

Fisher's emphasis on the tax history of Kansas is somewhat excessive. The end result is to overshadow other elements of the story. Here again, the book would have been improved had the author tried harder to mine the secondary literature about other states. Such an effort would have served to bolster the comparative framework and drive home many of the issues raised in the chapters on Kansas.

Despite some shortcomings, there is much to recommend in this study. The writing style is clear and concise, and Fisher has a knack for translating complicated and obscure concepts into understandable language for the lay reader. His book will find a secure place in the historiography of American taxation.

DAVID T. BEITO

University of Alabama

CAROL BERKIN. *First Generations: Women in Colonial America*. Assisted by ERIC FONER. New York: Hill and Wang. 1996. Pp. xiv, 234. \$23.00.

As a teaching text about women in colonial America, this book has great value. It is as comprehensive as the current state of literature in the field. It is well written and therefore readable. It accounts for the lives of women across class, race, religion, and region. Carol Berkin has been a pioneer in the field and writes with virtuosity and authority.

Each of the seven chapters focuses specifically on one area or group of women and each begins with a profile of a typical woman in that category. Chapters are chronological, demonstrating changes over time, and the book has integrity as a chronological whole, beginning with the first settlements in the Chesapeake and concluding with an epilogue about the impact of the Revolution on American women. Another advantage is the author's running commentary about primary source materials as well as the current secondary literature that supports her synthesis.

Beginning with the story of Mary Cole Warren, the daughter and wife of planters in Maryland, Berkin uses demographic studies to affirm the image of women's early elevated status in the southern colonies. She contrasts this picture with the familiar narrative of Puritan women. In each case, she argues that while women's roles were different than men's during the seventeenth century, conditions in a colonizing society blurred the boundaries between genders, especially among poorer classes of people. Because of the synthetic nature of this work, the author's emphasis often exaggerates the importance of some aspects of women's lives. For example, there is more attention to the social effect of gossip than of sexuality.

The middle colonies get equal attention. Although there is no evidence about the character of women like the Dutch Margaret Hardenbroeck or the Quaker Susanah Lightfoot, their stories illustrate the diversity of the settlements as well as the different social mores

that made women's lives distinctive and often more powerful than those of their sisters in the predominantly English colonies. Their changing status as the middle colonies adapted to the English legal system is also illustrated.

Most satisfying are the chapters about Native American and African women; these women have left the least source material and consequently have been the least chronicled. Berkin has drawn upon the existing literature in history, anthropology, and archaeology to create credible accounts of the lives of women in these two groups. Her portraits of Wetamo, who became a sachem, and Mary Johnson, whose status in Virginia was not yet defined as slavery in the early seventeenth century, vividly demonstrate the darkest picture of American colonization.

Berkin's chapter on the American Revolution emphasizes the political work of women who wrote journalistic tracts, boycotted English goods, supported marches, and served in the military. It further covers the familiar terrain of women as "deputy husbands" and accounts for the suffering caused by war and disease. Berkin also measures the effects of independence on women and points out that many of the changes that developed had roots in the prewar period (p. 202).

Berkin herself identifies the book's greatest defects as its tentative nature, which she attributes to the inconclusiveness of the current research and the incommensurability of its chapters. I would add that occasional inconsistencies and the use of glib statements give pause. For example, Berkin claims that prior to the Revolution, Mercy Otis Warren "became the opposition's most effective shaper of popular opinion save perhaps for Samuel Adams. Her plays and poems filled Massachusetts newspapers in the 1770s and were widely reprinted elsewhere" (p. 172). She further states that Abigail Adams "pressed her husband and his colleagues in Congress to ameliorate the dependency of married women by extending their property rights" (p. 196). Surely these claims exaggerate.

All in all, however, this is a well-written and useful book and a welcome addition to course syllabi.

EDITH GELLES
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PATIENCE ESSAH. *A House Divided: Slavery and Emancipation in Delaware, 1638-1865*. (Carter G. Woodson Institute Series in Black Studies.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1996. Pp. xv, 216. \$29.50.

Delaware has hardly featured prominently in the historiography of American slavery. Yet, as Patience Essah amply demonstrates in this book, the history of the "peculiar institution" in Delaware, and particularly the way it ended, were themselves peculiar. The early Dutch settlers brought the first African slaves to the region in the seventeenth century, but it was not until after the English seized the colony in 1664 and tobacco

replaced grain farming that a plantation system became established. What happened was that the colony essentially split into halves: a northern part, mainly settled by Quakers and the Scotch-Irish, little interested in slavery; and a southern portion, closely linked to the Chesapeake, that came under the sway of tobacco and the insatiable demand of that crop for an abundant supply of labor.

If slavery's rise in Delaware was closely linked to tobacco, so, too, was its decline. From the mid-eighteenth century on, landowners increasingly switched back to grain, a crop that required much less labor than did tobacco. Antislavery stirrings among the Quakers and other religious groups and, later, the impact of revolutionary ideology created a legislative deadlock over slavery in the state. Representatives from the northern part were strong enough to pass laws making manumission easier and banning the sale or removal of Delaware slaves outside of the state, but they failed to abolish slavery. There was, however, a dramatic rise in voluntary manumissions. In 1790 about thirty percent of the state's 12,786 blacks were free; by 1810, the corresponding figure was seventy-six percent. Although the Delaware legislature never passed a general emancipation law, slaveowners freed their slaves at a faster rate than did those in New York or New Jersey, states that had enacted such legislation.

Of course, the fact that slavery was clearly winding down did not mean that nineteenth-century free blacks were treated at all well. Various laws restricting the behavior of free blacks reflected continuing white fear of ex-slaves. Not only could blacks not vote, for example, but, according to an 1825 law, neither slaves nor free blacks could approach within a half mile of a polling booth on election day. Passage of an abolition measure was seen as the first step toward giving African Americans equal citizenship and the vote. And with the state still split into two opposing camps, the fear was that free blacks could hold the balance of power. It was these circumstances, Essah argues, that explain the continued refusal of Delaware to end slavery; by 1860, there were still almost 2,000 slaves in the state. During the Civil War, with the northern part of the state supporting the North and the southern favoring the confederacy but resisting disunion, Delaware remained in the Union. Consequently, the emancipation proclamation did not extend to Delaware's slaves. Only the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 ended slavery in the state. Long after the Civil War, these antebellum divisions continued to play an important role; incredibly, it was only in February 1901 that Delaware finally ratified the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments.

This is a solid enough monograph. Essah is particularly good at working through censuses and other materials to draw out demographic, agricultural, and cultural distinctions between the northern and southern parts of Delaware. But there is also a slightly old-fashioned feel to this book. Essah ignores much of the writing on slavery that has appeared over the last

few decades and makes virtually no attempt to recover the voices or the actions of slaves and free blacks. These omissions flaw her account. For example, Essah attributes the dramatic rise in manumissions to various long-term factors, which were undoubtedly important. Judging by what happened in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, however, it is likely that Delaware slaves were more active in shaping their own fates than she allows, seizing on the opportunity presented by an ailing institution to negotiate individually with their owners to free themselves. There are hints at this in the text, but to a surprising degree Essah writes as though slavery and emancipation were problems to be sorted out by whites alone.

Doubtless this book will remain the standard account of slavery in Delaware for some time; had it been written in less of a historiographical vacuum, the book could easily have made a greater contribution to our understanding of American slavery.

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MICHAEL MERANZE. *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1996. Pp. xii, 338. \$45.00.

Michael Meranze's book is a milestone in several respects. It is the first regional study of the history of criminal incarceration in Philadelphia in some forty years. And it is the first serious attempt ever to apply the tools of critical social theory to the rise of the prison on the American side of the Atlantic. On both counts, the book is a success, though readers skeptical of the critical approach will find the work less satisfying.

Meranze looks first at the framework of public whipping, pillorying, and execution that was the predominant response to crime in colonial Philadelphia immediately prior to the introduction of carceral punishment. Operating directly on the body of the accused, these early sanctions served a highly ritual function in Meranze's view, attending to the "legitimation and exemplification" of Philadelphia's "hierarchical society" (p. 47). But because public punishments were carried out in the presence of (and ultimately at the mercy of) the popular crowd, they were also socially precarious, with the potential to backfire if the crowd proved hostile to the proceedings. Meranze sees the turn to carceral punishment in part as a response to concerns about rising crime and ineffective punishment, combined with republican political themes, but also, fundamentally, as a response to elite concerns about social instability. Advocates hoped that incarceration would function to reinforce "modern bourgeois authority" (p. 15) by secluding offenders from potentially sympathetic crowds and by eliciting more profound obedience through suasion of the spirit, as opposed to superficial violence upon the body.

For Meranze, a central ideological theme of carceral history is what he calls "mimetic corruption": the belief that criminal behavior was a contagious condition, that exposure of criminals to law-abiding folk could lead to the contamination of the latter. This idea was far older than Meranze acknowledges, but he shows how it served in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both as a repeated explanation for institutional failure and as a spur toward progressively more extreme forms of inmate isolation: from hard labor carried out in public, to imprisonment, to inmate separation into classes, and, ultimately, to solitary confinement. Ironically, the failure even of that purest mode of isolated punishment—sealing criminals off from each other as well as the public—led authorities full circle, back to corporal means of enforcing discipline (though now within walls): "with no more separation to impose, prison officials had nowhere else to turn than to the body itself" (p. 318). Their ideology exhausted, authorities were left with an institutional shell.

But the evolving theory of punishment is not the focus of this book, and it does not endeavor to explore carceral rhetoric comprehensively. Rather, Meranze is preeminently concerned with locating the penitentiary within its social context, or as he would have it, within the "structure of submission that underlay liberal society" (p. 327). This concern leads him to delve into a host of subjects other than crime, including public office-holding and the popular theater, seemingly removed from carceral issues and never directly connected to them by contemporaries.

In the process, something is lost. To be sure, social forces weigh heavily upon legal events, but they are not all. The ideological roots of and influences on the penitentiary in Pennsylvania fail to receive adequate attention in this book. One line of investigation that would have merited pursuing is the extent to which religion, in particular the tenets of Quakerism, affected the institution's rise and internal structure. Alexis de Tocqueville, who toured Philadelphia's prison, observed that the penitentiary movement in America had "a character essentially religious." Were not theology and criminology in Pennsylvania closely connected? A more serious lapse is Meranze's failure to address the early colonial history of William Penn's Great Law, often pointed to by Jacksonian advocates as the American penitentiary's fountainhead. Promulgated at the Pennsylvania colony's first assembly in 1682, at a time when the colony scarcely had a "society" to speak of, this code mandated hard labor in workhouses as the punishment for most crimes. The history of this early carceral experiment—long overdue for modern study—and its aftermath, together with the ideological shadow that the Great Law cast upon subsequent criminological developments in the state, is disappointingly absent from Meranze's account, which begins (far too late) in the 1760s.

But within its scholarly bounds, the work presents a treasure trove of new material on the prison's external

reception, together with its internal bureaucratic machinery—and machinations. Whether the author's interpretive glosses will strike readers as credible may depend on their historical bent. The work is deeply influenced by the vision of Michel Foucault, whose ideas and vernacular turn up repeatedly in both text and subtext. Following Foucault, Meranze strains to discover social nuances anywhere and everywhere, even in the commentary of so structural a writer as the eighteenth-century criminologist, Cesare Beccaria. Scarcely a page goes by without some reified abstraction concerning the larger significance of the author's findings, as for example when he ascribes to Benjamin Rush's carceral advocacy "a gendered quality. In effect, Rush was proposing [by criminal imprisonment] that the public assume a feminine position relative to the punishment done in its name" (p. 136). I can only rub my eyes at such claims. But whether others find perceptive or perplexing Meranze's many social and theoretical inferences, none can fail to appreciate his care and thoroughness as a scholar in presenting a valuable and well-edited body of primary evidence. For students of the rise of the American penitentiary, this book is essential reading.

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College of Law

EDWARD S. COOKE, JR. *Making Furniture in Preindustrial America: The Social Economy of Newtown and Woodbury, Connecticut*. (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 295. \$45.00.

Edward S. Cooke has compiled a treasure trove of information pertaining to the joiners of Newtown and Woodbury, Connecticut, and the products they made. Despite the book's title, it is not really about how furniture was made but about how the social economy of these two rural towns affected the process. Specifically, Cooke argues that the different furniture produced in these two towns resulted from their very different social economies. Extremely well built but conservative forms of furniture came from the agricultural economy of Newtown (the workmanship of habit), while more stylish but less well-built pieces came from the more diverse market economy of Woodbury (the workmanship of competition).

Cooke develops his argument in an introduction, seven chapters, and a conclusion. Two appendixes (biographies of Newtown and Woodbury joiners), and a glossary of furniture terms further augment this material. The author begins by acknowledging the need to understand craftsmen and their products within the social and economic environments in which they lived and worked. This is a difficult task, as the historiographic review demonstrates, because most of the existing work either discusses household production and the transition to capitalism (generally focusing on agriculture and different types of exchange), or

it addresses artisans and the objects they made from a decorative arts perspective. This dichotomy certainly exists; however, Cooke's review of the literature is too limited. Numerous books have been written on artisans (in both urban and rural contexts) since Carl Bridenbaugh's *The Colonial Craftsman* (1950) and Rolla M. Tryon's *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1684–1860* (1917).

Cooke maintains that, despite their close geographic proximity, similar topographical features, access (via streams) to the Housatonic River, and mixed agricultural economies, Newtown and Woodbury developed very different cultures and societies. Founded in 1711 and isolated from the major routes to the northern and western frontier, Newtown was settled quickly. With high rates of persistence and an agricultural economy, the town maintained "a relatively self-contained barter economy" (p. 73) throughout the last three decades of the eighteenth century. Newtown had an overwhelmingly native-born contingent of joiners (most of whom also farmed), who enjoyed long careers and trained the local youth who eventually replaced them. The furniture made by these artisans, while extremely well-made, was hardly innovative or fashionable; their clients desired conservative and serviceable pieces. The tight class structure in Newtown (with little difference between the rich and the poor) meant that neither furniture makers nor residents embraced the idea of purchasing stylish furniture as a symbol of financial success until the early nineteenth century.

By contrast, Woodbury's location at the edge of the northwestern frontier made it a staging area for that region, with numerous families moving in and out of the town. The proprietary system of land distribution in Woodbury achieved a level of stability and persistence for the town and created "a more stratified social structure" (p. 84) complete with an upper class eager to display its wealth and power through material goods. With an economy based on selling agricultural products to external (frequently urban) markets, Woodbury's residents enjoyed purchasing imported and fancy goods and expected a similar level of quality and fashion from local artisans. Consequently, the joiners demonstrated a much higher awareness of current trends in furniture forms and decoration and placed a priority on accommodating their clients' tastes rather than wasting time on construction details.

This book is filled with much valuable information, but it suffers from a lack of organization and proper editing. The reader goes from learning about furniture construction and work habits to focusing on the social economy of Newtown and Woodbury and then back to a detailed account of the furniture made in the two towns. An orderly progression of chapters starting with the towns and their social economies and moving toward the joiners and their furniture would have eliminated repetition. Another troublesome editorial problem is the failure to standardize the terms related to furniture form and construction (is it a ball and claw foot or a claw foot?). Trying to incorporate social

history and material culture in a single volume is not easy, however, and Cooke should be congratulated for a good start.

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STEPHEN ARON. *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 285. \$29.95.

In this tightly written account, Stephen Aron traces the impact of evolving social, political, and economic forces on Kentucky between 1770 and 1825. Aron analyzes the region's transition from a game-rich, "good poor man's country" through the implementation of the "Bluegrass System," a political and economic plan first utilized by planters and merchants in Lexington that became the precursor of Henry Clay's "American System." Focusing on Daniel Boone and Clay as figures who epitomized the beginning and closing stages of this transition, Aron attacks the assumptions that early white Kentuckians were small farmers intent on hunting and living off the land and asserts that most were motivated primarily by their desire to acquire title to large tracts of land.

During the late colonial and revolutionary periods, Kentucky held large numbers of game animals, and exaggerated claims of agricultural fertility attracted settlers from across the Appalachians into the Bluegrass region. Although few Native Americans resided in Kentucky during this period, neighboring tribes hunted in the region, and they were reluctant to relinquish their hunting lands. At first, the Shawnees and other tribespeople were willing to share the region with trans-Appalachian white hunters, but as whites depleted the game herds and began to settle permanently in the Bluegrass region, conflicts between the two groups intensified. The settlers eventually drove the Indians from Kentucky (and from adjoining regions north of the Ohio), but the Americans' subscription to private property, their attempts to claim and speculate in large tracts of land, and their growing limitation of "rights in the woods" (the free use of unoccupied lands by hunters) signaled the end of the frontier period in which Boone and other small, independent farmer-hunters had played leading roles.

The quarter-century following the American Revolution brought profound changes. Aron argues that a new community of landed gentry who settled near Lexington gradually gained control over the fertile lands in the Bluegrass region. Meanwhile litigation over conflicting land claims propelled attorneys such as Clay to fame and fortune, enabling them to acquire lands, slaves, and thoroughbred horses. Although planters in Kentucky initially grew little cotton, they produced hemp, which factories in Lexington profitably turned into rope and twine for cotton baleage. Led by Clay, the planters, lawyers, and merchants at

Lexington dominated the Kentucky General Assembly and forged the "Bluegrass System," a tripartite program designed to foster and protect local manufacturing, assist private corporations in the construction of roads and other internal improvements, and support the Kentucky Insurance Company, a Lexington-based company that legally circulated notes and loaned money at interest.

Although Clay believed that all Kentuckians would profit from his organic interpretation of economic development, Aron argues that he "mistook the interests of the elite . . . for the interests of the whole community" (p. 125). The Lexington elite prospered, but by 1800 most Kentuckians were landless, and homesteaders from the "Green River Country" southwest of Lexington challenged the Bluegrass supremacy. Yet the spread of tobacco plantations into the region and subsequent opportunities also to profit from banks, internal improvements, and land speculation undercut the agrarian principles of Green River politicians and enticed them to join in extending the Bluegrass System into the Green River Country. By 1815, Kentucky had been transformed from a "frontier region" into an intricate part of the new nation.

This is an elegantly written book that provides an excellent analysis of the evolution of economic and political institutions in the trans-Appalachian west. Aron's discussion of the emergence of the Bluegrass gentry and their consolidation of power is particularly valuable, as is his comparison of Shawnee and backwoodsmen societies. Less convincing is his argument that long hunters such as Daniel Boone, like the frontier entrepreneurs who followed in Boone's wake, were motivated primarily by land speculation. Many of these long hunters undoubtedly dabbled in land claims, but most seemed to be singularly unsuccessful. Boone, whom Aron champions as the epitome of this first wave of Kentucky settlers, eventually lost, sold, or abandoned his claims to lands in Kentucky and moved on to less settled regions in Missouri. If Boone's exploration and settlement of Kentucky was motivated primarily by land speculation, his defense of these claims seems ineffective and half-hearted.

Such quibbling aside, however, this is an important book. As Aron readily acknowledges, western historians recently have done much to reconstruct Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, and many of Turner's ideas now seem dated. Yet Aron's volume suggests that many important economic, social, and political patterns established in Kentucky were repeated as settlement spread further west.

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MALCOLM J. ROHRBOUGH. *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 353. \$29.95.

Malcolm J. Rohrbough's book is the most important statement to date of a new historiography that makes the California Gold Rush an integral part of national changes. A narration ranging from first rumors of fabulous wealth to nostalgia for lost youth, the book is designed to introduce readers to the complexity and scope of its subject. Rohrbough argues that the Gold Rush, "in numbers . . . the greatest mass movement in the history of the Republic" (p. 1), had greater repercussions than any event between the Louisiana Purchase and secession because so many people were affected by it and because it raised fundamental questions about American values: work and wealth, family and gender relations, racial and individual identities. Since Rohrbough argues that stay-at-homes and Argonauts were equally affected, the book's main sources are collections of correspondence that detail the experiences of both.

The Gold Rush created crises in belief because it took beliefs to extremes. Americans held that good morals and hard work would bring any person success; in California, these attributes promised fabulous wealth for everyone. By the 1840s, it was accepted that young men would leave home, with parental support, to experiment with various callings and economic opportunities, returning home between these forays for family reinforcement and to meet their obligations to support their parents in turn. Married men competed outside the home in an increasingly commercial economy, while wives conserved family and tradition at home. The California Gold Rush stretched these separations across the continent, placing males in an alien environment and making return uncertain. Family resources financed an enterprise that threatened family stability. Only the expectation of wealth sufficient to free families of debt and drudgery and guarantees that the Argonauts would return to their responsibilities could justify these obvious dangers to mutuality.

But Rohrbough argues that California reshaped its young men, making them into an anonymous fraternity of miners, to whom individual identity seemed less salient than shared experience. Dressed alike, weathered alike by exposure to the elements and ill-health, and most importantly, all transformed by the experience of hard physical labor, the blurring of work roles, and the want caused by seasonal unemployment, miners were very aware of how they had changed and how those changes had affected their ties to others. Only the miners themselves legitimately produced wealth, only they understood the lottery chances that the mines offered, only they could navigate the new society created in the mines, and only they could decide when they would return home. Transient, protean, even dangerous, mining society excluded the traditional guardians of stability, the miners' wives and fiancées. The few wives who came to the mining towns would have to embrace new work roles and freedoms if they were to contribute to family welfare. The Gold Rush would transfigure women even more than it would men; most husbands refused to accept that possibility.

Letters sometimes only accentuated the growing differences, as assurances and accusations could not hide or alter what were often miners' declarations of independence. Simultaneously distanced from and connected with home, often assailed by guilt and a sense of failure but also by a recognition of alienation, miners grappled with what they had become. Increasingly threatened by crime, by large investments of time that might lead to no reward, by capital-intensive mining, and by foreign races and ways, they struck back against all outsiders—gamblers and lawyers, French and Chinese, but also their own wives and parents. For home was also changing, as labor shortages damaged farm economies; as marriages, deaths, or scandal rearranged familiar relations; as elderly parents and dependent wives and children faced poverty without the production of adult sons and husbands. "Fortyniner widows," without legal claims to family property and often with no outside resources to draw on, necessarily became more self-reliant. In the process, some became feminist. Returning to old ways was out of the question for both husbands and wives.

Rohrbough's book is beautifully conceived and realized; it is a major advance in the social history of mining. No one will ever again be able to look at the Gold Rush in isolation. My one complaint is that Rohrbough's concentration on the dichotomy between family identity and California anonymity leads him to ignore the mobile institutions that linked the mines with home and American values—fraternal organizations like the Masons and sectional political parties like the "Southern Democracy" that gave the Argonauts needed identities and continuities, easing both migration and return. Still, this is the most sophisticated Gold Rush history yet written.

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MARY A. DECREDICO. *Mary Boykin Chesnut: A Confederate Woman's Life*. (American Profiles.) Madison, Wis.: Madison House. 1996. Pp. xv, 176. Cloth \$28.95, paper \$16.95.

Diaries tend to be of most interest to readers when the author participates in or witnesses something of import; the event or activity is viewed through eyes with unusual powers of observation; and the story is told with drama, wit, or charm. Such are Mary Boykin Chesnut's Civil War diaries, which have served twentieth-century readers as the premier southern-nationalist perspective on the war. As a result of her marriage to James Chesnut, Jr. (U.S. senator from South Carolina, author of the Confederate Constitution, and aid to President Jefferson Davis), and her friendship with Varena Davis (the president's wife), Chesnut was in a position to observe closely the Confederacy's military and political leadership. With her social nature, political savvy, and intellectual independence, Chesnut made the most of her observations. Utilizing consid-

erable literary skill, she crafted a text that has brought her immortality.

But while witness diaries may provide readers with information, insight, and entertainment, biographies of observers are not necessarily so interesting. Recognizing the problem, the first biographer of Mary Boykin Chesnut (Elisabeth Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut: A Biography* [1981]) focused on Chesnut's act of literary creation: the apprenticeship of a writer and her relationship to her text. Muhlenfeld detailed the crafting of an authorial persona, the development of skills in writing dialogue and description (learned in the practice of writing fiction), and the transformation of spontaneous contemporary notes and sketches into the studied masterpiece that has withstood multiple transformations and editions since Chesnut's death in 1886.

In this new biography, Mary A. DeCredico has taken another approach. Drawing on new research on Confederate nationalism, southern women, and the war, DeCredico seeks to place Chesnut more fully in her society and her time by emphasizing the social and economic background of the planter South, the political development of the Confederacy, and the military context of the Civil War. She succeeds in conveying what it was like to grow up and marry among the planter elite, to experience first a life of luxury focused on kin and society, then of political intrigue and military adventure, and lastly of defeat, flight, and occupation. Along the way, we learn more about Chesnut's labor as a wartime nurse, her entrepreneurial activity, and the economic buffer Chesnut land and slaves offered against the privations of war and Reconstruction.

DeCredico focuses her biography on Chesnut's society and activities but is also interested in portraying her views on slavery, sex roles, and politics. Such a short study allows insufficient room for in-depth analysis of the mind of a woman as complex, ambitious, and ambiguous as Chesnut. Nevertheless, DeCredico assesses both Chesnut's critique of slavery (largely concerned with its effects on slaveholders) and the limits of that critique, given Chesnut's commitment to the institution, her views on the inferiority of blacks, and her dependence on slavery for life's comforts. So, too, DeCredico describes Chesnut's view of contemporary gender ideology, which primarily limited women to roles—mother and plantation mistress—from which she was excluded by nature or by kin. DeCredico interprets Chesnut's service as James's secretary and her writing as compensatory, although she does allow that such intelligence and ambition might seek a broader arena than household management. She leaves open the question of how self-conscious Chesnut was in her social criticism.

For example, while assuring the reader that Chesnut equated marriage with slavery, DeCredico ignores the contemporaneous use of this metaphor by northern feminists and the implications of such language in the slaveholding South. DeCredico leaves unanalyzed the

nature of the "willing sale most women make of themselves in marriage" (Chesnut, p. 21). Of Chesnut's marriage or those of her acquaintances, there is evidence only of temperamental differences between husband and wife and little sense of the personal or political meaning of the metaphor.

DeCredico ends with the publication history of the diaries. At no point, however, does she address the epistemological or methodological problems with which such complex texts confront the biographer. The lack of footnotes, apparently characteristic of the "American Profiles" series, makes it difficult for a reader to know from which version of the diaries DeCredico drew her quotes. If less useful than Muhlenfeld's biography for scholars, however, DeCredico's will be embraced by more general readers as the well-written study of an elite, slaveholding woman whose life encompassed the rise and fall of the Confederacy. It is a marvelous tool for classroom use, opening to students in a highly readable way a place, a time, and a set of key political issues.

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LEEANN WHITES. *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1890*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1995. Pp. x, 277. \$35.00.

Twenty years ago, Civil War history seemed hopelessly mired in the minutiae of military lore. Today, the field is being transformed by social and women's historians who remind us that the war experience was shaped as much by noncombatants as by those on the front lines. Indeed, some of the most important contributions have come from historians of southern white women, who have insightfully analyzed the Confederate defeat from the vantage point of southern ladies. In this study of Augusta, Georgia, during and after the war, LeeAnn Whites draws on, but also departs from, such work as she analyzes the Civil War "as a crisis in gender."

Significantly, Whites uses gender as a broad and expansive tool of analysis, not as a narrow examination of sex roles. Thus, she tells the story not just of women in the war but also of white men, who have too often told their own histories as if they had no race or gender, occupying what one feminist theorist calls "a view from nowhere." Whites attempts to construct a "somewhere" for her Georgia subjects, using gender as a prism through which the racial, political, and social components and conflicts of the war were filtered for men and women, both white and black. She keeps her main focus, however, on Augusta's elites and their struggles, with varying degrees of success, to maintain a gendered hierarchy during and after the war.

In a number of particulars, this approach offers significant insights. Whites convincingly describes the public pronouncements, aimed at surpassing the class differences of southern white men, which urged the male population to unite in defense of a common right to dominate their own largely autonomous households.

As such, the Confederate fight was often portrayed as a struggle for "free white manhood" even as the South fought to preserve black slavery. Whites also paints an illuminating picture of wartime transformations in gender relations, noting how many Augusta women came to occupy more prominent and public spaces as their "hidden" domestic labors became critical to the war effort.

Her analysis is especially insightful in regard to the reconstruction of gender in the postwar era. As Augusta became overrun with what was perceived to be a "dependent" population of women and former slaves, Whites notes how Confederate men increasingly began to pit the latter against the former, believing that the women now had to be protected from the former slaves. Although they faced economic impoverishment, Confederate men were urged, nonetheless, to turn their sights toward domestic imperatives as the war concluded, to make the defense and protection of wives and children a central concern. And, as domestic life became more central, white women stepped even more prominently onto the public stage and assumed major responsibility for Confederate memorialization, which was expressed, as Whites explains, in terms of a "politics of domestic loss."

Whites's gender analysis works best when she is discussing the types of stories and frameworks that people created to make sense out of their lives. She makes good use of wartime and postwar newspaper accounts and editorials that were aimed broadly at a generalized conglomerate of white "manhood" and "womanhood." Whites is, however, less successful in analyzing the specifics of personal histories and the larger social history of Augusta during this period. Indeed, she tells us little about the city's unique position at this time as one of the South's more urban and industrialized centers, or to what extent the debates about factories and public womanhood would have been atypical for southern society in the middle years of the nineteenth century. In addition, Whites's persistent scrutiny sometimes gives short shrift to the personal stories in her book. She might, for example, do more with the complex problems suffered by couples like Gertrude and Jefferson Thomas, problems that could not always be neatly contained by the gendered framework that the South tried to construct and that Whites has documented. At times, Whites's gender analysis seems to flatten the complicated landscape of the wartime and postwar South as everyone—poor, elite, pro- and anti-secession—provides evidence of an array of gendered concerns. Under this rubric, many of the troubling race conflicts of the postwar era seem to fade away.

In general, Whites uses gender creatively and perceptively as a means for exploring the South's upheaval in the nineteenth century. Her work would benefit, however, from a less rigid adherence to a specific framework and from considering a variety of compli-

cating factors on the southern scene such as race, locality, and personal idiosyncracies.

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GLENDIA ELIZABETH GILMORE. *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xxii, 384. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore sets out in this book to reinterpret turn-of-the-century southern politics from the perspective of middle-class black women activists. She succeeds brilliantly. The book not only reclaims the long-buried stories of a group of richly compelling characters; it also redefines what should count as "politics" in southern history and suggests a research agenda that could engage a generation of students. That agenda includes fresh questions about the nature and politics of the post-Emancipation black middle class; the meanings of education, gender, and marriage for its members; the ways black women worked behind the scenes to secure needed services for their communities; the variables affecting white women's interest in interracial cooperation; and the impact of women's suffrage on racial politics in the South.

Gilmore brings exhaustive research to bear on these questions. The book draws on scores of manuscript collections, dozens of contemporary newspapers and periodicals, and numerous interviews with descendants of her subjects. The author's questions are informed by contemporary social theory without being bogged down by it. On the contrary, Gilmore writes with a self-assured art rare in contemporary academic writing; her passion for this history enlivens the telling of it. The result is a Jim Crow South much more interesting than the one we knew before, a South of great possibility as well as abiding tragedy.

Focusing on North Carolina, Gilmore tackles many questions about black middle-class life in these years, but the book's driving concern is politics, broadly construed. Complementing the path-breaking work of such scholars as Elsa Barkley Brown, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, and Deborah Gray White, Gilmore draws attention to black women's activity in church and voluntary associations. One organization that emerges as much more complex from the treatment it receives here is the interdenominational Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). For black middle-class women, the WCTU became a tool not only of "home protection" but also of racial uplift and interracial diplomacy. When black men still voted, white women welcomed those overtures; once disfranchisement undercut that power, white WCTU activists lined up with white supremacist politicians.

Gilmore shows how the success of the disfranchisement campaign of 1900 reconfigured the terrain of black politics. With men pushed aside, women stepped forward. An analysis fixed on electoral politics would

never reveal this, for black political life now shifted to arenas less vulnerable to white attack, namely women's home missionary societies and voluntary associations. Gilmore reconstructs this process and connects the activism of black women to the rise of welfare state politics in the Progressive Era. Drawing on the newly created political role of client, black women made demands for their communities and built bridges to powerful whites in a seemingly nonpolitical way, blithely disregarding whites' intentions of constructing a racially exclusive Progressivism.

The book leaves readers pondering some important questions. Quibblers will raise questions about typicality, although the author makes clear from the outset that it is the very extraordinariness of her subjects that fascinates her. Others will wonder about whether this North Carolina-derived model works for black women's politics in the Deep South. More pressing are issues concerning the role of class and the workings of color politics within contemporary southern black communities. Gilmore convincingly demonstrates how the *meaning* of middle-class standing differed for blacks and whites at the time. Her contextual approach to class deserves notice and emulation. Yet she dismisses without a full hearing critical questions about the relationship between these middle-class activists and the working-class women and men whose lives they set out to refashion.

This reticence may derive in part from Gilmore's sense of purpose. "This book," she informs readers early on, "chronicles, indeed it celebrates, the black middle class in the years prior to 1920" (pp. xviii-xix). Its possible limitations notwithstanding, that goal drives the book's greatest achievement: to remind readers in a fresh and invigorating way that history is provisional. Outcomes appear inevitable only after they have pushed other possibilities out of sight. In this time of deep political pessimism, when so much academic writing seems to encourage despair about collective action, Gilmore offers a bracing vindication of intentional social change. Her thinking owes much to the wisdom of her subjects, as she well appreciates. In describing the veteran activist Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Gilmore tells us that "she operated by a simple rule: it is better to overestimate possibility than to underestimate it" (p. 185). Gilmore's observance of this maxim makes for a gripping story likely to engage readers outside the academy as well as students and professional historians. Her book should be required reading in courses on the postbellum South, women's history, African-American history, and twentieth-century politics.

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JONATHAN M. BRYANT. *How Curious a Land: Conflict and Change in Greene County, Georgia, 1850-1885*. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. x, 266. \$29.95.

The fundamental question of what took place in the American South as a result of the Civil War remains a topic of vital scholarly interest. In its earliest and simplest form, scholarship frequently reduced the issue to that of the continuity or discontinuity of southern society. Recent works have been more reluctant to make such broad generalizations and have observed elements of both. The methodology of choice has been the case study examining a state, a section of a state, or even a county. Jonathan M. Bryant's book offers another look at the puzzle with a study of what happened in Greene County, Georgia, between 1850 and 1885.

In keeping with recent literature, Bryant sees elements of both change and persistence. He observes that contemporaries perceived the development of a new class of leaders in the postwar period, yet he also notes that these individuals were new only in occupations and generation and, mostly, emerged from leading antebellum plantation families. Bryant suggests that an ideology based on the capitalist ethic was accepted and dominated the postwar leadership, but he also recognizes that many among the elite had already embraced such views before the war. Freedom for slaves represented a revolution in the labor system, but it is clear that an element of forced labor after 1865 remained to limit the full freedom of the former slaves.

Although Bryant recognizes the complexity of the situation, the overall view of this study is that the Civil War (or perhaps the integration of the county into different markets—it is not clear) produced a radical change in Greene County. Bryant's picture of that revolution closely parallels C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (1951), which first advanced the idea of discontinuity in the South. Bryant portrays a world in which enormous changes took place; in agreement with Woodward, he sees wartime impoverishment and the destruction of the slave labor system as forcing the crop-lien system on the people of Greene County. This further advanced the economic forces that left them poor and with little chance for economic advancement. Also in keeping with Woodward's conclusions, Bryant sees the exploitative racism of whites as further impoverishing the region. Are these findings conclusive? Can we agree that discontinuity outweighs continuity? Ultimately, an answer to that question depends on a clear definition of what is meant by "radical change," and that is lacking.

There is little that is new in the conclusions offered, and the methodology is equally familiar. Bryant's interpretation rests heavily on newspapers and collections of family papers, used with little apparent internal criticism. Observing the free labor system and changes in markets, these sources asserted change had taken place, and Bryant accepts their evaluation and bases his own conclusions on them. Statistical evidence of the impoverishment of the county is based on published census materials that show an obvious decline in wealth. Since abolition changed census definitions of what constituted wealth, such a result is

inevitable, however, and a more sophisticated use of these figures is desirable.

Bryant is most original in his discussion of the evolution of postbellum Georgia labor law. Of particular interest is his analysis of the 1871 contract law that made it possible for either party to file a contract with the county court. If a party failed to carry out the contract, he was then subject to arrest for contempt of court and liable to imprisonment and fine. Bryant shows how this aided employers, who actually prosecuted tenants under the law and required them to work off fines. More than market forces may be said to have crushed the hopes of freedpeople for autonomy and economic independence in the postwar world.

Although Bryant tells us much about the history of Greene County, this book also exhibits a major problem of the case study at the county level. Evidence does not always exist that would allow the author to draw definite conclusions, and the result is reliance on the generalizations made by scholars about other areas. This is risky business. It helps to make sense of the history of the county, but the reader should be aware that the author is not using the case study to verify broader propositions and that what is described as happening may not have happened at all.

Bryant's study helps show the complexity of events at the local level during a critical era in the nation's history. It is flawed, however, by problems of definition and evidence that limit the work's usefulness.

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PAUL HARVEY. *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities among Southern Baptists, 1865–1925*. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Pp. x, 330. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95. 1997.

Scholars usually concede that religion has played a vital role in shaping the lives of most southerners. Yet, religious life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century South remains difficult to understand, partially because existing studies have focused either on whites or on African Americans but not on both. Paul Harvey's book is an ambitious work that explores the interconnectedness of black and white Baptists in the South between 1865 and 1925. Harvey maintains that a proper understanding of the New South lies in conceptualizing "southern religion" as biracial and bicultural. That is, black and white Baptists may have developed their own separate religious institutions in the postbellum South, but they continued to influence each other in ways that were sometimes overt, sometimes subtle. Moreover, would-be denomination builders, reformers, and progressive-minded individuals of both races discovered that localism and rural folkways often hindered the changes they proposed.

Harvey's title comes from the term "redemption,"

which denotes the evangelical concept of individual salvation as well as the return of white southern Democrats to political power in the 1870s. As the "redeemers" regained control of southern states, a group of leaders emerged within the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) who were intent on redeeming more than the Old South's social and political order. These individuals wanted to strengthen and professionalize their denomination by educating clergymen who would address the challenges of poverty, immorality, and poor education as well as preach the gospel. Men like James Marion Frost, a neglected figure in southern religious history, built the Southern Baptist Sunday School Board. This agency produced literature that helped ministers to educate and indoctrinate local church members. By the turn of the century, Southern Baptists had expanded their missionary, educational, and publishing enterprises, but the growth came at a price. Some complained that the SBC was becoming too bureaucratic. Others struggled with new worship forms and the precise meaning of orthodoxy. Obviously, the SBC was never a homogeneous entity, and Harvey says as much. Still, there may have been even more diversity than he admits.

While whites struggled with building their denomination, African Americans faced problems of their own. Whites scrutinized black churches because they could not comprehend their unique worship style. One thing whites clearly understood was that black churches were social forums and fledgling political institutions, a volatile mix that fueled white racism and frequently led to terrorist acts against African Americans. This much is familiar territory, but the story is more complex, and Harvey is at his best when he demythologizes the black Baptist experience. For example, African-American pastors did not have unlimited power over their congregations. In fact, churches had ways to curb pastoral authority including the "annual call," a yearly ritual to renew or deny the minister's tenure. Neither was there ideological solidarity among black Baptist ministers. Some aspired to middle-class respectability as much as their like-minded white brethren, and the establishment of the National Baptist Convention (NBC) in 1895 provided new avenues for advancing one's professional status. Harvey's deft treatment of Sutton E. Griggs, Richard H. Boyd, and Emmanuel K. Love is a moving testimony to the rich diversity among African-American Baptists.

In a work of this scope, it is understandable that the author may not interpret every detail correctly. For example, Harvey's occasional overreliance on secondary sources leads him to accept stereotypical interpretations uncritically. He believes the common misconception that the antislavery movement was rooted exclusively in hyper-Calvinism, while in reality, antislavery raised more questions about ecclesiastical authority than predestination. He also dismisses Landmarkism, perhaps the single most influential feature of early SBC life, as "folk religion," whatever that is.

Finally, Harvey underestimates the power of missiology to unite Baptists across social, economic, and political lines. The missionary impulse led Southern Baptists to build orphanages, settlement houses, colleges, and hospitals while granting a certain latitude in personal belief.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Harvey has produced an impressive work with much to commend it. He does an excellent job of describing how blacks and whites forged a biracial society in the South. By blending these two stories, Harvey mounts the most thorough and convincing challenge to the so-called "cultural captivity" thesis to date. He also demonstrates that southern progressivism was not "for whites only."

By the 1920s, black and white Baptists in the South shared much common ground, including local church autonomy, salvation by grace, and similar denominational structures. Both groups struggled against modernism, and many in each camp embraced Prohibition as a positive reform. In the end, however, their differences proved stronger than their similarities. It is a sad irony, and sadder testimony, that they were unable to unite for their own mutual self-interest, much less for the cause of Christ.

KEITH HARPER

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WENDY GAMBER. *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860–1930*. (Women in American History.) (The Working Class in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 300. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Wendy Gamber's book traces the transformation of the production of women's apparel into women's work in eighteenth and nineteenth-century America. Women were active agents in this transformative process, the author argues, working to find and create their places as employers, employees, and consumers in the male-dominated world of commerce.

Gamber asserts that the custom fashion trade was more complex than our contemporary commentary would suggest; the sexual division of labor and consumption in the custom fashion trades actually created a "female economy" in which the principal actors—proprietors, workers, and consumers—were women" (p. 2). The author focuses primarily on white working-class women of the Northeast, who sought to improve their station in life as well as to make a living in the commercial world.

Gamber demonstrates that, for a sizable number of women in the mid-nineteenth century, employment in the dress and hatmaking trades was a viable alternative to marrying. Unmarried women from a variety of backgrounds were able to contribute to the coffers of their family of origin or to support themselves on their earnings. Gamber also analyzes the hierarchies within the dressmaking and millinery trades, which pitted

novice against veteran and extra hand against regular employee in scenarios resembling the contemporary U.S. labor market (p. 95). Gamber resists the impulse to romanticize the story of women in the fashion trade, telling instead a richer and more complex tale of the often simultaneous liberation and exploitation of women, of both their successes and their failures. Her focus on the women's "world" of dressmaking and hatmaking illuminates a dark corner of the history of commerce and of women's history, identifying women's activist presence as creators of their own businesses and business relationships.

But at the same time, Gamber's focus sometimes obscures her analysis of the relation of women's endeavors in the arena of fashion to the larger U.S. economy and culture. As Linda Kerber suggested (in "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75: 1 [1988]), the overreliance on spheres as an organizing and explanatory metaphor weakens and confuses gendered historical analysis. Concentrating on a separate "world" overshadows comparisons between female and male proprietors, workers, and consumers, and relationships between and among these gendered groups. The sphere metaphor also obscures and downplays such crucial issues as the relationship between suppliers of raw materials, textile mills, and proprietors; the relationship between the shop and the home; and the relationship between women and men in families and the purchase of clothing.

Gamber's focus on this female "sphere" contributes to another weakness, which is the book's tendency to overgeneralize from a specific body of evidence. This problem is embodied in the book's title, which suggests both that there was a single female economy between 1860 and 1930 and that the book will discuss it. The book actually addresses only one specific "female economy," that of dress and hatmaking. At least some women of the day were moving into clerical positions, producing and writing for magazines, running boarding houses, and clerking in stores. Further, the study focuses on white, working-class women of the Northeast, hardly representing all women of the mid to late nineteenth-century United States. Gamber acknowledges that race could have been a focus of her study but was not; as Gerda Lerner has suggested, class, race, and gender are inextricably intertwined variables and must be treated as such (*Why History Matters: Life and Thought* [1997]). Gamber's analysis would be a more useful contribution to historical literature had it been situated more specifically and concretely in its larger historical context of race and commerce (discussing, for example, the relationship of African and Anglo-Americans to the textile industry of the day or different experiences of consumers by race in the time period).

These reservations aside, the book is a significant

contribution to women's labor, business, and consumer history.

HELEN DAMON-MOORE

Cornell College [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

SCOTT MOLLOY. *Trolley Wars: Streetcar Workers on the Line*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1996. Pp. xvii, 238. \$36.50.

In 1901, William D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, sent Samuel Gompers this progress report. "I tell you, Sam, our boys have had lots to contend with in order to maintain . . . their organization . . . [A]nd with this fierce opposition to us, they grow discouraged" (*The Samuel Gompers Papers*, Vol. 5 [1996], pp. 346–47). Streetcar workers had come a long way from the twelve-hour days that once characterized the industry, but they had been forced to strike and strike hard for any improvement. In fact, despite widespread support in the community, their strikes were among the most hard fought in early twentieth-century America.

Scott Molloy investigates the complex roots of this enduring conflict. Focusing on the state of Rhode Island, he traces the growth of urban mass transportation from stage coach to omnibus, to railed horsecar, and finally to electric trolley. He also illuminates the social dynamics of technological change over time, examining who benefited from "improved" transportation systems, road construction, and franchise policies, and how decisions were made. In the process, he makes his case that the development of urban transportation systems "involved a battle for control of city streets and city government—a struggle that was . . . waged in courts, voting booths, town councils, state legislatures, and in the streets themselves" (p. 1).

Molloy is at his best when he charts the rise of the horsecar workers, who dominated the work force during the late nineteenth century. In a sense, they represented the skilled-artisan phase of the industry: although they worked long hours, they controlled various aspects of their work (including the horses), and they enjoyed the social status that a "good" job insured. In Rhode Island, at least, they apparently commanded the respect of employers, who rewarded their loyalty and dependability with relatively high wages, steady work, and a seniority system. These conditions seemed especially favorable to men who otherwise might have worked harder for a less secure income as farmers. But over time, transport workers would discover that these conditions had as much to do with the independent structure and local ownership of the horsecar industry as they did with the workers' skill or shared interest in the business.

In fact, as horsecars gave way to electric trolleys, and corporations supplanted local owners, streetcar workers—and their passengers—learned the hard way that corporate management had no interest in higher

wages, shorter hours, or the workers' right to a voice in industry. Frustration mounted as motormen, conductors, and mechanics watched conditions deteriorate. Although new management was willing to protect high salaries and seniority rights for veteran workers (who were largely native born), newcomers (who were largely Irish immigrants) enjoyed no such benefits. The resulting animosity pitted newcomers (and their union) against employers and against veteran workers as well.

The situation proved to be volatile. For instance, after a transit company refused to enforce Rhode Island's ten-hour law in 1902, the strike that resulted led to riots in Providence and Pawtucket. Strikebreakers were attacked, sheriffs fired shots into the crowd, and the Rhode Island militia was called out, a turn of events that was unfortunately all too common during street railway strikes. The 1902 strike also aggravated generational tensions that certainly contributed to the Providence workers' failure to organize a lasting union before 1913: veterans of the horsecar era worked during the strike, a blow to the newcomers that probably had as much to do with the union's failure as the leadership shortcomings that Molloy details.

Because Molloy ends his story in 1902, we do not learn very much about the trolley workers who dominated the industry by the turn of the century; horsecar workers are clearly the focus of this book. We also learn almost nothing about the trolley workers' efforts to build a union. What we do learn, however, is that the streetcar wars that erupted in the early twentieth century were not simply the products of workplace grievances. Instead they were labor's and the community's answer to corporate arrogance, monopoly power, political corruption, and the developing conflict between private trusts and public interest.

GRACE PALLADINO

The Samuel Gompers Papers,
University of Maryland

DAVID E. RUTH. *Inventing the Public Enemy: The Gangster in American Culture, 1918–1934*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. x, 190. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$15.95.

The stereotype of the public enemy was a mirror in which an urbanizing, industrializing American public looked at itself—and did not much care for what it saw. So argues David E. Ruth, although Ruth prefers "projection" to mirror. No one has dug deeper than he through the pop culture debris the gangster left behind in newspapers, magazines, and movies as he shot his way into the headlines during the 1920s and early 1930s. Ruth has done prodigious reading in the popular media of the period and brings an imagination schooled in social history to the task of demonstrating how the American public used its enemies—Al Capone and his ilk—to understand (and usually denounce) the changes that were destabilizing the relationships between the classes, the sexes, and the racial

and ethnic groups of a modernizing, twentieth-century America. He has also demonstrated creative scholarship in connecting social scientific theorizing by criminologists, lawyers, and politicians with the popular anxieties of the period. Debates over the reasons for the rise of the modern gangster and the best means of combating him, Ruth argues persuasively, reflected cultural tensions and conflicts over modernization and ways of accommodating or resisting it.

The book begins by surveying post-World War I popular and academic writing about crime in America to show how such discussions quickly and almost inevitably turned into analyses of what was wrong with America and with the modern world. Many concluded that criminals were regrettably normal. "By presenting criminals who so resembled ordinary men and women," Ruth writes, "moralists showed their middle-class readers that serious threats to social order originated within the boundaries of supposed respectability" (p. 27). By pointing out analogies between criminal empires and the features of legitimate business enterprise, the period revealed its anxieties about the evolving economic order. The lavish lifestyle of the gangster provided a pretext for Americans to criticize their own consumerism. The illicit and exciting relationships between the gangsters and their molls gave Americans a chance to wring their hands over society's departures from the gender ideals once exemplified by the stereotypes of the lady and the gentleman. Finally, in the most vividly written portion of the book, Ruth caps his arguments with portraits of the Capone created by the sensational media and then the historical figure of Big Al himself.

Throughout this work, Ruth keeps his reader's eyes firmly fixed on the generalizations about American culture that can be extracted by mining the popular press. The book, he writes, "is an attempt to understand mass media images and the culture that produced them. As such it is a study of values" (p. 1). One feels that, for him, the actual lives of the gangsters and their spectacular careers are dross that has to be scraped away to reveal nuggets of cultural analysis. Ruth brings more of the social historian's weaponry to bear on the subject than earlier treatments, and his conclusions tend to reinforce those of writers on the gangster image in American popular entertainment, such as Andrew Bergman and myself, who surveyed some of the same materials and the same cultural theorists as Ruth, though not in as much depth and detail.

Some readers, however, will wish that the gangster himself—human nature at its gaudiest—had been kept at the center of the story. Who is more interesting, Capone or the preachers, professors, and editorialists who tsk-tsked over him? To ask the question is to answer it, some would say. On the other hand, Ruth does give readers fair warning that his study is "concerned with the meanings rather than the facts of crime" (p. 1). Despite this, Ruth serves up lively facts about the gangster and his wake (in both senses of the

word) in American popular culture, and he gets the facts straight. His analysis of those facts is sound and shrewd, making the book a fine supplement for courses on twentieth-century American history and popular culture.

RICHARD GID POWERS

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City University of New York*

CHARLES BRIGHT. *The Powers That Punish: Prison and Politics in the Era of the "Big House," 1920-1955.* (Law, Meaning, and Violence.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1996. Pp. 326. \$47.50.

Although its title does not hint at its limited scope, this book by Charles Bright confines itself to examining the correctional services of only one state, Michigan. Its usefulness is not lessened on this account, however, for the in-depth perspective given here on interactions between operating agencies and state politics should be enlightening for thoughtful bureaucrats anywhere.

Between 1920 and 1955, Michigan developed one of the largest prisons the world has seen; its initial capacity was about 5500. Bright recounts the history of the Jackson prison's persistent management problems and the ways in which it frustrated the efforts of successive governors to bring the state correctional system under control. By analyzing the prison and the political context in which it operated, he contributes to the general understanding of prison management issues.

As corrections practitioners well know, today's public, frustrated about crime, too readily accepts the short, immediate, and simplistic explanations and quick-fix solutions. In this account, those who wish to understand more fully the complex roots of penal problems will find the subject treated with a rare degree of thoroughness. Bright brings to his task an obvious fascination with the devious workings of the political process. In fact, the book is as much a treatise on political science as on corrections. In virtually exhaustive detail, it relates the ways in which Michigan political machinations affected operations at the massive prison in Jackson and how, in turn, the prison affected the state's political currents.

Corrections professionals are likely to be particular interested in two aspects of Michigan's corrections history: the rationale for the excessive size of the prison at Jackson and an analysis of the causes and outcome of the famous riot there in 1952. Both are given extensive attention by Bright. Addressing the question of institution size, he finds that the state had no initial intent to build as large a facility as the prison finally became. But the professional practice of planning had not yet been developed by state governments, so no responsible effort was made to calculate the probable future prison population. In response to a mounting public concern about crime, the legislature authorized the building of a prison but afterward failed to notice that the project kept continually growing. An

insidious factor contributing to the growth was the entrenched patronage system, which the governor and ranks of lesser administrators diligently exploited as a means to achieve and maintain power. The construction project provided opportunities, all energetically pursued, to reward political supporters with jobs or contracts for supplies or services. The felt need for this source of power was a subtle but inexorable factor spurring the project's expansion.

Not only did patronage practices foster a runaway growth of the institution's size, but they also led to extensive corruption in its management. Bright describes in extensive and explicit detail how staff members sold drugs or other contraband to inmates and demanded payment for granting inmate requests. Various officials whose favor was being cultivated were commonly permitted to carry off choice items from the prison's food stocks.

As for the 1952 riot, it is well known that it started when a rookie guard mistakenly acceded to an inmate's request that his cell door be unlocked so that he could give something to another prisoner. But that was only the trigger; the rapid escalation of rebellion was fed by inmate frustration and resentment rooted in obtuse, corrupt management attitudes, parole policies, and even in the shabby quality of state political processes generally. The subject is examined here with competence and useful insight.

A mild disappointment is the book's omission of any discussion of Michigan and the death penalty. Capital punishment has never been authorized in Michigan since its territorial days, and it would have been interesting to learn whether this had any discernible effect on the political or correctional systems.

The quality and style of Bright's writing will please some readers and frustrate others. Most will find their vocabularies enhanced, but they may also feel oppressed by more information than they wanted to know or have ability to digest. It has to be said that the book is wordy; Bright ruminates extensively on all relevant events and every associated nuance, studying every detail from every angle. It is tempting to suggest that much of the discourse is so overly thorough that it could almost be considered padding. Such an accusation would not be entirely fair, however, except perhaps in the view of those hurried readers who want only a straight presentation of factual data. But scholars who seek an exhaustive analysis of how the interplay of social, political, economic, and psychological factors affects the operational integrity of bureaucracies will find the book, for all its wordiness, to be well grounded, intelligent, thoughtful, and uniquely instructive. It is a slice of history that explains much.

PAUL W. KEVE

EMERITUS

Virginia Commonwealth University

GEORGINA D. FELDBERG, *Disease and Class: Tuberculosis and the Shaping of Modern North American Society*. (Health and Medicine in American Society.) New

Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 274. Cloth \$52.00, paper \$18.95.

Tuberculosis was still a deadly disease at the beginning of this century, much as AIDS is as we approach the century's end. We know how to prevent AIDS. In the United States, with its now fairly safe blood supply, individuals who do not practice high-risk behaviors generally do not get the disease. Prevention through behavior modification has not stalled Americans' enthusiasm for finding an AIDS vaccine, however. Gen-ueflecting at the altar of science, we place highest faith in medical solutions that emerge from the laboratory. Social solutions are stop-gap until a vaccine is on the market. Was this not equally true in the case of tuberculosis (TB)? No, according to Georgina D. Feldberg, who contends that even after the development of a reliable vaccine, Americans continued to choose a social approach to TB prevention. Feldberg links TB prevention to middle-class formation in explaining why American medical science preferred diet, hygiene, and, eventually, long-term drug treatment rather than the bacillus Calmette-Guerin (BCG) vaccine developed abroad during the 1920s and administered in many other countries, including Canada. Indeed, she contends that the pattern has persisted even during the most recent resurgence of the disease during the past ten years.

Feldberg joins the swelling ranks of scholars who have abandoned the belief that medical science and scientific discovery are solely determined in laboratories isolated from the social pressures and cultural predispositions that shape decisionmaking in the corporate boardroom or the political caucus. As her title implies, she sees the class identities of tuberculosis patients and those responsible for the public health as critical determinants of Americans' persistent selection of hygiene, housing, and employment over BCG as the prophylaxis of choice. By the end of the nineteenth century, the romantic image of the wan tuberculous aesthetic endangering few had been replaced by one of impoverished workers, immigrants, and racial minorities: those who were not part of the respectable white Protestant middle class, but who endangered it nevertheless. Defining TB as a diathesis, a physical predisposition that could be aggravated by unhealthy habits and living conditions, permitted physicians and public health officials to claim that the disease could be prevented by improving the environment and lifestyle of those most vulnerable. According to Feldberg, "TB is a prism that refracts the beam of middle class formation into its constituent bands, and the specific colors of those bands illuminate the goals of the American campaign against TB" (p. 8).

The social view of tuberculosis prevention was reconciled with Robert Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus via a "seed and soil" metaphor. The bacillus or "seed" could be controlled through efforts to isolate those stricken with the disease and kill the germs making them ill. The human host or "soil" could best

be protected by promoting public sanitation, battling the poverty responsible for poor diets and congested living conditions, and educating the vulnerable in preventive hygiene and habits of cleanliness often associated with middle-class moral virtues. Feldberg argues that even today, an agenda shaped by class perceptions causes Americans to prefer a combined social/medical approach to a BCG vaccination program.

Feldberg's scholarship is painstaking and detailed. Her methodological approach, comparing medical choices made in the United States and Canada, enriches her study. Her writing is uneven, however, and at times turgid. Her thesis only partly persuades. An intellectual tunnel vision causes her to mention, but not develop, the serious objections that American medical experts raised against adopting the BCG approach. Feldberg gives short shrift to the anti-BCG argument that the tuberculin skin test is not useful after vaccination and that this makes it difficult to administer isoniazid, a demonstrably effective antibiotic. Just as one cannot ignore the social context that surrounds the laboratory, neither can historians afford to minimize honest scientific disagreements among researchers within the laboratory. Feldberg's monograph contributes to the growing historical literature on tuberculosis, but historians of medicine planning a limited exposure for their students will choose from richer, more accessible social histories by René and Jean Dubos, Barbara Bates, Katherine Ott, or Sheila Rothman.

ALAN M. KRAUT
American University

LOUIS GALAMBOS and JANE ELIOT SEWELL. *Networks of Innovation: Vaccine Development at Merck, Sharp and Dohme, and Mulford, 1895–1995*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 273. \$39.95.

The best treatment of disease is prevention, but that has been easier to propose than to achieve, as this book by Louis Galambos and Jane Eliot Sewell illustrates. One preventive that has improved the life chances of every family in some way is vaccination. It is a technique that induces long-term immunity against infectious diseases, usually by injecting a specific antigen derived from an infectious agent (or part of it).

The first safe and effective vaccination became available at the end of the eighteenth century after Edward Jenner demonstrated his smallpox vaccine in England; it eventually wiped out this worldwide scourge. The science of immunology thus launched has yielded protection against one major disease after another over the decades, despite high costs and frustrating problems of research, production, and utilization.

Galambos and Sewell have not aspired to write a general history of immunology, however, or even of vaccines. For the latter, readers can best turn to Allan Chase's *Magic Shots: A Human and Scientific Account*

of the Long and Continuing Struggle to Eradicate Infectious Diseases by Vaccination (1982). This book has a much narrower focus: the vaccine section of three pharmaceutical firms (interrelated by mergers). The authors' approach yields many insights in terms of business and economic history that a broader survey cannot offer.

Galambos and Sewell are especially concerned with analyzing the conditions that either promoted or prevented creative changes in the industrial process that brings vaccines to the medical marketplace. Their foundation is the pioneering work on organizational capabilities by Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., notably his *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (1990). The present book portrays the scientific and managerial struggles within three companies: H. K. Mulford & Company, absorbed by Sharp & Dohme in 1929, which in turn was absorbed by Merck & Company in 1953. All three organizations grew from modest beginnings in community pharmacies, riding the wave of nineteenth-century industrialization to become major names in the field of science-based, mass-produced pharmaceuticals.

Mulford, although relatively small, became a commercial leader in vaccines and antitoxins by the time of World War I. Its loss of innovative drive thereafter is attributed primarily to managerial limitations. When Sharp & Dohme acquired Mulford, it was good strategy for broadening the firm's capabilities but bad timing. Unable adequately to exploit its new potential, Sharp & Dohme became fair game for a merger with Merck: "Merck was the first of the three organizations examined in this book to have the resources, the science management, and the executive leadership needed to elaborate and broaden its capabilities—in effect extending the long cycle of innovation for this firm" (p. 248).

It is the book's principal thesis that the innovative process for developing vaccines and antitoxins has a long-term cyclical nature that exemplifies a general trend in science-based industries. Another thesis, documented persuasively, is that scientific leadership, an individual's capable and firm direction, plays a decisive role in the fate of such enterprises. Too often we overlook this, relying on "bottom up" social history and on "impersonal behavioral explanations of organizational performance" (p. 76). A third theme is the negative social consequence of allowing political and commercial considerations to override medical science (pp. 112, 139, 225).

The book's limited scope may be its strength, giving the authors an opportunity to assess the advantages and difficulties of corporate merger; company networking with non-profit laboratories, competitors, and public agencies; and the internal tensions between business executives and their key scientists. Because of the high stakes in terms of public health, the outcome of these uneasy relationships gives the vaccine story additional historical interest, especially for business or economic historians. The analysis of industrial man-

agement and relations is interlaced with some semi-popular history of the evolving science on which the development of safe and effective vaccines depended. Sketching in the broader scientific context would have produced a more balanced picture.

This small volume is not the best place to learn about the international history of vaccines, the technical complexity of efforts to regulate the biologicals market under federal law, or the history of the pharmaceutical industry. But taken on its own terms, Galambos and Sewell's well-documented book is a valuable and unusual contribution to the history of specialized pharmaceutical endeavor in America, with emphasis on the "networking" required on the long road leading to each new vaccine.

GLENN SONNEDECKER
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GEOFFREY PERRET. *Old Soldiers Never Die: The Life of Douglas MacArthur*. New York: Random House. 1996. Pp. xii, 663. \$32.50.

Douglas MacArthur remains one of the most controversial characters in American military history, and there is no shortage of studies of either the man or the numerous events in which he played a major role. There is, however, quite a shortage of decent full biographies, especially at a popular level. Scholars possess all three volumes of D. Clayton James's definitive *The Years of MacArthur* (1970–1985), and over the past decade historians such as Carol Petillo and Michael Schaller have reanalyzed specific aspects of MacArthur's personality and career. General readers desiring a complete, one-volume biography have had to rely on older and substantially weaker works, most notably William Manchester's *American Caesar* (1978). Despite some problems, Perret's book is a substantial improvement over Manchester's in terms of research, accuracy, and conclusions.

Perret has written numerous works on U.S. military and World War II history, including *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph* (1973), *A Country Made by War* (1989) *There's a War to be Won* (1991) and *Winged Victory* (1993). He bridges the gap between academic and popular history with a combination of solid research and great readability, and his biography of MacArthur clearly exhibits these characteristics. It is extensively researched in unpublished manuscript, archival, and oral history materials as well as published sources; up to date on the relevant secondary scholarship; comprehensive; and well-written.

Perret's MacArthur is primarily a nineteenth-century military romantic who spent virtually all of his life in the U.S. Army and who was driven by an exceptionally strong will to fulfill what his parents had convinced him was a special destiny. The result was an extraordinary series of accomplishments and an equally extraordinary series of blunders and failures, as his values and perceptions clashed with twentieth-century

American civilian and global realities. The accomplishments include an exceptional performance in World War I, reforms undertaken as superintendent of West Point, many World War II campaigns in the Southwest Pacific, the postwar occupation of Japan, and the Inchon landing during the Korean War, which Perret considers his most brilliant military move. On the negative side was a personality that became progressively intolerant and intolerable as he aged and advanced in rank, a tendency to surround himself with mediocrities and sycophants, some major military blunders and miscalculations (in regard to the Philippines in 1941–1942, the Buna campaign in 1942, and Chinese intervention in the Korean War), such disastrous political blunders and miscalculations as the Bonus Army episode in 1932, his campaigns for the presidency, and the insubordination that led to his recall in 1951. Perret examines all of these in detail (most extensively the World War II campaigns) and with fresh perspectives that held MacArthur truly responsible for some of them but unfairly blamed for others, most notably the Bonus Army episode and the fall of the Philippines. I do not find such revisionism convincing, and overall I believe that Perret tends incorrectly to blame MacArthur's errors on others. The book is far from a whitewash of MacArthur, however, and Perret is often savagely critical of his subject. Furthermore, even the analyses and conclusions with which I disagree are well-researched, well-argued, and worth reading.

The volume is weakened by minor factual, geographic, and typographical errors, such as the confusion of Tampico with Vera Cruz (p. 69), making Woodrow Wilson a native of Georgia rather than Virginia (p. 75), placing Dwight Eisenhower in the Pentagon before that building was completed (p. 214), and locating Inchon thirty miles east rather than west of Seoul (p. 545). And while the writing overall is excellent, Perret seems to have a fondness for unusual words found only in unabridged dictionaries. Nevertheless, this is the best single-volume, full biography of MacArthur available, and it is recommended for the general reader as well as undergraduate courses. Serious scholars will prefer James's three volumes, but even they might enjoy reading and arguing with some of the author's conclusions.

MARK A. STOLER
University of Vermont

HOWARD BALL. *Hugo L. Black: Cold Steel Warrior*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 305. \$35.00.

Hugo L. Black's place in historical memory has undergone a curious evolution. Appointed by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1937, when the fate of New Deal liberalism remained in doubt, Black's public image was that of a loyal, effective, and controversial New Deal U.S. senator from Alabama, ill-suited for service on the nation's most powerful court. The revelation that

Black had once been a member of the Ku Klux Klan reinforced this image. Twenty years later, however, defenders and critics alike described Black as one of the great justices in the Court's history, an architect of the constitutional revolution that made liberalism and its sanction of equality the dominant American ideology. When Black died in 1971 after thirty-four years on the Supreme Court, his stature was enhanced by dissenting opinions, public lectures, and a television interview in which he reiterated a constitutional philosophy that imposed limits on the more expansive liberalism advocated by his friends and colleagues Earl Warren, William O. Douglas, and William J. Brennan. This "new" Black, observed future Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, sanctioned a constitutional and popular conservatism that ultimately prevailed in the United States at the end of the century. Howard Ball lucidly retells Black's story without adequately explaining its important yet elusive meaning for American history.

Ironies in Black's Alabama origins mark this search for meaning. Born in the isolated rural mountain region of Clay County to a prosperous, alcoholic storekeeper father and a religiously upright, socially respectable mother, young Black had an ambivalent regard for individualism and an intensified sensitivity to the individual's status within the community. The tension between individual and community values influenced Black's receptivity to the Populist creed and style, which in Alabama emerged first in Clay County. Nevertheless, he formally embraced the state's more conservative Democratic Party organization. The same value conflict helps to explain his conspicuous success as a Birmingham trial lawyer and his public standing as a progressive—even radical—local judge and elected county prosecutor who defended white and African-American Alabamians from the city's powerful industrialists and their agents, the Democratic Party bosses. It also suggests why, in order to maintain the support of local jurors and to win election to the U.S. Senate, Black cultivated political constituencies that were not controlled by the dominant Democratic leadership, including the Ku Klux Klan. Once elected as the state's junior senator in 1926, however, Black rejected the Klan and became identified with the state's "National" Democratic faction, which seized party leadership from the bosses. Thus, despite a popular image as a populist outsider, Black for most of his ten-year senate career was an activist Democrat insider.

Senator Black's contribution to liberalism was significant but ambiguous. He resisted national centralization of the economy under the National Recovery Administration, favoring instead federal-state cooperation subject to ultimate federal authority. He was the principal architect of federally mandated but state-administered minimum wage/maximum hour policies embodied in the Black-Connery Bill, which became the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. Black was also an active supporter of mixed federal-state authority in agricultural assistance programs, labor relations poli-

cies, and public electrical power regulation. Like Roosevelt himself, he opposed federal anti-lynching legislation and was one of only a few southern Democrats who campaigned vigorously for Roosevelt's so-called Court-packing bill. Black claimed that both positions were consistent with limiting federal judicial power through popular democracy. His campaigns against special interests and lobbying abuse also pioneered the techniques of congressional committee investigation and subpoena power that later shaped such national developments as McCarthyism, Watergate, and the lesser controversies of the 1980s and 1990s.

Black's ambivalent attitude toward New Deal liberalism presaged his unique constitutional jurisprudence and philosophy. Black's important place in American constitutional history owes most to opinions defining the scope and limits of the Bill of Rights and their application to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause. No one did more than Black to give meaning to the First Amendment's guarantees of free expression. Black was also a leader among those on the Court who, on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause, expanded minority-rights claims against state and private discrimination. Although known primarily to specialists, Black's role in establishing the boundaries of federal and state economic regulation was vital to the changing course of public policy making during much of the twentieth century. His constitutional theories concerning freedom of expression, federalism, minority rights, and the limits of judicial power continue to influence the nation's public discourse even as a new conservatism eclipses American liberalism.

This book conveniently summarizes Black's story. Ball has read widely in Black's papers and other primary source materials, though the book also draws extensively on the work of others. Ball describes well the personal relationships that were central to Black's life and work. But Gerald Dunne's earlier biography, *Hugo Black and the Judicial Revolution* (1977), and the most recent one by Roger Newman, *Hugo Black: A Biography* (1994), provide the fullest accounts of Black's life and times and his contribution to American history and constitutional development. *Hugo Black: The Alabama Years* (1972), Virginia van der Veer Hamilton's study of Black's life before joining the Court, also remains useful. Specialized works by Tinsley Yarbrough, G. Edward White, Melvin Urofsky, Mark Silverstein, and Sylvia Snowiss go well beyond Ball's limited examination of Black's constitutional jurisprudence. Even so, the extent to which the ironies of Black's life were a reflection of tensions inherent in American liberalism itself is a subject deserving further attention.

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DAVID L. STEBENNE. *Arthur J. Goldberg: New Deal Liberal*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 539. \$45.00.

David L. Stebenne's biography of Arthur J. Goldberg will not be nominated for any writing awards. It is a straightforward, not very exciting presentation of the major legal actor, and a very public person, during the high tide of labor union growth and activism in the United States. Goldberg, who was a classic New Deal liberal labor lawyer, was also a fervent Zionist, an OSS officer during World War II, labor secretary in the John F. Kennedy administration, an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, United Nations ambassador, and, in the last decade of his life, a visiting lecturer at second tier law schools. (This was a choice he made deliberately, so as to provide the faculty and students at these law schools with an opportunity to interact with someone of his experience.)

Stebenne focuses primarily on Goldberg's labor politics and legal strategies, however, and minimizes his account of other facets of Goldberg's busy life. Very little time is spent, for example, on Goldberg's youth in Illinois, his connections with the Jewish community, and the reason for his intense commitment to the Zionist cause.

Futhermore, and most disappointing, there is little to be found in Stebenne's book about Goldberg's work on the U.S. Supreme Court, other than a brief discussion of some of the obscure labor decisions rendered while he sat on the high bench. This is hard to reconcile with the fact that, as Stebenne correctly points out, Goldberg replaced a conservative advocate of judicial restraint, Felix Frankfurter, and his appointment solidified the liberal bloc led by Chief Justice Earl Warren. There is very little information about the Warren Court's activism in the areas of civil rights and civil liberties and the role that Goldberg played in both venues. This is too bad, as there is a wealth of material about the Warren Court, including original sources at the Library of Congress, that could have provided Stebenne with fresh insights into Goldberg's opinions on the right to privacy, state action in civil rights litigation, procedural due process, and equal protection litigation.

For those who are interested in Goldberg's life in labor law, I suppose this is a book to read. Those who wish to find out more about the man, his life, and his actions outside the realm of labor relations, politics, and law will have to wait a little longer.

HOWARD BALL
University of Vermont

PATRICIA SULLIVAN. *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 335. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

The subject of race relations in the New Deal era is one on which scholars have been focused for some

time. Most studies have examined the impact of New Deal legislation on African Americans, the relationship between Franklin (and Eleanor) Roosevelt and black leaders, and the increasing racial consciousness brought on by World War II. This book covers the same territory, but Patricia Sullivan's primary focus is on black and white activists from the South, many of whom served in some capacity in the Roosevelt administration. All were outspoken advocates of racial justice and thus politically to the left of the New Deal mainstream.

Sullivan explores the activities of prominent African Americans like National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) attorney Charles Houston and South Carolina leader Mojeska Simpkins, and she also highlights the work of lesser-known radicals like Louis Burnham of the Southern Negro Youth Congress and Osceola McKaine, who returned from years of exile in Europe to help organize the South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party in 1944 and run for the U.S. Senate. Throughout the late 1930s and 1940s, these black activists worked with their southern white counterparts, together forming the Southern Conference on Human Welfare in 1938, which would be the major voice of the interracial movement for the next decade.

Perhaps the most interesting parts of the book deal with the southern white radicals who cut their teeth during the New Deal, moved to the left (several found a home in the Congress of Industrial Organizations), and were important organizers in Henry Wallace's 1948 presidential campaign. Using personal papers heretofore unavailable along with interviews, Sullivan gives us a fascinating look into the lives and careers of men like Clark Foreman, who was from one of Atlanta's leading families, and Palmer Weber, a working-class student who became an outspoken champion of the underdog while at the University of Virginia. Social worker Aubrey Williams, C. B. "Beanie" Baldwin, and attorney Clifford Durr were southerners who fought for racial justice as New Deal administrators. Virginia Foster Durr (Clifford's wife) led the campaign to abolish the poll tax in the late 1930s and remained politically active for the next half century. Sullivan gives these radicals their just place in the civil rights pantheon (which is only fitting, since most observers of this era have lavished attention on fair-play segregationists like journalists Hodding Carter II and Ralph McGill).

The book's concluding chapters deal with the decline of the interracial effort to bring social, political, and economic justice to the South. Sullivan sees the 1944 Democratic National Convention as a turning point, when the party's choice of Harry Truman over Vice-President Henry Wallace set the stage for the demise of the progressive movement that had come out of the New Deal. The postwar Red Scare led to a frantic search for scapegoats, and the southern radicals became fair game for the leaders of the anticommunist crusade. Not only were Republican activists like Con-

gressman Richard M. Nixon looking for scalps, but liberal intellectuals such as Arthur M. Schlesinger were warning that the Communist Party was “sinking its tentacles into the NAACP” (p. 232). This, too, is a familiar story, but Sullivan brings it into sharper focus by examining the human cost to the victims. The Red Scare destroyed the reputations of a generation of southern activists and, with that, the possibility of democracy in the postwar South.

Finally, this important book deserves attention because it presents a more comprehensive picture of the much-maligned Henry Wallace. Sullivan reminds us that Wallace emerged as a champion of racial justice during World War II and went on to become the most outspoken national political figure in support of the rights of black Americans. The book’s epilogue focuses in detail on Wallace’s 1948 presidential campaign in the South. Refusing to speak before segregated audiences, always hitting the issue of white supremacy head-on, Wallace was physically threatened and assaulted as his campaign marched through Dixie. What reporters regarded as his foolhardy behavior then comes across in a different light today. Indeed, Sullivan shows us that the black and white activists whose stories she tells suffered in large part because they were ahead of their time—and because they were right.

JOHN DITTMER
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GRACE PALLADINO. *Teenagers: An American History*. New York: BasicBooks. 1996. Pp. xxii, 313. \$25.00.

This book surveys teen culture from the 1930s to the present. Like many other historians, Grace Palladino defines high schools as the production sites of adolescent subcultures and stresses the social power teenagers gained as consumers. She uses a familiar social control framework to interpret the dynamic between modern adolescents and adults, arguing that adults failed to gain control over adolescents but, from one generation to the next, did not stop trying. Palladino’s book is distinctive primarily because it tries to bridge the experiences of black and white teenagers and dispenses with academic prose; its breezy narrative is easily accessible to a wide audience.

Palladino begins with the Great Depression, when working-class adolescents were forced out of the workplace and into high schools. The New Deal aided this process, providing poor adolescents with money for shoes, textbooks, and lunches. The public expected high schools to be adult-directed, but even in the 1930s, high schoolers looked to their peers rather than their elders for guidance.

By the late 1930s, adolescents were avid fans of swing music. Advertisers marketed records, clothes, and soft drinks directly to the high school “bobby soxers” and began to call them “teenagers.” White middle-class adults tried to pretend that bobby soxers were sexually innocent, despite their taste for “hot”

jazz, wild dancing, and “jive” talk. World War II made it difficult to sustain this fiction, however. Swing music became a consuming passion among high schoolers who were too young for military or defense work, and some teenage girls engaged in promiscuous relationships with military men. Fearing a wave of delinquency, cities imposed curfews and opened “teen canteens” for supervised teen socializing and dancing. Adults usually wanted the canteens to reproduce local patterns of social segregation but some teens refused; affirming the democratic ideals of the American war effort, they demanded the mixing of young people of different backgrounds.

In the booming postwar economy, advertisers aggressively marketed consumer products to high schoolers. Teenage boys bought cars; girls purchased clothes, cosmetics, and records. Although some teens from status-conscious homes modeled their consumption patterns on those of their parents, the majority used the marketplace to reject respectability and cross racial, class, and gender boundaries. Whites danced to black rhythm and blues, rock ‘n’ roll, and the gyrating performances of Elvis Presley. Middle-class kids refused to think of the future, enjoying fast cars, premarital sexual experimentation, dancing, and drinking. Rock ‘n’ roll also offered opportunities for rebellion to black and mixed-race adolescents who were impatient with the cautious striving of their parents. In Detroit’s Motown studio, almost any teenager with a modicum of talent could cut a record and dream of stardom. A few, like Diana Ross, succeeded spectacularly. In the South, a small minority of black teens staged a different rebellion, protesting racial segregation.

By the 1960s, Beatlemania was proof that “the demographic power of youth” (p. 198) was setting standards for society. Teenagers dominated the entertainment and fashion industries; their opinions began to matter in politics as well. The Beatles were less sexually explicit than the rock ‘n’ roll musicians of the 1950s, but they evinced little respect for conventional authority. Over time, teenage fans of the “British invasion” became civil rights activists, free speech advocates, and critics of America’s involvement in Vietnam. Teenage girls rejected the sexual double standard as they gained access to contraception and legal abortion. The consumer market supplied teens with records, clothes, and magazines to suit their changing values and tastes. And yet, despite the independence they won, the teenagers of the 1960s became rather conservative middle-aged parents in the 1990s. Worried about the alienation of present-day teens who must confront economic uncertainty, sexually transmitted disease, and fragmented families, these parents seem to want to return to a time when families offered “real” shelter to adolescents. Palladino asks whether anyone would really benefit from returning to a society of sharp gender and racial inequity. For her, there is no turning back from teenage independence.

Palladino makes a credible attempt to integrate the histories of black and white teenagers, although she

might have done more by comparing, for example, black and white parents' responses to modern teenagers. She might also have challenged the utility of an interpretive framework that sees only one dynamic, rebellion, in teenage conduct. We need a thoughtful analysis of teenagers' conformity to market trends and their search for adult approval, even in the twentieth century. Despite these weaknesses, Palladino has written a useful and readable book.

RUTH M. ALEXANDER
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THOMAS CRIPPS, *Hollywood's High Noon: Moviemaking and Society before Television*. (The American Moment.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 270. Cloth \$38.50, paper \$13.95.

Thomas Cripps's revisionist history of Hollywood argues that "countervailing forces," borrowing a phrase from John Kenneth Galbraith, were at work to oppose and undermine the hegemony of the studio system during its heyday. These countervailing forces emanated from the audience, censorship groups, *auteur* filmmakers within the studios, and independent filmmakers outside the studios. Cripps culls his research mainly from published works that are described in a concluding bibliographic essay on the status of film industry scholarship; however, the text itself contains no documentation in the form of endnotes.

Cripps's version of Hollywood is marred by errors. For example, he states that D. W. Griffith was "hobbled by the two-reel format" when he should have said the one-reel format and that, following the Depression, "Universal saw not a dollar of profit until the eve of World War II; Columbia, not until 1944; U.A. . . . never" (p. 154). He is right about Universal, but in the period 1930–1945, Columbia earned profits every year except 1939 and United Artists every year except 1932. Cripps's attempt to put a new spin on events relies on too many unexamined analogies. For example, he asserts that the movies were a product of the Age of the Dynamo. Edison's camera and projector ran on electricity, to be sure, but not the most successful device of the period, the Lumiere Cinematographe, which was hand cranked and served multiple functions as camera, printer, and projector.

More serious, Cripps misconstrues his sources and disregards significant research. He reads Janet Staiger on the director-unit system as alleging that it "encouraged artistic freedom from the remote masters in New York, if not from their audience's presumed tastes" (p. 39), when in fact Staiger simply described a new division of labor that enabled studios to organize production around short narrative films beginning around 1908. Her argument said nothing about encouraging artistic freedom, remote masters in New York, or audience tastes. Cripps similarly distorts Thomas Gunning on early cinema, Robert C. Allen on movies in vaudeville, and Douglas Gomery on the industry's conversion to sound. By disregarding re-

search, Cripps wittingly or not perpetuates old myths, such as the one that Thomas Edison originated the idea for the Motion Picture Patents Trust and the one that Joseph Breen had dictatorial power over film content during the Production Code era.

Cripps's discussion of "countervailing forces" is undermined by contradictions and unverifiable conclusions. He asserts that "Americans walked into movie theaters as embodiments of more than one psyche. They walked in as American, ethnic, gendered, colored, and classed" (p. 47). In the darkness of the motion picture theater, they were "free to read mainstream or alternative meanings into movies, each in his or her own style" (p. 52). This is a reasonable assumption, but Cripps confuses issues when he states that "neither moviemakers nor moviegoers were conscious of their roles, the former as purveyors of ideology and the latter as sponges absorbing it" (p. 57–58). On a more conscious level, workers put up resistance by viewing foreign-language films and "ghetto films," which were often double-billed with American products, and black audiences put up resistance by supporting black films like *Bronze Buckaroo* (1940). But Cripps surely exaggerates. Foreign-language and "ghetto" films made barely a dent in the market, and although black films were sometimes greatly admired by black moviegoers, they were too few to constitute a viable alternative cinema.

And Hollywood as a purveyor of ideology? Cripps's assertion that the studios fed audiences "messages from a ruling class" contradicts his own analysis of genre films, which reads like a critique of American culture. Westerns, he says, dramatized "the unspoken enigmas of American culture . . . dilemmas of individualism versus community, [and] the rights of Indians versus national expansion." Screwball comedies, he says, satirized American life and pieties." Did the moguls have a hand in any of this? Cripps suggests that *auteurs* slyly slipped in "references to racial, sexual, and political material . . . under the noses of both production bosses and the Breen Office." By creating an antidote to what series editor Stanley Kutler calls the "dull determinism" of some film industry histories, Cripps has fashioned a fantasy worthy of Hollywood itself.

TINO BALIO
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RUTH VASEY, *The World According to Hollywood, 1918–1939*. (Wisconsin Studies in Film.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 299. Cloth \$54.00, paper \$17.95.

Ruth Vasey reminds us that Hollywood filmmakers were sensitive to international markets in the interwar years. She points out that students of film, by limiting their attention to the impact of Hollywood movies on the American scene, have failed to appreciate the significance of foreign sales on the production plan-

ning of leaders in the motion picture industry. Vasey's research reveals, too, that Hollywood's concerns about pressure groups and censorship extended well beyond the familiar worries associated with the movies' depictions of sex and crime. Her focus on foreign markets shows that studio executives also worried about the ways their productions might excite angry reactions concerning religion, politics, capitalism, revolution, and ethnicity.

Vasey's subject is important. Between the wars, America's major film companies obtained about thirty-five percent of their gross revenues from the foreign market. Hollywood's sensitivity to British interests had to be particularly keen, as the British Empire generated more than half of the American film industry's international movie sales.

Perhaps Vasey lapses into hyperbole when she claims that Hollywood was "arguably the most influential cultural institution on earth between the wars" (p. 225), but there is abundant evidence in her book to fortify the conclusion that leaders in many countries around the globe thought America's imported movie images significantly influenced audiences in their nations. An American working with Hollywood's trade association supported this impression when he wrote, in an industry memo, "Motion pictures are the most CONSPICUOUS of all American imports . . . They color the minds of those who see them. They are demonstrably the greatest single factors in the Americanization of the world and as such fairly may be called the most important and significant of America's exported products" (p. 43).

Focusing on the records of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, the Production Code Administration, and studio archives, trade papers, and U.S. Department of Commerce publications, Vasey demonstrates the diverse ways that Hollywood leaders tried to anticipate hostile foreign reactions and maximize international sales. Efforts to satisfy foreign censors were somewhat easier in the era of silent pictures. Production companies could easily edit out offensive sections or supply different printed narratives. Sound made such editing more complicated and expensive; changes had to be planned in the production stages. Furthermore, sound presented the challenge of language. How could an English-language "talkie" sell in France or Italy? Interestingly, the studios began the transition to sound by attempting to teach actors to perform movie versions in several languages. Eventually, of course, the studios turned to the more economical solution of subtitles.

Vasey's review of the American industry's efforts to avoid hostile foreign reactions produces some intriguing case studies. She shows, for example, that discussions with Mexican authorities were often tense, because U.S. filmmakers frequently relied on the familiar movie stereotype of the treacherous *bandito*. Troubles with Germany also concerned U.S. moviemakers, due to Hollywood's depictions of the "Hun" in the years immediately after World War I. (These difficulties

diminished in the late 1920s with the increasing appearance of heroic German characters in the American cinema.) Censors in Hong Kong indicated worry about Hollywood's treatment of the British, observing that the colony was "a small settlement of white men on the fringe of a huge Empire of Asiatics" (p. 148). Interestingly, in their dealings with Japan, America's film executives considered a way to fight back. When the Japanese threatened to reduce their intake of American motion pictures in 1938, U.S. negotiators warned that the absence of a Japanese market could give U.S. filmmakers an opportunity to feature Japanese characters as the villains in their stories.

To deal with international pressures, Hollywood filmmakers produced a bland, homogenous example of foreign subjects. Movies presented generic foreign characters who had no particular nationality, and rather than placing stories in specific countries, the movies identified foreign locales as mythic kingdoms. *The Merry Widow* (1934), for example, was situated in a tiny kingdom called Marshovia, supposedly sandwiched between Hungary and Romania.

Occasionally, Vasey insists on discussing interesting details about Hollywood's relationship with the domestic market. Her analysis could have remained on an international track more consistently. Her discussion also contains a number of pages featuring familiar evidence found in most works on movie censorship: material about Will H. Hays, Joseph I. Breen, the members of the Legion of Decency, and other participants in struggles over the editing of controversial depictions. These are only minor difficulties, however. Overall, Vasey's study provides an illuminating picture of the American movie industry's important relationship with the world.

ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN
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Wilmington

ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN. *History by Hollywood: The Use and Abuse of the American Past*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 267. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$14.95.

Robert Brent Toplin tackles the issue of media responsibility regarding artistic recreation of the past with two assets essential to the task: open-mindedness and clarity of thought. He is neither angry at Hollywood nor an apologist for some of its more obvious nonsense (such as having clotheshorse Kay Francis play V. I. Lenin's secretary in *British Agent* [1934]). Rather than debating the usual problems of accuracy, oversimplification, and distortion or discussing again the dangerous ways films can influence an audience's view of history, Toplin has chosen to present eight concrete examples of decisions made in specific historical movies. Using commercially successful films from 1941 to 1991, he organizes the presentations into four types common to movies with historical themes, stories, and settings: those using the past to showcase a current

political issue; mixing fact and fiction to make a more entertaining story, or to give the story a focus it would not otherwise have; using history to proselytize for or against a current issue; and what he calls "celebrating the great man" in documentary style.

Toplin's book thus represents primary historical research. He goes behind the scenes first to uncover the original motivations which led the filmmakers to choose their historical material, and then to the various problems they encountered which forced them to shape their stories in ways they had not anticipated. For example, *Sergeant York*, a 1941 hit movie, was planned as a celebration of York's decision to enter World War I combat which would lead to helping the audience accept participation in World War II. Because York was still alive, his permission and approval were necessary. York had for years refused to allow his story to be filmed because he was a man of honor and deep religious belief who felt commercialization of any sort would compromise his ideals. Since Hollywood at that time had relatively little experience in making stories about living characters, the negotiations make an interesting test case for how a script changes during the dramatic process. York, initially thought to be a "hillbilly," turned out to be an extremely tough negotiator (just as he had, in fact, turned out to be a very tough combat opponent for the Germans). Although the finished movie accomplished its goal of selling World War II to the audience indirectly, the filmmakers had to make several major adjustments to accommodate York and his family.

The worth of Toplin's book lies in this ability to show specifically the moviemaking process, in which the need to reconcile storytelling, commercial appeal, historical accuracy, private opinion, and permissions from living individuals are sometimes at cross-purposes. The essays on *Sergeant York*, *Missing*, *Patton* (which involved his descendants), and *Norma Rae* are particularly insightful. Those that are broader in scope, such as *Bonnie and Clyde* (which deals with society's attitudes toward the use of violence) and *JFK* (which addresses director Oliver Stone's desire to make a "Rashomon-like" work and how that failed) are full of valuable information, but are too short to do full justice to the topics.

Toplin's essays confine themselves to the specific categories he defines, which means that he deliberately does not follow established patterns of inquiry in this area. In his introduction, he provides a brief overview of the approaches historians have previously taken toward movies. He states that prior discussions have seldom researched basic information regarding how movies came to interpret the past, preferring instead to analyze either the industry that made the movies, or the reception of the public to the work, or to propaganda intentions (if any), or insights into the attitudes of past generations, or as objects to be examined from the perspective of various ideologies and theories such as Marxism and feminism. Toplin is clear in his own goal: to consider each movie in terms of background

influence, and he has uncovered many details that have not been seen or discussed elsewhere. For those who disagree with this approach, or who want a discussion of how cinematic style can manipulate audience response, or further information on the entire filmmaking team, or a deep analysis of the actual historical interpretation, this book, by its own definition, does not address these issues except tangentially.

There is much useful information in Toplin's book, and it would make an excellent text to use in a course for undergraduates in which they begin to study some of the problems attached to dramatized history. Although it is difficult to have confidence in a film book that misspells Francis Ford Coppola's name more than once (p.161), Toplin has written a readable, first-step book of perceptive primary research. There is also an excellent selected bibliography, although the book does not contain the credits for each of the movies under discussion.

JEANINE BASINGER
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JENEL VIRDEN. *Good-bye, Piccadilly: British War Brides in America*. (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 177. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$13.95.

Jenel Virden's book is a case study of the "unique" immigration of 70,000 British war brides to the United States after World War II. These women were mostly from the working and lower middle classes; they were uniformly young; and they came from all areas of Great Britain, including England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. After their arrival in the United States, they dispersed, traveling to almost every state in the union, joining American husbands they had met and married in Britain during the war. They comprised, Virden tells us, the largest single group of female immigrants to the United States in the 1940s.

Throughout her study, Virden (whose mother was part of this migration) stresses the unusual patterns of war bride migration: although these were married women, they traveled alone to find a new life in the United States. According to the records of both the American and British governments and of private agencies such as the Red Cross, the transportation of the war brides was a major logistical undertaking, and one that no official welcomed. Preoccupied with the demobilization of millions of soldiers, these agencies were also confronted with the phenomenon of tens of thousands of women (and children) wishing to travel across the Atlantic in the wake of their husbands. The task of accommodating them fell mostly on the Americans. Hurried plans were devised, and the war brides were boarded on hastily converted troop and cargo ships for the trip. The American government also took on the responsibility of paying for the immigrants' ground transportation to their final destinations. Despite these Herculean efforts, Virden records in some detail the complaints of both the women themselves

and the British government about the inadequacies of the American-sponsored evacuation.

Other recollections of the war brides are also heard. In a series of oral interviews conducted by Virden in the 1980s and 1990s, wives recalled awkward meetings with foreign in-laws, shy encounters with husbands who were still strangers, and the loneliness of creating a new life in a place far from the familiarity of home. Virden also cites newspaper articles to show how the press viewed the war bride phenomenon. While most reporters wrote positive stories (after all, Virden reminds us, British immigrants were among the least restricted national group under American immigration law at the time, and contemporaries considered them to be the most easily assimilated into American life), an undercurrent of resentment could also be found. Accused by some of being "loose women" out to snag a "rich" American GI, war brides faced some (but by no means all) of the resentment that most immigrants to America have had to endure. Interestingly, the ultimate fates of the war brides refute the gold digger stereotype. With few exceptions, these women married for love, a fact tellingly revealed by their willingness to remain with their husbands for a lifetime.

Virden's book provides a fascinating look at a group of unusual women immigrants, but it does not prove its assertion that these women were "unique" in the annals of female immigration to the United States. For example, Virden tells us that war bride migration "was tied irrevocably to their marital status" (p. 139), but marital status (including being unmarried) is fundamental in the decisions of most adult female immigrants. Virden's case would have been far stronger (and perhaps significantly revised) had she looked at the patterns of other female immigrants, especially those of earlier British and Irish women. Had Virden compared overall female migration trends from Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland over time, a fuller perspective on the "unique" nature of postwar British war bride migration might have emerged.

Despite this drawback, Virden's study is a pioneering examination of the contours of war bride immigration and assimilation patterns. It is obviously a labor of love as well as scholarship and is an excellent addition to the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series, of which it is the most recent volume.

JANET NOLAN

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JAMES A. GROSS. *Broken Promise: The Subversion of U.S. Labor Relations Policy, 1947-1994*. (Labor and Social Change.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 404.

With this book, James A. Gross completes his trilogy on the history of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Like the previous volumes, this study is thoroughly researched, carefully constructed, and clearly written. Gross has not simply produced another fine monograph, however. Although he does not say

so, he has posed a fundamental challenge to the standard interpretation that organized labor made a "Faustian bargain" with corporate America in the postwar era.

Gross demonstrates that the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act introduced a basic contradiction into national labor policy. The 1935 Wagner Act had promoted collective bargaining as being in the national interest. It did so by creating a three-member National Labor Relations Board with the power to protect workers' rights to unionize. Taft-Hartley explicitly endorsed the Wagner Act's central principles, but it also pledged to protect the rights of employers and non-union employees to resist union demands. NLRB members appointed subsequent to the passage of Taft-Hartley shifted between these two poles, depending on their political commitments. The NLRB of the Eisenhower era seriously restricted labor's ability to organize by expanding the power of employers to block unionization campaigns. During the Kennedy and Johnson years, the NLRB tried to tip the balance back toward the labor movement, carefully extending the limits of collective bargaining. But that effort, modest as it was, triggered a massive corporate counteroffensive, which Gross brilliantly delineates. Using management's offensive as a framework, the Republican-dominated boards of the 1970s and 1980s swept away a host of workers' rights, essentially granting employers permission to crush unions.

Gross's work carries tremendous implications for historians' understanding of postwar labor relations. It is now commonplace for scholars to argue that, in the late 1940s, the labor movement traded away the militancy that had been its hallmark in the 1930s, receiving in exchange corporate promises to accept unions' right to exist and to provide union workers with generous wages. This "labor-management accord" held for thirty years, until the pressures of deindustrialization and a political swing to the right destroyed the deal. Gross's book shows that to be much too simple a reading of the postwar years. He makes clear that the shift in labor law after 1947 made it impossible for labor to push the boundaries of collective bargaining outward; the NLRB simply stripped unions of their room to maneuver. Most corporations, moreover, never accepted collective bargaining as a positive component of the political economy. Historians have long recognized that important industries—southern textiles, for example—remained anti-union throughout the 1950s and 1960s. But Gross demonstrates that corporations considered central to the postwar accord also worked to undermine labor's rights. Lawyers for U.S. Steel, for example, helped to shape the NLRB's anti-union policies during the Eisenhower years, and officials of the Ford Motor Company led the management offensive of the mid-1960s.

Gross does not use his findings to critique the prevailing interpretation; in fact, he endorses the current argument in his conclusion, criticizing organized labor for accepting a "social compact" with

corporations in the postwar years. But the weight of his important book will push historians in the opposite direction. The postwar labor movement was not like Dr. Faustus. It was like Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, struggling to find a measure of justice in a world of false friends and implacable enemies.

KEVIN BOYLE
*University of Massachusetts,
 Amherst*

SAKI DOCKRILL. *Eisenhower's New-Look National Security Policy, 1953-61*. New York: St. Martin's, 1996. Pp. xvi, 400. \$59.95.

PETER J. ROMAN. *Eisenhower and the Missile Gap*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995. Pp. x, 264. \$35.00.

These two books offer revealing yet contrasting views of American defense policy in the 1950s. Different in scale and scope, they nevertheless probe many of the same issues and arrive at balanced assessments of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's strengths and weaknesses as a Cold War strategist.

Saki Dockrill is more positive in her evaluation of Eisenhower's contribution. She sees many virtues in the national security policy that Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles adopted and pursued throughout the decade. Its essence was a determination to meet the Soviet challenge without risking either a nuclear showdown or American involvement in limited wars while at the same time protecting the American economy from what would later come to be known as "Imperial overreach." She sees the "New Look" as much more than a way to cut defense costs by relying heavily on nuclear weapons to achieve deterrence, although that was always a key feature. But equally important were the offensive components of the strategy—reliance on Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) covert action, funds for mutual security programs, and efforts at psychological warfare, all designed to contain the expansion of Soviet influence short of war.

Although Dockrill has high praise for Eisenhower as a Cold War strategist, she concedes that, in practice, the New Look did not always work effectively. She cites the failure to reduce American troop levels in Europe, the risky American policy in the two Quemoy-Matsu crises, the helpless American role in Hungary in 1956, and Eisenhower's inability to redefine the New Look when the Soviet Union neutralized American nuclear superiority after Sputnik. Even Eisenhower's studied ambiguity, which she feels was crucial to the success of massive retaliation by making the enemy wary of provoking the United States, left the president's own subordinates as well as our allies uncertain about the likelihood of an American nuclear response.

In the final analysis, Dockrill believes that, despite its flaws, the New Look achieved Eisenhower's goal of protecting national security, which he defined broadly

to encompass the health of the economy at home as well as the defense of American interests abroad. Her book tends to support those Eisenhower revisionists, such as John Lewis Gaddis and Stephen E. Ambrose, who praise Ike for using American strength wisely and prudently in waging the Cold War during the dangerous years of the 1950s.

Peter J. Roman, on the other hand, takes issue with the Eisenhower revisionists, particularly Fred Greenstein, by arguing that however effective Ike was at controlling the formulation and execution of national security policy, he failed politically at the equally important task of selling it to the American people.

The strength of Roman's book lies in his thorough research into a vast array of previously classified documents that enable him to challenge several key features of Eisenhower revisionism. He shows that the exaggerated view of Soviet missile potential, once attributed to the Air Force's desire to expand its own fiefdom, in fact reflected genuine uncertainty over the extent of the Soviet missile challenge. The U-2, once viewed as Eisenhower's secret weapon in discounting these inflated estimates, failed to provide decisive evidence because of the very limited scope of its cameras. (The first successful reconnaissance satellite photographed more Soviet territory in August 1960 than the U-2 did in all its missions.) Roman is especially effective in rebutting the assertion that Eisenhower waged a lonely battle in the late 1950s to curtail the nuclear arms race. Although the president did insist on holding down overall defense spending, especially by cutting back further on conventional forces, he allowed a massive increase in funds for missile development. This in turn led to a potential American first-strike capability by the early 1960s, thereby intensifying the arms race.

Roman argues persuasively that Eisenhower responded to the transition from American strategic superiority to parity with the Soviet Union by originating nuclear policies pursued by the United States for the next two decades. Thus Roman sees Eisenhower, not John F. Kennedy, as the president who made the nuclear triad of B-52 bombers, land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), and Polaris submarine-launched missiles the holy trinity of American deterrence. And it was Eisenhower and his subordinates, not Kennedy and Robert S. McNamara, who first questioned the Air Force preference for counterforce (targeting Soviet bombers and missiles) in favor of countervalue (aiming at Russian cities to deter a Soviet resort to nuclear war). McNamara's policy of mutually assured destruction, aptly known as MAD, had its roots in Eisenhower's response to the Sputnik crisis.

Roman is only partially successful in making his case against the Eisenhower revisionists. He does show that Ike was responsible for escalating the arms race in the late 1950s. And he is particularly effective in arguing that Eisenhower's technique of hidden-hand leadership, so lauded by Greenstein, betrayed him in dealing

with his Democratic critics in the missile gap debate. Masterful as Eisenhower was in winning the bureaucratic struggle within the executive branch, he was temperamentally incapable of confronting his congressional critics, notably Senator Stuart Symington, and denouncing their wild charges. His failure to rebut the claims of his Democratic detractors that he had misjudged the Sputnik challenge helped to pave the way for Kennedy's victory in 1960. But at the same time, as Roman admits, the president beat back all the partisan efforts to increase his defense budgets in Congress and he continued to hold the confidence and support of a substantial majority of the American people throughout the late 1950s.

These two books offer new insights into American defense policy in the 1950s and challenge some of the claims made by Eisenhower revisionists. The argument over the wisdom and effectiveness of Eisenhower's policies has moderated some of the rosier views of the scholars who first attempted to rehabilitate Ike's reputation, but these books reinforce one clear truth: Eisenhower was the man uniquely responsible for determining American defense policy in the 1950s. Dockrill sees his restraint and determination as crucial to the successful implementation of the flawed policy of massive retaliation; Roman is equally impressed with Eisenhower's mastery of the bureaucratic process and portrays him as laying the foundation for nuclear policies usually attributed to his successors. Right or wrong, Eisenhower remains one of the most influential presidents of the twentieth century.

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PAUL N. EDWARDS. *The Closed World: Computers and the Politics of Discourse in Cold War America*. (Inside Technology.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 440. \$40.00.

This is an important book for at least two reasons: first, it describes a critical and neglected aspect of the shaping of the Cold War world, and second, it sets a new challenge for the writing of the history of technology. The core of this book is a relatively straightforward and insightful description of the way in which scientists and engineers, along with both civilian and military leaders in the United States, developed computers, cognitive psychology, and cybernetics to create and maintain a "closed world" of Cold War discourse from the end of World War II through President Ronald Reagan's Star Wars program. This central story is bracketed by discussions of the popular representations of cyborgs in literature and film. Paul N. Edwards is at pains to argue that the usual narrative of computer development, structured around the concepts of revolution and progress, leaves out critical parts of the story. Instead he substitutes notions of contingency and "multiple determination."

The Cold War "closed world" described by Edwards existed on several levels: there was the Soviet Union as a "closed" society that must be infiltrated; there was also the "free world," which communists attempted to infiltrate at every level. In a very real sense, the entire world was seen as a closed system, in which every event was interpreted as a part of the great struggle between the two superpowers and every confrontation was a zero-sum game. The military fantasy of being able to command and control this closed and totalized world was fed by a massive research and development investment, especially in digital computers and cognitive psychology, and by the notions of artificial intelligence (IA) and cybernetics that they fostered.

The momentum and trajectory of military research during World War II continued into the postwar period, not only funding but shaping the engineering, physical, and social sciences that it sought to develop. The interface between soldiers and their high-tech weaponry evolved from such problems as hearing in noisy airplane cockpits and aiming anti-aircraft guns to, eventually, locating, interpreting, and destroying sources of sound along the Ho Chi Minh trail; or, more critically, launching a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union on the basis of almost instantaneous detection and interpretation of electronic signals from objects too distant, too transitory, and too ambiguous for direct human evaluation. As military technology and doctrine became more complex and deadly, the "man between the machines" had to be eliminated, or at least better integrated.

Edwards's most significant contribution is his willingness to take seriously the role of computers—not just as machines but as metaphors—and to see them as part of a discourse. Increasingly, the closed world of the Cold War worked best as tactical simulation and mathematical model, where the dirty details of particular times and spaces were ignored in favor of measurable but abstract inputs and outputs. The Department of Defense's dream of total command of situations through total control of information was a fantasy of omniscience, certainty, and omnipotence that could only be plausibly maintained within closed worlds, heavily dependent on the computer.

Edwards ends with an excursion into the popular culture of the Cold War, especially films that depict closed worlds and the advent of cyborgs such as the Terminator and the replicants of the film "Bladerunner" (1982). "The experience of the closed world," he writes, "is a double experience of cyborg identity constituted through those metaphors [information, communication, the program], technologies [computation and control] and practices [abstraction, simulation, engineering, and panoptic management]" (p. 341). It is a double experience, because we contemplate the construction of minds other than our own, and at the same time we experience our own minds as information processing entities.

Edwards has written a provocative book that should not be ignored by any student of postwar America or of

modern technology. One can ignore the detailed explanations of what exactly is meant by discourse theory and (for example) the long discussion of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson on metaphors and still realize the power of Edwards's description of the way in which researchers and their military paymasters, operating in their own closed world of dominant institutions and rotating personnel, fundamentally changed the world in which we live (ever more precariously) and the way in which we think about both it and ourselves. And one can accept his assertion that the fictional forms of cyborg culture do not merely reflect social and political realities, but themselves are social and political realities, without agreeing that "Bladerunner" carries us much beyond the insights and warnings of Karel Čapek's *R.U.R.* (1920) and the film "Metropolis" (1926).

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MILTON J. BATES. *The Wars We Took to Vietnam: Cultural Conflict and Storytelling*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. x, 328. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$18.95.

This book argues that America's experience of the war in Vietnam was shaped by its own cultural conflicts and that the war's literature reiterates these conflicts. Milton J. Bates discusses Vietnam War literature in relation to the frontier, race, class, sex, and generation "wars" he views as major themes of conflict in American culture, devoting a chapter to each.

Bates presents many insightful interpretations, particularly of work by Tim O'Brien, Philip Caputo, and Michael Herr. His skilled examination of the frontier myth, especially the Puritan trope, also better situates Vietnam War literature within enduring critical paradigms. And, although the book focuses on canonical texts, the "Race War" chapter offers compelling analyses of critically ignored war literature by African Americans. Works such as John A. Williams's *Captain Blackman* (1972) and A. R. Flowers's *De Mojo Blues* (1986) receive nuanced discussions of the complex intersections of race, the war, and black vernacular traditions. By attending to historical and cultural contexts, Bates often succeeds in showing how Vietnam War literature tends to recapitulate America's war with itself. Bates acknowledges the ethnocentrism in this, but it bears noting that American war literature has often been ethnocentric.

Yet the book's narrowly defined scope and its author's limited historical research undermine its strengths. Although Bates claims to offer "a full-scale study of Vietnam War literature and film" (p. ix), he focuses almost exclusively on canonical authors, especially male veterans. Despite Bates's reputation as a Wallace Stevens scholar, he overlooks without explanation the considerable body of poetry occasioned by the war.

Citing Clifford Geertz and Michel Foucault, Bates

claims a "new historical" interest in "war stories that embody subjugated knowledge of the Vietnam War" (p. 223). Yet Bates's reliance on "official stories" call this claim into question. For example, he dismisses the notion that American deserters fought alongside the National Liberation Front (NLF) on the basis of U.S. Defense Department denials. He also accepts military claims that "sexism has been eliminated from military vocabulary and training in the past two decades" (p. 284, n. 34), even though scandals from Tailhook to Aberdeen plainly contradict this. Bates documents his assertion that blacks supported the war and were "satisfied" with their military service by citing a 1970 *Armed Forces Management* article and a 1966 *Ebony* article, even though numerous polls, the militant black press, and historians such as William Van Deburg and Manning Marable have offered evidence to the contrary.

Bates also reiterates the "official story" that antiwar activists were uniformly middle-class white students with the "luxury" to protest, a view that overlooks antiwar activism in, for example, the Black Workers League, the United Farm Workers, or the GI Resistance. This stereotype seems to influence his assertion that militant black activists were antagonistic toward black soldiers, despite the fact that the underground black press often appealed to soldiers to "bring the war home," praising them as ideals of black masculinity exploited by "the white man's war," and despite the popularity of Black Power culture among black troops.

His claim to recuperate "subjugated knowledge" is perhaps most undermined by Bates's emphasis on male authors. Although a note acknowledges a "considerable body" of war literature by women, the very little discussed here is viewed negatively in contrast to men's literature. For example, Bates considers the war-related writings of Susan Sontag and Mary McCarthy classist and naïve but sees Norman Mailer's work as ironic and "sympathetic" to the working class. Bobbie Ann Mason's *In Country* (1985) is criticized for reaffirming traditional gender roles, while Tim O'Brien's "The Sweetheart of the Song Tra Bong" is praised for challenging them. Of the roughly thirty-six films, narratives, and critical texts that Bates discusses in his "Sex War" chapter, twenty-five are by men, with the most extensive discussions focusing on works by O'Brien, Caputo, and Donald Pfarrer. The most thoroughly discussed women's texts are works of feminist criticism by Kate Millett, Susan Faludi, and Susan Jeffords, all of which are criticized for reifying gender oppositions. Only oral histories of military women receive favorable (but brief) treatment. Bates's "Sex War" chapter seems mainly concerned with men's literature and the perceived crisis masculinity faced from 1960s feminism and the trauma of war. Rather than reveal "subjugated knowledge," this approach asserts the "official story" of gender.

Bates's book presents many well-written, close readings of important works in the canon of Vietnam War literature and gives much-needed attention to African-

American representations of the war. But the author's reliance on "official stories" often prevents us from moving toward a deeper understanding of Vietnam War literature and its relations to cultural history.

MICHAEL BIBBY
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JENNIFER L. HOCHSCHILD. *Facing Up to the American Dream: Race, Class, and the Soul of the Nation*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 412. \$29.95.

Jennifer L. Hochschild's book is a thoughtful warning about the diminishing capacity of the success ethic to knit African Americans into the national fabric. It begins with two assumptions. The first is a rough American consensus, over time, on the relationship between individual agency and individual success. The second creates space for that consensus to operate by framing an extraordinarily malleable and relativistic definition of success. The American dream, insists Hochschild, has less to do with John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie than with little houses on the prairie: worlds of small successes and simple comforts. "Making it" can involve simply an improvement over some standard, whether personal, intergenerational, or abstract; it can even encompass nonmaterial goals.

This civil religion embodies four tenets, which follow one another logically: it is universal, providing everyone with the right to aspire to better their condition; it offers a reasonable chance of fulfilling such aspirations; it places human agency at the center, with success a function of will and behavior; and it associates success with virtue. These tenets constitute a fabric of social order, a garment all Americans can wear and therefore a central element in national unity. The gap separating ideal from reality poses an ongoing threat to their efficacy, however. Taken together, the four tenets offer little to the unsuccessful. To escape the association of failure with virtue, those who are unsuccessful must blame society or "the system," leading to alienation and disengagement. But the relativity and malleability of what constitutes success has permitted most Americans to enjoy at least a minimal sense of accomplishment. This "gratification of the upwardly mobile" has, Hochschild argues, been complemented by "the pacification of the deeply poor" (p. 87), who believe either that they have the character to turn things around or that their failure is due to personal flaws.

What happens when success seems hollow, more frustrating than gratifying? And what happens when poor people begin to lose faith? These questions take on special urgency, Hochschild argues, because of changing attitudes among prosperous African Americans and the potential for change among the black poor. Mobilizing an impressive array of survey data and illustrative quotations, Hochschild explores African-American perceptions of where they are and

where they can go in the United States. Two paradoxes anchor her analysis: a rising middle class is "succeeding more and enjoying it less"; and the very poor have generally remained "under the spell of the great national suggestion" (p. 75).

The heart of the book probes the meaning of the four tenets of the American dream among the black middle class and poor African Americans. Whites enter largely as comparative frame: despite all the values shared by middle-class black and white Americans, crucial differences in perspective remain, especially relating to the nature of opportunity and the rewards of success. Middle-class African Americans, now reaping the fruit of their parents' and grandparents' faith in hard work and struggle to transcend, breach, or destroy the barriers of racism, have not found the satisfaction that their white peers generally enjoy. Although whites see black mobility as evidence of the declining significance of race, affluent African Americans instead see themselves endlessly battling racism. Where once middle-class blacks looked back and took pride in how far they had come, African-American business executives and professionals now fix their gaze on the present and future, comparing themselves with white peers who rise faster and do not constantly have to prove their worth. They also look over their shoulders at the thousands of African Americans falling ever more deeply into poverty; these people testify to the fragility of their own affluence and the continuing power of racism.

During the 1980s, the gap between rich and poor widened in the United States, with a corresponding threat of greater divergence between the ideal and reality of the American dream. The decline of manufacturing employment diminished opportunities, real and perceived, to earn a living wage in the legitimate economy. Moreover, as affluent blacks moved to the suburbs, poor blacks became increasingly isolated from men and women whose success signified the value (and values) of the American dream. Hope is dwindling, rendering poor blacks less likely to "remain under the spell" and more prone to apathy or attracted to illegal (and antisocial) sources of income.

Hence our place at a crossroads. If the American dream becomes meaningless to the minority of African Americans who are successful, and irrelevant to the greater number who are not, the mechanism that has incorporated succeeding waves of immigrants into a national culture and polity will grind to a halt. And once blacks lose faith, Hochschild fears, whites are likely to follow. The stakes are high, given the centrality of the four tenets to national unity and social stability. The dream might not be the most desirable basis for social order, she argues, but it is the best available.

This book ranges impressively across time and space, drawing on a delightfully eclectic mix of sources. Hochschild looks to survey data for conclusive contemporary evidence but ventures freely to support historical generalizations. Almost randomly citing Puritan

sermons, the *Farmers' Almanac*, Doonesbury, editorial cartoons, literature, music, and the ethnic press, she can accommodate Walt Disney and John Locke in a single sentence. In the service of social commentary and perhaps even policy intervention, this eclectic approach enhances social science; as history it might raise an eyebrow or two.

The eyebrows of historians of the African-American experience are likely to rise a bit farther. Hochschild's ability to glean a contemporary black perspective from survey data is not complemented by comparable immersion in African-American history. The extensive bibliography (approximately 1,400 citations) is strikingly thin in African-American history. Most of the nine books and dozen articles listed are tangential; less than a handful address the relationship between mobility and consciousness among African Americans. This explains Hochschild's surprise at the paradox of African Americans believing that they can make it if they work hard despite continuing to "report racial discrimination in their lives" (p. 57). The notion that the system works, except not for black people held back by racism, represents a striking continuity in African-American popular thought. This book's accomplishment lies in its timely probing of the fate of that tradition in an era of supposedly declining racism and palpably declining opportunity.

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LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

ARTHUR L. STINCHCOMBE. *Sugar Island Slavery in the Age of Enlightenment: The Political Economy of the Caribbean World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. P. xvii, 361. \$45.00.

Authors of history books that purport to offer new insights into the findings of well-known published research are expected to demonstrate familiarity with the varied states of historians' thinking and the texts representing it. Arthur L. Stinchcombe succeeds on both counts. He demonstrates alertness and subtlety throughout his narrative, which follows the trodden parts of the thick foliage that is now Caribbean/Atlantic slavery historicism. Many readers will be satisfied that this book offers a skilfully written and conceptually attractive synthesis.

Stinchcombe privileges the considerable diversity in geography, imperial interests, social formation, economic experiences, and ideological expressions that shaped the Caribbean as a European imperial experiment in capitalist development. His analysis focuses on the specific features of various types of colonies and how best to explain their divergent political and sociological trajectories. An important shortcoming is that the concept of Caribbean colonies as a multifaceted project in Atlantic modernity, reflecting the stages of capitalist development in their respective imperial centers, is left unexplored, thereby avoiding engage-

ment with some recent critiques of Enlightenment discourse as it relates to the global expansion of slavery and notions of progress.

In determining at the outset what is a slave society, Stinchcombe falls back on well-tested and approved criteria. His deployment of status and opportunities for empowerment available to "colored" people—in slavery and after—as the key to ranking societies in terms of their democratic content and impulses will offer no surprises. Indeed, it helps to consolidate the historiographical consensus established by researchers of all European colonies in the region.

Broadly speaking, this text should be read as an extended historiographical essay on the processes and events that constitute the markers by which we can talk about the disintegration of the slave mode of production and the exorcism of its legacies by post-slavery generations of Caribbean inhabitants. It is about emancipationism as both colonial process and imperial event. It is also about historical change and continuity in that it focuses on the many aspects of the politics—from above and below—that shaped the internal cosmologies of the nineteenth-century Caribbean world and informed the foundation principles of its post-slavery democratic revolutions.

There are instances where heavy weather is made of matters that require little conceptual elaboration. For instance, pain is taken to illuminate the fact that because slavery resided at the core of some societies and on the periphery of others, the texture and logic of the political struggles and reactions that constituted Enlightenment discourse created discernible variation in colonial ideological expression. Not many would disagree with this, though some researchers of Caribbean labor history may challenge the location of too great a part of the explanation for why it took nearly one hundred years after the Haitian Revolution to uproot slavery from the region within the ideological diversity of nineteenth-century European political economy.

This book, then, performs two important but contesting tasks. First, it asks some old questions in new and exciting ways about the methodologies and conceptual dexterity of Caribbean historians in dealing with European discourses such as that of the Enlightenment. Second, it highlights the need for greater sensitivity to the variations and diversity across the Caribbean in terms of eco-economic, sociocultural, and political experiences. Critics are likely to respond by drawing attention to the considerable similarities in exposure that enable us to speak of a unified Caribbean experience with colonial capitalism, race relations, and modernity. It is a question of who gets what, and why? Given the nature of this book, much of what is presented will not raise the eyebrows of scholars of the Caribbean, particularly those steeped in its ideological history.

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BRIAN L. MOORE. *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism: Colonial Guyana, 1838–1900*. Kingston: The Press University of the West Indies. McGill-Queen's University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 376. \$21.00.

Written as a companion to his earlier work, *Race, Power and Social Segmentation in Colonial Society* (1987), Brian L. Moore's new book focuses on the cultural history of British Guyana after emancipation in 1838, when the composition of this already biracial society became even more diverse with the introduction of migrant laborers from India, China, Madeira (part of Portugal), and West Africa. As in other Caribbean societies after emancipation or independence, ex-slaves fled the plantations in droves to seek a more self-sufficient and autonomous way of life. Not surprisingly, new social problems and conflicts arose as each subordinate (nonwhite) ethnic group defined and defended its own economic, social, and political interests while the white (colonial) minority struggled to maintain social stability through political controls and military force.

As one of the most racially segmented societies of the Americas in the nineteenth century, rivaling the United States and Canada in complexity but much smaller in size, colonial Guyana constitutes a ready "laboratory" to examine processes, relationships, and interactions of primary interest to students of race and ethnicity. These include the maintenance of ethnic identities and boundaries, the extent and impact of interculturalism among the different ethnic groups, and the role of elite cultural power in promoting values around the notion of white cultural superiority.

Within the historical context of colonial Guyana, Moore defines the distinct ethnic groups as being British whites, composed mainly of Scottish, English, and Irish immigrants who, as the colonial rulers, embodied and upheld the ideals of elite Victorian culture; the Afro-Creole folk culture of the black and colored rural and urban working classes, with roots deep in the long history of slavery; an Indian immigrant culture of laboring men and women based on homogenizing the enormous range of regional languages and cultures of the subcontinent into a lingua franca called *Bhojpuri*; Portuguese retailers and shopkeepers, mainly economic refugees from the island of Madeira; and finally, Chinese contract laborers and shopkeepers, mainly from south China. Although Moore provides richly detailed and contextualized discussions of the material and spiritual culture of each group, his discussion of the Portuguese and Chinese are briefer and notably weaker than the others, reflecting perhaps their relatively small numbers as well as the relative paucity of historical ethnographic data.

Moore links cultural power to social, political, and economic dominance; therefore there is no question concerning which group possessed practically all of it. He notes that British colonials, unlike their French counterparts, did not articulate and implement a conscious policy of forced assimilation on natives or

non-European immigrant groups. Cultural imposition from above took place in indirect and unofficial ways, and despite the pretensions of white cultural superiority, persistent contact between two cultures produced cultural exchanges and adaptations in both directions, particularly true between white and black. Moore calls attention to the emergence of a Euro-Creole sociocultural model that was pragmatically tolerant of cultural pluralism in certain quarters and under certain circumstances.

The interplay among desires for cultural integration, selective adaptation, and cultural resistance to Anglo-Victorian domination runs through Moore's analysis of all the subordinate groups. Consequently, the relationship and interaction between each subordinate group and the dominant white culture and power structure is highlighted, while interethnic relationships among subordinate groups are underplayed. The reader is left with the impression of a highly compartmentalized society of discrete, ethnically subordinate cultural entities, each acting on its own to negotiate a relationship with the dominant, white, colonial elite. The results of these negotiations varied greatly from group to group, with the most assimilated Afro-Creoles on one end of the spectrum, and the large numbers of Indians, comprising forty percent of the population in nineteenth-century Guyana, on the other. This analysis leaves open the question of how the least assimilated ethnic group, the Indians, eventually rose to preeminent political power under the leadership of the late Jeddai Jagan, when Guyana finally gained its independence in the mid-twentieth century.

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LIZABETH PARAVISINI-GEBERT. *Phyllis Shand Allfrey*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 335. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$18.95.

On concluding this book I found myself richly informed not only about the biographical details of Phyllis Shand Allfrey's life but also about a complex and significant era in Caribbean history. Elizabeth Paravisini-Gebert's biography begins with a helpful sketch of the history of the island of Dominica that includes an account of Allfrey's intricate colonial ancestry. This detailed background struck me forcibly, as I recently completed a study of the contemporary writer Jamaica Kincaid, who was born and raised in Antigua. Not a great deal exists about Kincaid's family history in archives. By contrast, Paravisini-Gebert found an abundance of archives for the Shands. Her candid and expansive descriptions of Shand's family, well attuned to its white, European, colonial past, gloss the past and present experiences of a number of black female writers, educators, and political activists. Shand grew up among people deeply self-conscious about complexion and class and their substantial effect on quotidian life. Segregation was standard; the status

and behavior of ancestors was a matter of historical connectedness if not always of pride.

Born in 1908, sympathetic to labor, and keen on writing from an early age, Shand lived a relatively predictable upper-class existence in her early years, leaving Dominica in 1927 after an invitation from the lavishly wealthy family of J. P. Morgan II. In 1929, she married Robert Edward Allfrey, an upper-class but penurious Englishman with socialist views. They lived in the United States until 1935, when Robert lost his job.

By the late 1930s, Shand Allfrey had become a socialist and was involved in the Spanish Civil War. Gradually, she began to play an increasingly important role on the international stage. She also became known for her fiction and poems, the 1950s being perhaps her most creative decade. After Labour Party leader Clement Attlee had won the British general election in 1949, she helped to promote the cause of Dominican independence. In 1954, Shand Allfrey forged a political alliance with Chris Loblack, an African Caribbean Union leader, and they became cofounders of the Dominican Labor Party.

Changing race relations and the increased commitment to black self-determination made Shand Allfrey's entry into politics somewhat controversial. Thus, she was not elected to the Dominican Legislative Council in 1961, even though Labor had won seven out of eleven seats. This defeat "signaled the beginning of [her] public marginalization in Dominica Labour party politics" (p. 186). Prime Minister Grantley Adams of Barbados appointed Shand Allfrey to the newly formed West Indies Federation. She was the first minister from Dominica to be so honored and was put in charge of labor and social affairs. In international politics, she took a fearless stand on apartheid, once walking out of a meeting to protest the presence of an all-white South African delegation. Her work for the West Indies Federation wound down, however, once the Jamaican and Trinidadian parties passed referenda to withdraw their support for the Federation.

Most humiliatingly of all, Shand Allfrey was expelled from the Dominican Labor Party in 1964. To what extent she understood that changing race relations were a key factor is never wholly clarified; Paravisini-Gebert seems slightly evasive about her increasingly problematized political location. By purchasing the *Star* newspaper after several severe political setbacks, Shand Allfrey was able to assume a new role in Dominican life as editor, journalist, publisher, and general commentator. Both she and Robert Allfrey suffered ill-health in later life and experienced many personal misfortunes. Their beloved daughter Josephine (Phina) died in 1977, and Shand Allfrey's dear friend, Ella Maria (Ria) Mercado was murdered. She herself was arrested for shoplifting.

In one sense, Shand Allfrey was born at the *right* political time: she could embrace opportunities to be innovative and intrepid. In another sense, she was born at the *wrong* time: she found it a complicated process

to negotiate a positive role for herself once the long-needed and long-anticipated politics of race took hold. Without doubt, her contribution to Caribbean culture and politics is rich and permanent.

Paravisini-Gebert writes in a brisk, firm, highly readable style that keeps readers on their toes. She succeeds in portraying both the political life of an era and the valiant personal history of a white ally in the global Caribbean struggle for black self-determination.

The book ends with a helpful collection of Shand Allfrey's stories, judicious notes, a bibliography, and a thorough index.

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STEFAN RINKE. *"Der letzte freie Kontinent": Deutsche Lateinamerikapolitik im Zeichen transnationaler Beziehungen, 1918–1933*. In two volumes. (Historamericana, number 1.) Stuttgart: Hana-Dieter Heinz. 1996. Pp. 412; 413–836.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Germany established itself economically in Latin America. From 1890 onward, Germany needed markets for its rapidly expanding industry as well as raw materials to fuel an increasingly voracious industrial appetite, and Latin America was an area that could satisfy both needs. Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase, in several books and a number of significant articles, has documented the German experience in Latin America before the outbreak of World War I.

In these two volumes, Stefan Rinke does an admirable job of tracing German economic development in Latin America during 1918–1933. Their title requires explanation. Rinke emphasizes that German economic activities were greatly hampered by the Treaty of Versailles. In the years immediately following World War I, Germans were *personae non gratae* throughout the world, save in Latin America. It was a place where Germans could go to escape the harsh conditions in postwar Germany, and where German entrepreneurs could undertake economic ventures.

The detail presented by Rinke is encyclopedic. Nevertheless, he does a good job of integrating meaningful analysis with the myriad of facts and charts to substantiate his thesis that economic development was the determining motive of German interest in Latin America during the Weimar Republic. In spite of strong competition, Germany was able to establish an important economic base; Rinke is careful to state that there was no German interest in any other type of expansion in the area.

After World War I, neutral Latin American countries such as Argentina, Chile, and Mexico welcomed the renewal of German economic interest, as did countries such as Brazil that had opposed Germany during the war. In spite of reparations and hyperinflation, Germany was able to make strong economic inroads on the continent. According to Rinke, the Treaty of

Versailles pushed Germany toward Latin America to replace the colonies it had lost. Argentina was the principal country of German economic activity, followed by Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. By 1934, the total German investment in Latin America was 2,900,000,000 Reichs Marks. There were investments by the *Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft*, by Siemens, Zeiss in optics, by Krupp in armaments, and by Junker in airplanes, as well as by others in radio, telegraph, and harbors. The world Depression had a devastating effect on German-Latin American commerce, however, and the value of German exports fell sharply.

Some 140,000 Germans emigrated from the Weimar Republic to Latin American countries. Once there, they continued to follow German cultural patterns through the *Oberschule*, churches, clubs and associations, newspapers, radio, theater, and films. The majority of German immigrants were members of the *Mittelstand* and remained in occupations associated with this class. They were clannish and settled in enclaves in the cities or developed colonies in rural areas.

Germans in Latin America maintained strong ties with Germany. In many respects, they remained a microcosm of the country they had left. Events in Germany such as the murders of Walter Rathenau and Matthias Erzberger and the rise of National Socialism were of interest to Latin American Germans. Latin America also affected Weimar Germany, as the founding of German-Latin American institutes in Berlin, Hamburg, and in the universities indicates. There was a German-Latin American student exchange program as well as one for the distribution of German books in Latin America.

Among the topics that Rinke covers are the use of German military advisors and armament and aircraft production. Former German officers and non-commissioned officers acted as military advisors in several Latin American nations (the book contains a picture of Ernst Röhm in the uniform of a Bolivian officer). Krupp and other firms took as active an interest in armaments development as Junker did in aircraft. The *Sociedad Colombo-Alemana de Transportes Aéreos*, founded in 1919, used Junker planes, many equipped with pontoons. By 1929, they were flying over 1,200,000 kilometers a year and transporting 6,500 passengers, 671,000 kilos of freight, and much mail. Later, Lufthansa was involved in transoceanic flights. Rio de Janeiro was a key stop on Zeppelin flights from Friedrichshafen, Germany to Lakehurst, New Jersey.

More analysis of German military advisors, armaments, and aircraft production is needed to determine whether Germany used Latin America, as it did the Soviet Union, to circumvent the Treaty of Versailles. During the Weimar years, German military tactics underwent changes, and strides were made in armament and aircraft production. What effect, if any, did activity in Latin America have on German military potential? Although he admits that some German

activity in Latin America violated provisions of the treaty, Rinke skirts the issue when it comes to its impact on Germany. Perhaps this is deliberate; the evidence may be so weak that any analysis would be little more than nebulous speculation. But this area should be investigated further.

Overall, Rinke succeeds in presenting a well-balanced account of the period, based on massive archival research, that adds to our knowledge of how Germany attempted to surmount the obstacles it faced after World War I.

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MANUEL SARKISYANZ. *Felipe Carrillo Puerto: Actuación y muerte del Apóstol "Rojo" de los Mayas; Con un ensayo sobre hagiografía secular en la Revolución Mexicana*. Translated from German by JOSEP BARNADAS. Forewords by ROQUE CASTRO GONZÁLEZ and JOSÉ LUIS SIERRA VILLARREAL. Mérida, Mexico: H. Congreso del Estado de Yucatan. 1995. Pp. 337.

This new biography of Felipe Carrillo Puerto, regional leader of the Socialist Party and Governor of Yucatán in the early 1920s, contains a great deal of interesting information gleaned from archival and printed sources as well as interviews. Unfortunately, Manuel Sarkisyanz's interpretation detracts from the hard work that obviously went into putting the book together. In addition, the organization is peculiar, making possible the inclusion of much material that is not necessarily germane to a reasonable historical argument.

Sarkisyanz sets out to examine the religious, cultural, and even mystical roots of Carrillo's charismatic appeal. In the process, he seems to fall victim to the temptation to mythologize Carrillo. For example, in a long introductory section, Sarkisyanz discusses heroes, both historical and mythological, of the region and relates them loosely to his principal character. These figures range from Kukulcán to Jesus Christ, but most involve a vision of a savior who has left but will or does return. This vision permeates the investigation that follows, identifying Carrillo with these other redeeming heroes.

Sarkisyanz further invests Carrillo with the mantle of a martyr, focusing particularly on his flight from the forces of Victoriano De la Huerta's rebellion in 1923. On the one hand, this flight, much discussed by writers on Yucatecan history, he sees as evidence of Carrillo's unwillingness to lead his "indios" into a struggle that would be extremely costly in human lives. On the other hand, Sarkisyanz also sees it as Carrillo's deliberate quest in search of his own death. He particularly emphasizes that Carrillo's flight toward the coast rather than the forests was significant in his eventual capture and execution. But it is far from sure that another choice would have saved the socialist leader. In a typical metaphorical elaboration, Sarkisyanz avers that "Felipe Carrillo chose the coast, as if a fascination with Xtabay, the demoniacal seductress, had lured him

there" (p. 218). It seems more sensible to conclude, as does Gilbert Joseph in his work on Yucatán, that Carrillo sought to save his own life by leaving the country for Cuba rather than to indulge a fascination with the Mayan goddess, whom Sarkisyanz associates with Carrillo's lover, Alma Reed. Moreover, Carrillo's chances of rallying against the rebels, goddesses or no, were negated by the rapid advance of the *Delahuertistas* through southeastern Mexico and by his almost total lack of support among the propertied classes of his state. Surely these factors were more significant to his actions than the lure of a siren, divine or human.

Sarkisyanz is certainly correct that Carrillo, in the years since his death in 1924, has become a kind of secular saint. He perhaps exaggerates, however, when he suggests that President Lázaro Cárdenas found in Carrillo a precursor and model. In short, the author undermines a valuable research effort by interpretations that are more mystical and literary than historical.

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YVON LE BOT. *La guerra en tierras mayas: Comunidad, violencia y modernidad en Guatemala (1970-1992)*. Translated by MARÍA ANTONIA NEIRA BIGORRA. Foreword by ALAIN TOURAINE. (Sección de Obras de Sociología.) Mexico City and San Diego: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1995. Pp. 327. \$10.99.

French sociologist Yvon Le Bot has written an account of the 1970s-1980s civil war in Guatemala's indigenous highlands that is brilliant, incisive, profound, carefully nuanced, and extremely painful reading for anyone concerned about that beautiful but tormented country. The subject of the book is one of the great dramas of the late twentieth century in Latin America: the multidimensional interactions during the 1970s and 1980s between indigenous, community-based movements in Guatemala's highlands and a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement mediated, additionally, by radicalized elements in the Catholic Church. This triple challenge to Guatemala's elites evoked a genocidal response from the hemisphere's most brutal army, leaving in its wake the destruction of 440 villages and a death toll of up to 150,000 civilians, overwhelmingly highlands Indians. Le Bot is merciless in detailing the army's devastation between 1981 and 1983.

Le Bot develops a detailed analysis of the theoretical and practical interactions between the indigenous population and the armed guerrilla movement, focusing on one of its principal organizations, the *Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres* (EGP). He details a by-now-well-known critique of the EGP's triumphalism in the early 1980s, which led it to involve in its support base several hundred thousand highlands Indians whom it was subsequently unable to defend (or even to arm in self-defense) against the army's wrath.

Among Le Bot's most important and original contributions is his analysis of the ideological fabric woven

during the war years from the (class-based) Marxism-Leninism of the EGP, the Liberation Theology of the deeply involved religious communities, and the complex ethic or "cosmovision" of the indigenous communities. Le Bot posits a lack of articulation between these three visions and, on this basis, poses his central questions: Was the war of the early 1980s really a war of the Maya? Or was it rather a war waged on Maya territory by revolutionary organizations that never fully understood the cosmovision of the Maya communities themselves? Was armed struggle a method that would have been taken up by the Maya had they not been forced to do so in self-defense? Unlike less careful analysts, Le Bot does not accuse the EGP of waging a war against the Maya, but he does hold them accountable for unleashing the army's war against them and not knowing how to contain it, once unleashed. This is the historical responsibility of the insurgents.

If there is a criticism to be made of this book, it concerns the discrepancy between its promise and what it actually delivers. The book's subtitle claims to cover the period from 1970 to 1992. In fact, however, Le Bot's analysis ends with the termination of the scorched-earth counteroffensive of 1981-1984. Very little attention is given to subsequent events that led to a significantly changed situation by the early 1990s. In particular, Le Bot makes scant mention of several mechanisms of survival/resistance by some indigenous communities affected by the violence: the CLR's (communities living in resistance in remote highland areas of Guatemala) and the self-organized refugee communities in southern Mexico. He also devotes little space to the rise of a complex and diversified indigenous movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Nor does Le Bot mention the revival of the revolutionary movement beginning in 1987, this time with the objective not of "taking state power" but of pressuring the army to begin a process of political negotiation. Indeed, since he refers to the period after 1984 as the "pos-guerra," one would be hard put to explain how it has happened that in 1997, Guatemala began its true "pos-guerra" on the basis of substantive accords negotiated between the insurgents and the government/army. In particular, the Accord on Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples, if fully implemented, will bring significant gains for Guatemala's Maya population.

Certainly we cannot expect Le Bot to have predicted such an outcome in 1992. By that time, however, there were sufficient elements to suggest that the peace process was opening up new spaces for action by Guatemala's indigenous peoples: in essence, for understanding that what ended in total disaster in 1984 was not the civil war as a whole but its most painful and barbarous phase. This leads me to suggest the need for yet another reevaluation of Guatemala's thirty-six-year civil war. When we undertake such a reevaluation, we

will find in Le Bot's book one of our lasting analytical resources.

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NÚRIA SALA I VILA. *Y se armó el tole tole: Tributo indígena y movimientos sociales en el Virreinato del Perú, 1790–1814*. Huamanga, Peru: Instituto de Estudios Regionales José María Arguedas. 1996. Pp. 320.

This book presents a finely documented, chronological series of episodic narratives on the critical colonial problem of Indian tribute and the related issues of political and social allegiance in Viceroyal Peru during the proto-Independence period. Nuria Sala i Vila makes several arguments, which nevertheless all lead, via different routes, to the "rupture" of the colonial pact with the wavering Spanish monarchy. A central theme is the decline of the *cacicazgo* or hereditary chiefship, noted by other scholars but here fleshed out in greater detail. Key to the decline was the separation of political and economic functions after 1784. The economic functions of hereditary chiefs were in many cases reassigned to appointed Spanish and *mestizo* tribute collectors who usurped the title of *cacique*, leading to heightened conflict between Indian peasant communities and the colonial fiscal regime. At the same time, Sala i Vila points to the rise of the Indian *alcaldes* or *varayoc*, promoted by the late colonial state as mediators of state-peasant relations, arguing that the shift from dynastic to elected peasant leaders produced an ambivalent "process that we qualify, *mutatis mutandis*, as at once democratizing and disintegrative" (p. 162) for Indian communities.

Of great interest is Sala i Vila's discussion of Andean receptions of the liberal projects emanating from Buenos Aires, La Paz, Quito, and the Cortes of Cádiz between 1808 and 1812. That Spanish-speaking *yanaconas* on haciendas near Trujillo should, following the liberal declarations of Cádiz, make radical claims to their new civil identity as "Spaniards" gives an interesting new twist (not fully explored here) to the developing political consciousness of a region that would soon become a stronghold of Bolivarian patriots. The book ends with chapters on indigenous participation in the Angulo-Pumacahua rebellion and the return to royalism around 1815. The rebellion waved the flag of constitutionalism against the forces of absolutism, respectively represented in Lima's ruling Junta Tribunal by the liberal Justice Miguel de Eyzaquirre and the conservative Viceroy Abascal, but the Hispanized Inka and once-royalist General Mateo Pumacahua opposed any egalitarian movement of the kind sought by more radical peasant sectors in the years before 1814. His break with the colonial state, the author argues, had more to do with attacks on *cacicazgo* privileges that, ironically, derived from the same constitution he claimed to defend. Nevertheless, the rebellion, which was brutally repressed, and sub-

sequent ones before the arrival of San Martín in 1820 clearly indicate that both radical and liberal notions of *patria* and independence circulated in certain Andean sectors.

On the entangled issue of tribute and its abolition by the Cortes of Cádiz, however, Sala i Vila's conclusions are mixed. Some groups, particularly *yanaconas* and subsistence-oriented peasants, appear to have resisted the tribute and applauded its abolition; but others, perhaps most, ended up supporting the tribute, which guaranteed access to commons, was less costly than the alternative *alcabala* tax, and provided for *cacique* profits. In many documented cases, it was reimposed by coercive means (pp. 256–57).

Finally, it is worth noting that Sala i Vila actually delivers somewhat different (and often better) goods than the book's title, its prologue, its exceedingly brief and unhelpful introduction and conclusion, or even its back-cover blurb suggest. The colorful title, which might be translated roughly as "And All Hell Broke Loose," conjures up images of confusion on the one hand and spontaneous popular protest (literally, howling harangues) on the other; yet, the cumulative weight of the evidence indicates that the disorder and protests were both systemic and frequently orchestrated. Luis Miguel Glave's prologue identifies the book as an example of "microhistory," but this is not the case. The book ranges freely over much of the vast viceroyalty of Peru and is, like Scarlett O'Phelan's work, rather more "macro" in scale than most other recent works in the field. Still, Glave has a point, if what he means is that Sala i Vila employs some of the literary techniques of local social history to weave an episodic narrative that is always close to a particular set of documents (mostly criminal and civil trial records and official correspondence) but usually far from any sustained critical theoretical discourse. As the book's subtitle indicates, it stops short of covering the decisive years of the Independence Wars. Instead, it contributes strongly to a revised understanding of the contentious proto-Independence period in Peruvian history.

MARK THURNER
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ANDRÉS GUERRERO. *La Semántica de la dominación: El concertaje de indios*. Quito: Libri Mundi. 1991. Pp. 336.

The "*concertaje de indios*," or simply "*concertaje*" or "*conciertos*," was the prevailing labor system in the highlands haciendas of Ecuador during the colonial period and especially throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As in the rest of Latin America, the *concertaje* in Ecuador was a program of systematic indebtedness that "tied" the Indians to the haciendas. For this reason, the *concertaje* was both a work system and system of servitude through which *patrones* were able to master the peasant population. It did not differ from that of the *peon acasillado* of the north of Mexico, the Peruvian *yanacónaje*, the *inquilino* system of the central zone of Chile, or any of the

systems of debt servitude on haciendas in Latin America up to the twentieth century. The *huasipungo*, the name for the indigenous peasant who was the object of the *concertaje*, was seen, as were his counterparts in the regions mentioned above, as a living example of feudalism in Latin America.

In this book, Andres Guerrero studies the *libros de rayas*, or hacienda accounts and books, for the early twentieth century in the sierra of Ecuador. These reveal much about the operation of the *concertaje de indios*. The *patrón*, owner of the hacienda, delivered money, food, clothes, and various goods to the indigenous peasants, thus increasing their debts. Of course, they were debts that would never be paid; they were "paid" with servitude, noted in the *libros de rayas*. The true nature of the work-salary relationship was thus hidden. Guerrero's study contributes to the detailed knowledge of this way of contracting labor.

The author analyzes the fiestas that were produced by the hacienda system. Many festive rites accompany the relationships of servitude. The modern salary relationship, as is known, possesses formal contracts, written and legal arrangements. The non-salarial relationships of work, on the other hand, possess "ceremonial contracts" ensuring that certain fiestas are reconstructed annually. Guerrero studies the holiday of San Juan, which has been celebrated since antiquity. The holiday of the summer solstice, which comes from Spain, is joined to the pre-Hispanic commemorations. Many of these holidays recall the arrival of the Spanish and the mythical scene of the Plaza of Cajamarca with the death of Atahualpa. Guerrero knows these *fiestas de hacienda* very well. This book has a historical context and at the same time an ethnographical or anthropological flavor.

Although *concertaje* was suppressed legally in the beginning of the twentieth century, it continued in the form of *huasipungo*. This became the focus of accusations by the proponents of *indigenismo*, of the famous book by Jorge Icaza named *Huasipungo* (1936), and of the progressive sectors during this century in Ecuador. During the decade of the 1960s, the *huasipungueros* were organized, becoming the most important peasant movement in Ecuador. This was especially true for the provinces of Cayambe and Ibarra, where Guerrero's study is located. A shy agrarian reform was accomplished, and the *huasipungueros* remained with their small land parcels. The haciendas were modernized, and today they are modern farms with machinery and salaried work. But the holiday of San Juan and the *fiestas de hacienda*, says Guerrero, continue, recalling and reproducing the old domination systems even though the *concertaje* no longer exists.

Guerrero's book explains well the mechanisms of domination in the haciendas of the sierra of Ecuador. It does not explain, however, the resistance systems and the systems of cultural autonomy and cultural survival of indigenism itself. This last element is particularly important. With the same data, one might

build a different analysis. True, the indigenous peasants were subjected to debt servitude. They maintained their mores, rites, holidays, and cultural autonomy, however, and compelled the owners of the haciendas to establish relationships of reciprocity.

The owners established the material procedures of domination: money, wages, punishments. The indigenous peasants, however, established the cultural procedures of domination; the operating rules of the haciendas were culturally shared. The landowners had to adapt their rules to the local culture. They mastered the indigenous peasants but they had to adapt to them as well.

Guerrero discusses the cultural area of the Otavalo peoples in the south of the highlands of Ecuador. The *otavaleños* are today one of the most active indigenous groups in Ecuador as well as internationally. As such, they manifest considerable cultural force and have demonstrated their capacity to survive beyond the frontiers of their community. The domination of the hacienda through the centuries has not affected the culture of these indigenous people: it has been transformed, it has been adapted, but it has been maintained with a strong sense of identity. Regrettably, Guerrero does not connect historical labor processes, holidays, and ceremonies to the political processes, indigenous identities, and indigenous movements that are so strong in Ecuador. He does not succeed in showing how historical agency is achieved by the economically disadvantaged. *Huasipungueros* were living as slaves, according to a contemporary witness cited by the author, but they succeeded in maintaining an identity and cultural force that in other parts of the world disappeared. The semantics of domination, always, is built at the same time as the semantics of liberation.

JOSÉ BENGOA
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SUSAN K. BESSE. *Restructuring Patriarchy: The Modernization of Gender Inequality in Brazil, 1914-1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 285. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Over the course of the last decade, scholars of Brazil have transformed women's history into more comprehensive histories of the place of gender in the development and various transformations of the Brazilian polity, economy, and social structure. New analyses of slavery, the transition to free wage labor, and working-class history have detailed the ways gender influenced and was influenced by the extant racial and class systems. One feature that almost all of these works share is an interest in popular class groups. Indeed, the few studies of elite women in Brazil concentrate on the political push for suffrage rights in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Susan K. Besse's book is a welcomed addition to the historiography, because it uses the analytical tools and interests of those works concerned with gender among

popular class groups in a study of elite and middle-class women in the 1914–1930 period. Besse analyzes closely the ways the ongoing industrialization and intensification of mercantile relations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo created new opportunities for middle-class and elite women to gain an education, have a career, and postpone marriage. She details the steady rise in the age of women at marriage over the course of the first three decades of the twentieth century and carefully recounts critiques of that transformation. State policy makers, the Catholic church, and a wide range of intellectuals worried that this shift in women's identities and activities challenged the foundations of Brazilian society.

The strongest aspect of Besse's work is her careful and insightful analysis of the ways the state and church attempted to influence the shifting definitions of gender. The book's best chapters detail attempts to strengthen marriage by redefining women's work in the home and as parents. New "scientific" forms of child rearing, along with special women's education, would provide the modern Brazilian woman with a sense of fulfillment and at the same time bolster the family, which was considered the basic unit of the body politic. Such policies were most clearly articulated in the 1930s under the leadership of Getúlio Vargas. He set out to transform most aspects of Brazilian society, and many of his plans rested on strengthening the family by elevating motherhood to the realm of the patriotic and establishing comprehensive legal protections for working women and children.

Throughout the book, Besse finds that gender roles (or "patriarchy" in her terms) were modernized but that the changes were not systemic; they simply restructured male domination. Women could get a formal education, but they often had to pursue certain vocations deemed appropriate for women. Moreover, the existence of a tiny group of elite women who managed to gain access to professional life was held up as evidence of women's progress, when there was in fact little to celebrate. In the end, Besse's work owes much to Heidi Hartmann's now classic work (which Besse does not cite) on the ways in which the transition to capitalism ended formal patriarchy but relied on patriarchal forms and thus protected male dominance.

Besse makes an important contribution to our understanding of gender ideologies in the early to mid-twentieth century. Most significantly, her book details the ways that capitalism in Brazil, with the ongoing industrialization as well as increased access to foreign goods and ideas, challenged long-held assumptions about women's roles in society, even though male domination continued throughout this period. Still, there are a number of important issues that Besse glosses over. The first and most obvious problem is the book's narrow focus. During the period Besse studies, Brazil was a predominantly rural country. That does not invalidate urban studies, but it should caution us against making broad claims for Brazilian society by focusing on middle-class and elite city women.

The focus on these women is likewise narrowly cast. No one would dispute the importance of studying such women's gender roles and ideologies, but Besse tends to analyze her subjects in a vacuum. There is little on the relationship between middle-class and elite women and the majority of Brazilian women. This is not an insignificant issue. Urban working-class women often sought to emulate middle-class styles in dress and behavior. Other poor urban women had close contact with elite women through domestic service. And working-class women often had more freedom within marriage or other consensual unions to adopt broad public roles because their wage incomes made them more independent from men than middle-class and elite women were. Moreover, the years Besse studies witnessed an explosion of working class women's political activism through their leadership of a number of strikes and public demonstrations in São Paulo. Such public behavior no doubt had some sort of impact on gender in Brazil's largest city, even if it only served to increase the anxieties of policy makers.

There is one final problem with the book. Besse too often analyzes what intellectuals and policy makers said about gender. She rarely details what people did about or with gender. This is an admittedly difficult task, but it is an important one. Besse provides few details on how some women embraced the restructured patriarchy, how others manipulated it, and still others ignored it. The concentration on rhetoric and policy reveals much about the gender anxieties of these years, but tells us little about what actually happened. This weakness is most glaring in the discussion of the Vargas period. Besse accepts the notion that the stated goals and even laws of the 1930s were implemented and thus had some sort of impact on women's lives. Research on this era, however, has revealed that little of the labor and social legislation enacted in the 1930s was implemented or enforced by the government, thus begging the question of what were the operational gender roles of urban women in this era.

Despite these shortcomings, Besse's book is a valuable contribution to the historiography on gender in Latin America. Its careful analysis of the contestation of gender ideologies in a key period in Brazilian history provides important insights for our understanding of middle-class and elite women in the urban environment.

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BARBARA WEINSTEIN. *For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920–1964*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 435. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

Barbara Weinstein's book is not conventional labor history, although it adds provocatively to our understanding of the Brazilian labor movement during the middle decades of this century. Rather, it is more

properly understood as a study of efforts by a key group of Brazilian industrialists, engineers, and technocrats to promote the development of the Brazilian economy by educating and taming the working class. The means to these ends were major state-created (but capitalist-funded and directed) institutions charged with vocational training and social welfare. These institutions were intended to provide industry with skilled, peaceful, efficient workers and preempt or displace radical and Communist influence in the labor movement. Weinstein's analysis, based on evidence from the voluminous files of the institutions in question and the public pronouncements and remembrances of their directors, does not pretend (for the most part) to gauge their effect on Brazilian industrial workers. Instead she offers insight into the mindset of key industrial leaders and a revealing vantage point

from which to view the extraordinary social process that turned a formerly slave-based agrarian society into a major industrial economy and transformed a weak, state-dominated labor movement into one of the strongest and most autonomous in the world.

Weinstein's institutional history thus addresses a central paradox in modern Brazilian history: how the seemingly successful class project of Brazilian industrialists helped to engender their worst nightmare, a powerful, radical, and autonomous working-class movement able to contest their vision of Brazil's future. Focused on elites and state institutions, her book cannot (nor does it pretend to) resolve this paradox; its strength is to frame it for labor historians in fresh, provocative ways.

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Film Reviews

DISGRACED MONUMENTS. Produced, written, and directed by Mark Lewis and Laura Mulvey. 1993, 1996 video release; color; 48 minutes. Distributor: Cinema Guild.

This film, made by Canadian artist Mark Lewis and British film theorist Laura Mulvey, explores the revolutionary cycle of the creation and destruction of public monuments in twentieth-century Russia. Originally produced for television in 1993, it was released for video distribution only recently. With the staggering pace of events of the past five years, the film is already somewhat dated.

The film is divided into six sections, which move chronologically from V. I. Lenin's Plan for Monumental Propaganda in 1918 to the removal of various Moscow monuments after the failed coup of August 1991. Interviews with Russian cultural officials, art historians, critics, sculptors, and architects are interspersed with documentary footage and accompanied by minimal narration. Especially noteworthy is the film's incorporation of archival footage of the unveiling of monuments, the destruction of churches, and more recent coverage of the removal of monuments after the coup. The extensive use of subtitles and textual narration demands extensive reading, which distracts the viewer from careful contemplation of the thought-provoking and skillfully montaged visual material.

Careful scrutiny suggests that Lewis's and Mulvey's postmodernist theoretical concerns are more central than historical considerations. Like other attempts to explore contemporary Western critical concerns through the superficial examination of Soviet culture, this film lapses into stereotypical representations of Eastern backwardness and threatens to further mystify Soviet cultural history. This is evident in the section on Lenin's plan of April 1918. Information about the plan is provided by Tatiana Schulgina, inspector of Moscow monuments from 1947 to 1983. While paging through a dossier of archival documents, Schulgina provides the conventional Soviet interpretation of Lenin's plan. From her self-presentation and rhetorical style, Schulgina is recognizable as a Soviet *apparatchik*, part of the Stalinist cultural apparatus that promulgated a narrow interpretation of Lenin's plan as a step in the evolution

of Socialist Realism. This narrow reading ignores the importance of the plan to the development of a highly politicized Left avant-garde during the 1920s. By employing the *apparatchik*'s reductive version of Lenin's plan as its historical starting point, the film adopts a highly problematic model for Soviet public art.

Similarly, the selection of sculptures examined in the film simplistically reduces Soviet monumental art to the mass production of portraits. There is no discussion whatsoever of monumental art commemorating World War II and only minor mention of monuments that are not statues of male political leaders. Lenin's plan encompassed more than socialist thinkers and politicians. While it is true that the promulgation of the Lenin cult after the leader's death in 1924 led to less artistic variety, the film's neglect of other subjects suggests a public sphere filled entirely with images of the leader. This characterization ignores the numerous extant Soviet monuments to writers, artists, musicians, scientists, cosmonauts, workers, and so forth. Monuments to World War II remain a significant component of public art in the post-Soviet era, despite the fact that many of these works are the product of late Stalinism. Exploration of contemporary attitudes toward these monuments could provide a more complex reading of issues related to art and the public sphere in the wake of the collapse of state socialism. Further, the geographic range of the film is limited to Moscow and St. Petersburg, neither of which are representative cities, culturally or politically. Monuments to Bolshevik leaders remain intact in many regional cities, a phenomenon that cannot entirely be explained by the lack of political reform.

Given Mulvey's stature as a major feminist film theorist, the failure to discuss representations of women and works by prominent women sculptors is surprising. Vera Mukhina's *Worker and Collective Farm Woman*, a ten-meter-tall stainless-steel sculpture that was originally erected in Paris atop the Soviet pavilion for the Exposition Internationale in 1937, appears without being identified in the section "Perestroika: Towards a New Iconography." Chronologically, this Stalinist monument, which still stands in Moscow, should appear earlier in the film. Mukhina's work does not fit the film's simplistic representation of

Stalinist monuments, but neither should it be presented as part of the cultural thaw of perestroika.

The film concludes by suggesting that the restoration of tsarist monuments has begun to fill the void created by the removal of the "disgraced monuments." Etienne Falconier's equestrian portrait of Peter the Great (1782), an enduring symbol of the city, is shown as a narrator recites Alexander Pushkin's "The Bronze Horseman" (1833), a poem about this monument. This segment is followed by shots of a portrait of Joseph Stalin. Ironically, both Pushkin and Peter the Great had a place in the Stalinist cultural pantheon. In 1937, the Terror was accompanied by the lavish centennial celebration of Pushkin's death. Stalin himself emulated the example of Peter while simultaneously undertaking the historical reconstruction of this tsar. The film ends at this point, and the viewer is left wondering whether the irony was intentional.

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THE GREAT WHITE MAN OF LAMBARÉNÉ [*Le grand blanc de Lambaréné*]. Produced by Françoise Leherissey, Pierre-Marie Dong, and Bassek ba Kobhio; written and directed by Bassek ba Kobhio. 1995; color; 93 minutes. Gabon/Cameroon/France. French with English subtitles. Distributor: California Newsreel.

ROUGH IN REVERSE. Produced by Parmindar Vir; written and directed by Manthia Diawara. 1995; color; 52 minutes. United Kingdom/United States/Mali. French and English with English subtitles. Distributor: California Newsreel.

The complex mix of "European self" with "African other" has inspired much fine literature as well as sophisticated theoretical reflection in history and the social sciences. The postcolonial era has been marked by the insertion of African literary and scholarly voices into this discourse, voices that most often appropriate the language and institutions of the colonizer to give form to their expression. The result has not so much been an "African self" observing a "European other" but rather an undermining of the boundaries between the two categories. The two works under review are conscious efforts by African filmmakers from Cameroon and Mali to perform this "reversal," to direct an African cinematic gaze toward two of the more remarkable European "projects" of the colonial period: Albert Schweitzer's hospital in Lambaréné, Gabon, and the ethnographic film *oeuvre* of Jean Rouch.

In *Rough in Reverse*, Malian director Manthia Diawara embarks upon ethnographic field work in Paris with Rouch as his principal informant. Rouch has directed some forty ethnographic films, shot primarily in West Africa, and he was part of a postwar Franco-African intellectual scene that included anthropologist Marcel Griaule and the founder of *Présence africaine*, Alioune Diop. The film consists of excerpts from Diawara's interviews with Rouch interspersed with clips from the latter's work.

Diawara's commentary expresses his frustration with Rouch's evasiveness and efforts to control discussion while at the same time recognizing his subject's extraordinary charm. Diawara is surprised when Rouch allows him to shoot some footage at the latter's Paris apartment, as this breaks down a barrier to European private life that African expatriates feel keeps them on the margins of French society. In the *cinéma vérité* style pioneered by Rouch, Diawara also interviews Africans living in Paris and documents their disillusionment with French xenophobia.

The postcolonial context allows Diawara some privileged access to his subject, but not the same privilege that Rouch enjoyed working in colonial French West Africa. As they tour Paris together, Diawara notes that Rouch maintains a child-like wonder and innocence toward his surroundings; indeed, these qualities set his films on West Africa apart. But it was a wonder and innocence born of colonial power, a power that has no counterpart in Diawara's "postcolonial reverse." Thus the Malian director laments that, despite Rouch's charm and engagement, the French director does not take him seriously.

The colonial situation facilitated a one-way European access to Africans and African culture. From this access, figures like Rouch and Schweitzer were able to develop their projects, invent their Africas, and present them to the world. Bassek ba Kobhio's film *The Great White Man of Lambaréné* is an African take on Schweitzer's celebrated life and hospital. This is a beautifully crafted film—shot on location in Lambaréné—that is true to local Gabonese culture. Though purporting to depict events in Schweitzer's life from 1944 to his death in 1965, Ba Kobhio concocts encounters and relationships to make his larger points and to give voice to the Gabonese in closest contact with the "Great White Man."

Reading over writings about Schweitzer at the peak of his renown in the 1950s, one is reminded of the extent of his celebrity but also struck by the anonymity of the people he was treating at his hospital. The Gabonese and their culture were the faintest of backdrops for this "great" European undertaking. Ba Kobhio takes aim at Schweitzer's paternalism and cultural arrogance and hits his target with ease.

But these charges have long been leveled against Schweitzer, and Ba Kobhio is not satisfied with their simple restatement. Thus he creates Bissa, a Gabonese female companion for Schweitzer. She intrigues the doctor and draws out his humanity and openness to Gabonese culture, but her full embrace Schweitzer rejects until the eve of his death. At one juncture, Bissa accuses him of giving nothing to Africans. Schweitzer responds that he has given his lifework, and Bissa fires back: "Yes, you might give, but you do not share."

As Schweitzer lies dying, Bissa voices the tragedy of his life: he was a European who had "walked the edge," who had come "so close" to making a deep connection with the Gabonese, but who ultimately held back. It is the same lament Diawara expresses

about Rouch and one that echoes through Western efforts to understand and report on African cultures. In an appropriately ironic manner, Ba Kobhio ends his film with Schweitzer's own words: "All we can do is allow others to discover us, as we discover them."

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WONDERLAND. Produced and directed by John O'Hagan. 1997; color; 80 minutes. Distributor: Rhinestone Productions/Cinemax.

The massive demographic shift in American society from city to suburb accelerated dramatically after the end of World War II, bringing with it many of the things that define (for good or bad) our sprawling, automobile-based civilization at the end of the century: freeways, fast food, shopping malls, and other familiar elements of the drive-thru landscape. Nothing symbolizes the genesis and triumph of this culture of the "crabgrass frontier" better than Levittown, a planned community on Long Island, New York, that would serve as the model for the postwar suburbs that sprang up almost overnight around the country. Opened in October 1947, its tract subdivisions were the inspiration of entrepreneur William Levitt, who applied assembly-line solutions to the housing shortage then plaguing returning young veterans and their wives, flush with G.I. Bill support and eager to embrace the promises of nuclear domesticity. "For Sale: A New Way of Life," *Time* magazine prophetically declared in its cover story on Levitt, and indeed the customers who were lining up to buy homes seemed delighted to escape crowded, problem-racked cities in favor of the advertised fresh air and blue skies, a patch of land in the former potato fields, no matter how small or muddy, and a house, regardless of how identical it might be to the hundreds of other prefab "little boxes" that surrounded it, immortalized in Malvina Reynolds' protest song (1963).

Was Levittown a success? What is its meaning and legacy for those who settled there in the late 1940s and for their children and grandchildren? These are the questions filmmaker John O'Hagan invites us to reflect upon in *Wonderland*, a quirky, often light-hearted retrospective into the world the suburban pioneers made. No narrator guides our excursion through Levittown's notoriously manicured lawns and cluttered bungalows; instead, O'Hagan relies exclusively on his subjects to tell their stories, juxtaposing idiosyncratic characters in a way reminiscent of innovative *vérité*

documentarians Michael Moore (*Roger and Me*, 1989) and Errol Morris (*A Thin Blue Line*, 1988; *Fast, Cheap and Out of Control*, 1997).

The first-generation Levittowners, now in their seventies, express few regrets as they remember moving in en masse. They talk about their efforts to build a family and community life, and impart neighborhood folklore—some of it spicy, like the (largely mythological) "wife-swapping" parties of the repressed 1950s and the (mostly apocryphal) tales of husbands returning home to the wrong houses. It is perhaps too easy to laugh at these men and women, with their hobbies, their pets, their neuroses, and their obsessive routines. At certain moments, however, one can feel with poignant depth both the lonely burdens of growing old in suburbia and a sense of hard-earned pride about the heroic daily struggles for beauty, friendship, and human dignity—the quest for transcendence—that can occur even in houses made of "ticky tacky."

A darker view of Levittown emerges from O'Hagan's second-generation subjects, who articulate in various ways the stifling conformity, hypocrisy, materialism, and alienation they experienced and rebelled against while growing up in their parents' utopia. Many dreamed only of getting out, and some succeeded, including rocker Eddie Money and alternative cartoon artist Bill Griffith. Griffith speaks evocatively of the pain of his childhood days and explains how many of the bizarre themes running through his popular syndicated comic strip "Zippy the Pinhead" derive from the "absurdity" and private madness he saw operating beneath Levittown's fiercely maintained sit-com surfaces.

Despite some engaging character studies, *Wonderland* fails to do justice to its topic, thwarted by a narrowness of focus and (after a promising start using rare archival footage) the absence of a larger historical and social context. William Levitt's experimental housing community proved to be the wave of the future, and he was a visionary whose influence is lasting and immeasurable. Writers like Kenneth Jackson and David Halberstam compare Levitt, appropriately, to Henry Ford in terms of his impact. Levittown, with aspects of both dream and nightmare, demands a thorough documentary treatment. O'Hagan's work is a valuable but disappointingly shallow oral history, and the definitive film on the birth and evolution of postwar suburbia remains to be made.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

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Communications

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

Sander L. Gilman, in his review of my book *Vanishing Diaspora: The Jews in Europe since 1945* (*AHR* 102 [October 1997]: 1151–53), complains that, in my discussion of “Who is a Jew?” I “fall back on crude biologism. A Jew is that person who is biologically or halachically (ritually) Jewish” (1552). No such statement appears in my book. In fact, I state (page xi): “This book is concerned in a broadest sense with all those who considered themselves or were considered by others as Jews.”

BERNARD WASSERSTEIN

Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

SANDER L. GILMAN REPLIES:

While Bernard Wasserstein does indeed claim that he has an open definition of “who is a Jew?” his statistical table (which he seems to ignore in much of what he writes) does not. It represents “official” definitions, not self-definitions. And these are much more limited and limiting than the broader definition, which could well alter his reading of the negative trajectory of European Jewry.

SANDER L. GILMAN

University of Chicago

TO THE EDITOR:

In his article “Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance

Europe” [*AHR* 102 (December 1997): 1309–42], John Martin demonstrates the inadequacy of the New Historicist assumption that the emergence of modern individuality was a function solely of material circumstances, specifically, “social factors,” and not also a function of evolving consciousness, or what Martin labels “cultural factors.” However, Martin’s article shares with the New Historicists a second, equally fundamental, unexamined assumption, namely, that the emergence of individuality was solely a “function” of collective reality, whether material or cultural, rather than also being a determinant of the co-evolution of individual and collective reality.

One need not adopt the view that Martin ascribes to Jacob Burckhardt—“that the individual existed prior to history”—in order to suppose that the modern experiences of both individuality and sociability probably co-determined each other’s development as these two qualities emerged simultaneously from the experience of feudalism, an arrangement in which, by modern standards, neither the individual nor society was fully developed.

Thus the emergence of “prudent” individuals—defining “prudence” as Martin does—was probably one of the factors propelling and facilitating the emergence of urban population concentrations, which allowed and required individuals to play an increasing variety of social roles. Thus, too, the emergence of “sincere” individuals—defining “sincerity” as Martin does—probably helped to propel and facilitate the emergence of self-policing Protestant congregations with their new emphasis on group solidarity.

RICHARD JOFFE
New York City

JOHN MARTIN REPLIES:

I plead guilty as charged. I do, in fact, assume that collective experience—whether social or cultural—is in some sense prior to the development of modern notions of individuality. But I deny this assumption is unexamined. After all, a broad range of theorists from Marcel Mauss to Michel Foucault have sought to explain such categories as the person or the self in relation to preexisting social and cultural forces. In-

deed, without an emphasis on social *and* cultural forces, it would be impossible to make meaningful historical distinctions about the various forms individualism has assumed in different times and places.

JOHN MARTIN
Trinity University

ERRATUM

In the December 1997 issue, Merle Goldman of Boston University is misidentified as "Merle Goodman" in the Table of Contents, the book review on page 1552, and the Annual Index. The editors very much regret the error.

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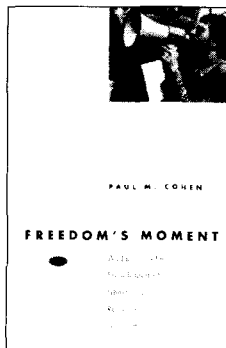
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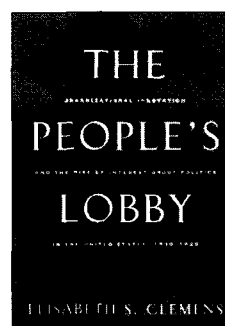
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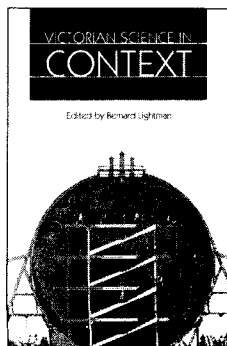
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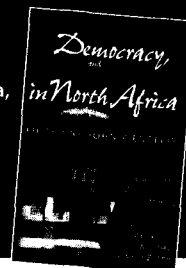


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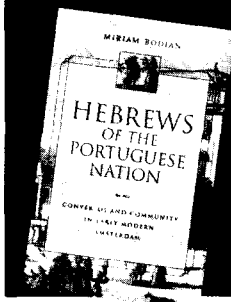
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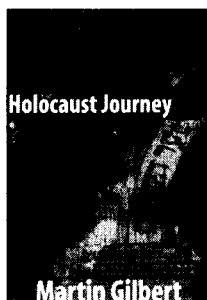


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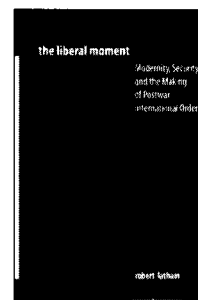
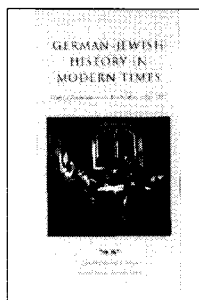
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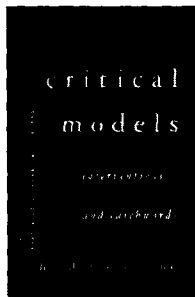
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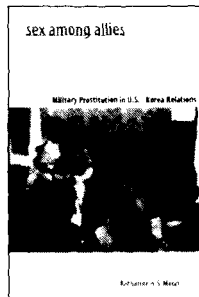
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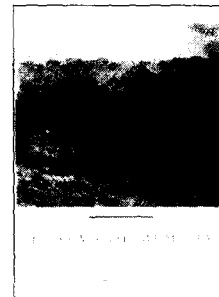
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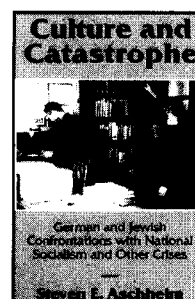
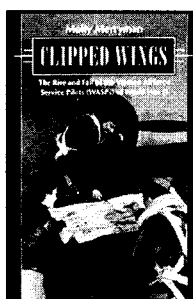
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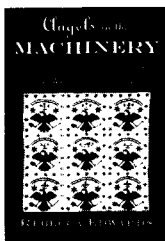
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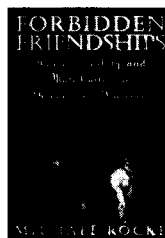
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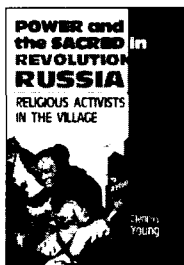
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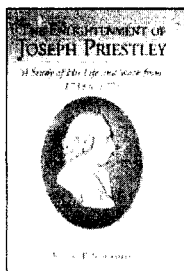
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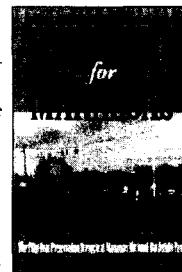
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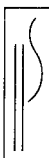
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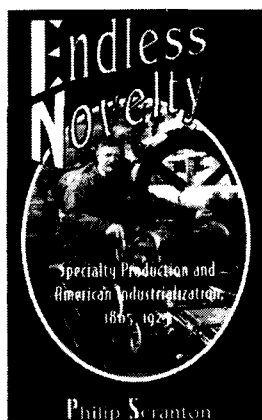
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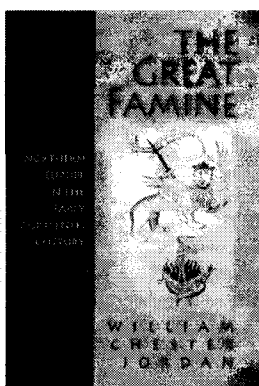
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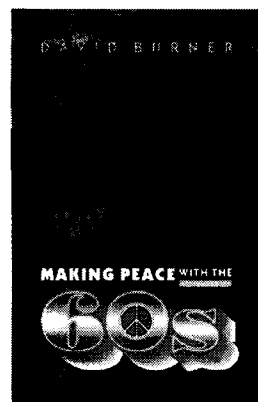
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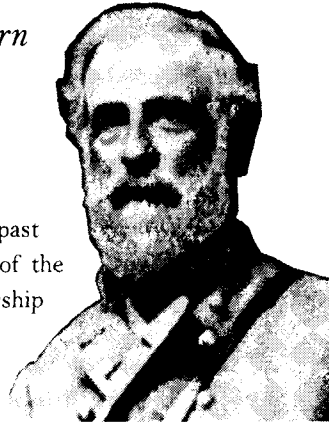
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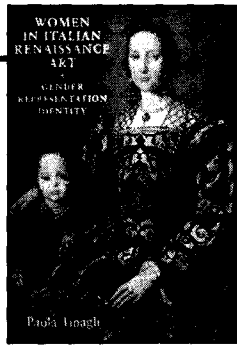
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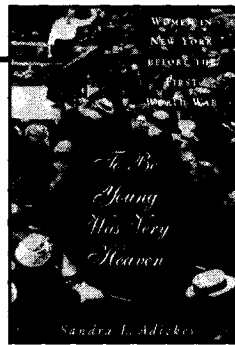
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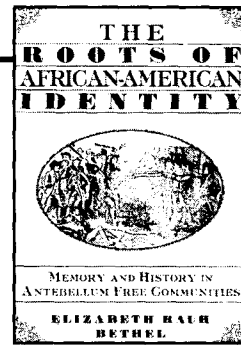


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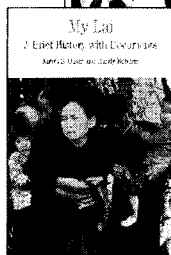
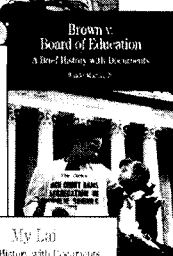
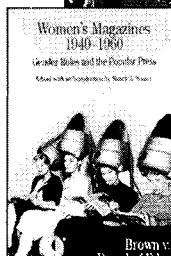
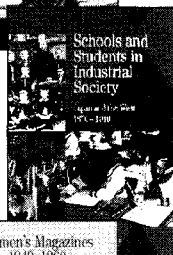
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